THE

INDIAN ANTIQUARY

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

ARCHAEOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, &C., &C.

EDITED BY

JAS. BURGESS, LL.D., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S.

VOL. X—1881

Swati Publications
Delhi
1984

© Published by Swati Publications. 34, Central Market, Ashok Vihar, Delhi-110052 Ph. 7113395

and Printed by S.K. Mehra at Mehra Offset Press, Delhi.

CONTENTS.

Authors' names arranged alphabetically.

SELECTIONS AND MISCELLANEA.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

BOOK NOTICES.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH.

ON THE SÂVANDURGA RUDE STONE CEMETERY, CENTRAL MAISÛR.

BY COL. B. R. BRANFILL.

1.—*General Remarks.*

CIRCLES of stones, of all sizes up to 30 feet or more in diameter, surrounding buried or half-buried *kistvaens*, are to be seen in several places on the west and southern sides of the well-known and conspicuous fortified rock of Sâvandurga, 22 miles west of Bengalûr, and 4 south-east of Mâgaḍi, in Maisûr. They are numerous at a spot called Iṭṭige-bailu (*Brickfield*), a piece of rising ground or spur running out west from the centre of the hill near the foot of the western entrance, called Chandrâyan-bâgilu. Grassy slopes and shady glades alternate with thickets of trees and undergrowth, whilst groups of rocky boulders and patches of bare sheet-rock combine to enhance the beauty of the scenery here. But there is no good drinking water procurable near.

The *kistvaens* vary much in size and appearance. The commonest form being an oblong chest projecting a foot or two above the ground, and surrounded by a circle of stones, whose tops are seen only a little above the surface.

The length, which is usually nearly double the breadth, lies more or less east and west, but the direction varies considerably.

The sides are composed each of a single thin stone slab, chipped or hammer-dressed along three edges, so as to fit together and form a rectangular chamber. The fourth edge—the right-hand end of the stone viewed from without—is undressed, and projects beyond the corner of the chamber (see plates, *Figs.* 1u and 2).

The four side-slabs rest upon a single flat stone laid deep in the ground, and are covered by the capstone, a comparatively huge undressed slab, which projects beyond the sides, especially on the east and south.

The sidestones vary from 5′ to 10′ in length, 4′-6″ to 5′-6″ in height, and from 2″ to 6″ in thickness. The interiors are from 6′ to 9′ long, 3′ to 6′ wide, and about 5′ high. The capstones vary from 8′ to 14′ in length, 7′ to 10′ in width, and are from 6″ to 16″ thick. They seem to have been left in the rough, just as they were taken from the quarry (*i.e.* scaled off the surface of the hill), with their edges vertical and entirely undressed.

To have rested and adjusted these huge capstones on the thin side slabs would surely have broken the latter, and it appears hence that the chamber must have been surrounded by, and probably also filled with, earth before the capstone was put on.

The east side or front is still much banked up by earth, but on the other sides the earth is now scarcely raised at all above the general ground level. A rounded hole has been chipped high up in the front or east wall, large enough for a man to pass through, and an entrance passage walled off by thin slabs of stone.

When closed, a rounded shutter-stone has been

set up at the inner end of the passage, closing the entrance hole, after which the passage has also been filled up with earth and so left.

Very many of the capstones have been split, as if by the effect of forest fires, or by their own weight in the course of time, from unequal or insufficient support, and large pieces of them have fallen over, leaving the interior of the chamber partly or wholly uncovered. Many chambers have no capstone at all, but this may well be due to the wandering stone-masons (Waddar) who are known to make away with the stones of these ancient monuments.

The usual surrounding circle of stones is rough, and consists of some 15 to 25 boulder stones more than half buried in a ring from 12′ to 30′ in diameter, round the chamber. A few of the circles are double or treble, and composed of upright or sloping slabs instead of boulders. A few of the chambers are free standing, *i.e.* almost entirely above ground, with a circle of half-buried stones, and one on the adjacent hill of bare rock is entirely free standing, and without any circle at all (*Fig.* 2).

Many slabs are to be seen at ground level or even partially covered by the soil and without any stone circle appearing. From their form and appearance these would also seem to be buried chambers or *kistvaens.*

There is little or no sign of any cairn, tumulus, or barrow, unless it be where the stone circle is double or treble, when the outer circle, usually of 20 to 25 boulders, is only a little above the general surface, the next higher, and the innermost the highest, rising in slight steps.

The double circle of upright slabs seemed to contain the rudiments of an earthen wall or a hedge, surrounding the tomb.

2.—*Examination of the tombs.*

Having a holiday on Saturday (5th July 1879) I determined to examine some *kistvaens* and stone circles which I had noticed ten years previously, in the forest at the west foot of S â v a n d u r g a, and accordingly on Friday evening rode out from Bengalûr, 23 miles westwards along the Mâgaḍi road, and passed the night in a tent at the little hamlet of B â c h e n h a ṭ ṭ i (the "Ranchainhully" of Indian Altas sheet No. 60). Next morning having procured some workmen, I proceeded along the footpath leading to D a l v â y-k e r e, which skirts the N. W. foot of the hill, and after an hour's walk reached the spot called I ṭ ṭ i g e-b a i l u (*Brickfield*), where the stone circles, both with and without the buried or half-buried stone chambers or kists and their huge capstones, were scattered over the rising ground.

Very few of the capstones remained entire in their place and many were gone altogether.

Amongst them on a sheet of bare rock I noticed a fine dolmen (13 ft. long and 8½ ft. wide) supported upon three piles of stone raising it to a height sufficient for people to sit under (*Fig.* 1).

The whole shape and arrangement of this was so irregular that I did not examine it more closely, but may remark that very similar dolmens, megalithic slabs, supported on 3 or 4 piles at a little height (2 to 4 feet) above the sheet-rock on which they stand, are to be seen elsewhere: near C h i k k a J â l a, for instance, 15 miles north of Bengalûr.

A free-standing solitary *kistvaen* or rude stone cubical chamber, conspicuous on the top of the adjacent bare rock, next engrossed my attention (*Fig.* 2). It was composed of four thin vertical slabs of rough stone, arranged with their right-hand ends, as seen from without, projecting beyond one another successively.[1]

It seemed as if the left-hand lower-side corner of each stone had been laid on the ground touching the left corner of the space to be enclosed, and then all lifted simultaneously so as to fall into their places at once. This peculiar arrangement of projections appears to be a general rule in the structure of the Maisûr and Kŏdagu (Coorg) *kistvaens.* The capstone of this, and of the other kists I have seen, seems large out of all proportion to the size of the chamber it covers, and the thinness of the side slabs. The dimensions of this free-standing *kistvaen* are as follows:—

Capstone—12′-10″ long, 9′-6″ wide, and 0′-6″ to 1′-0″ thick.

Interior 8′-1″ long, 5′-6″ wide, and 4′-2″ high.

The length runs east by north, and W. by S. (80° and 260° Magnetic bearing).[2]

In the upper northern corner of the east wall of the chamber is the entrance, a roundish hole roughly chipped, 1′-10″ to 2′-0″ in diameter.

[1] Compare the plan in *Fig.* 10, omitting the two short slabs that form the passage on the east side.

[2] Some of the *kistvaens* at Jâla near Bengalûr have capstones or covering slabs from 14 to 20 feet in diameter.

On the south and east the capstone projects 2 to 3 *feet* beyond the side and end walls. The projections on the north and west sides of all these kists was considerably less. The plan recalled the *svastika* symbol, 卐 (or 卍). One of the meanings given in M. Williams's *Sanskrit Dictionary* for '*Svastika*' is :—" A mansion or palace of a particular shape (described as surrounded by a terrace or portico on the north, west, and south sides, and having the door on the east)."[3]

Returning to Iṭṭige-bail, I searched for the largest and most suitable looking tomb for measurement and excavation, and having no time to lose, soon pitched upon a rather grand looking one in the midst, near the centre of the rising ground or ridge of the spur, the capstone of which was about 3 feet above the ground level, and split, and a large portion of it had fallen over on the north side, so as to uncover a part of the chamber, and allow of its excavation from the top without removing any more of it (*Fig.* 3). The chamber was full of hard red earth just like that of the surrounding surface soil, only harder and drier.

In some places the earth reached the capstone, in others, more particularly towards the front, (the east or entrance end,) there was a space of a few inches, as if it had not been quite filled up there, or very possibly had settled by consolidation in the course of time. Outside, the earth was irregularly banked up against the *kistvaen* in some places nearly to the capstone.

The excavation was begun on the north side and N. E. corner. Little of interest turned up at first, beyond the cast-off skins of snakes, white-ants' nests, and the refuse stores of by-gone rats and mice, but at 1½ to 2 feet in depth little pieces of pottery, charcoal and charred bones began to raise my hopes of a "*find*," and at about 2½ feet in depth a little greenish lump was observed in a piece of hard red earth dug out of the centre of the chamber and a trifle towards the west end, which proved to be a piece of flattened copper of an irregularly rounded shape 0″·6 in diameter, 0″·15 to 0″·18 thick, and nearly ¼ oz. in weight (*Fig.* 5).

At present I can only see a few roundish-looking spaces formed by some triangular and other depressions stamped on one of the surfaces which is rather concave. Besides these there are some dots and corroded blotches, and faults in the manufacture that I need not describe. The opposite side is flat, but rough, and bears no marked resemblance to anything I can recognise.[4]

A little piece of corroded iron next turned up, which on cleaning off the encrusted earth proved to be a modern shaped arrow tip 1″·5 long and 0″·4 thick at base, with a deep hollow tube or socket in it, to receive the end of the shaft. In taking it out, the point broke off and a piece of it was lost, but the fracture only served better to display the good workmanship of the maker. The tube is tapering, 0″·3 in diameter at the orifice and 1″·1 deep. It weighs about ¼ oz. (Plate IV, *Fig.* 7).

Fragments of pottery of various kinds, coarse and fine, polished and plain, red and black, with pieces of charcoal and bone, some apparently human, others of birds, all very small, were met with frequently, scattered throughout the mass.

At 3′-5″ below the capstone and close to the middle of the north wall, the first jar was met with, full of common earth, but broken to pieces by the pressure of the superincumbent weight, and beside it along the base of the north wall were ranged a row of jars of sorts and sizes, all of them broken.

On taking out the contents of one of the larger earthen jars, a small vessel was found inside, much the shape of the common modern pot (*chatti*), except that it was rather pointed at the bottom, instead of being, as now-a-days, globular (*Fig.* 9). It is 6″ in diameter and height, with a neck 3″ wide. It contained earth of two sorts and colours; one grey, and the other dark red. The grey seemed to be a fine clay with a large admixture of fine white powder, possibly ashes.

Throughout the earth taken out of the kist white-coloured streaks and lumps of grey earth were met with in all directions, especially below; and, (but that there was more of it inside the jars,) one might suppose it to come from the white-ant nests, the colour of the earth around which also seemed white or grey. The grey lumps, and the white powder incrusted on the inside of the jars, were almost tasteless.

The outside of the small enclosed vessel, like

[3] I have found this symbol roughly scratched on a small earthenware vessel taken from a *kistvaen* in Kôḍagu, now in the Bengalûr Museum.

[4] This coin or token nearly resembles the Muhammadan *paisa* with marks punched on it, of no great antiquity.

most of the finer pottery from these *kistvaens*, is black and polished above the bulge, light red below, and ornamented with a few faint horizontal lines round the bulge, and round the neck; on the splay between these two bands are some faint scratches, *i.e.* some crossed lines within a curved line, three fainter lines, and three more vertical and still fainter (see *Fig.* 9).

The similar marks of the pottery from the Jâla *kistvaens*, 30 miles to N. E., are :—M on one side, and U on the other.

The mouth of this small pot was full of grit or fine gravel, and in the earth outside it were found two small crystal sharp-edged cutters or scrapers (*Fig.* 8), and two little bones, one of them the vertebra of a bird (?), and the other a piece of the (? arm) bone of a fowl, with a hole in it; this bone was broken, leaving only one inch of it, and the rest was lost.

About the centre there was a plain large globular jar, broken, the earth in which seemed little if at all different from the rest.

Near it and lying on what seemed to be the floor, a thin oval plate of iron was found, but broken in taking out, and some part of it lost (Plate IV, *Fig.* 12). The oval is about 1″·1 in length, and what remains of its width is 0″·6, but if complete would have been 0″·8. The edge appears to have been sharp all round. At most it is only 0″·08 thick. At a depth of 4′ 10″ below the capstone, a flag or floor stone was reached, but all along the north side (and as it eventually proved, along the west end also), ran a trench of depression about a cubit in breadth and 6 or 8 inches deep, the floor of which was formed of a single slab, and proved to be the real floor of the chamber, on which an upper slab about 6 feet long and 4 feet wide, had been laid, touching the south side and east end walls only (see plan and sections Plate II, *Fig.* 10). The jars in this trench were full of hard earth, generally free from gravel, but some of them had minute pieces of charcoal and bone here and there. One of them contained something like grain (possibly the remains of a small millet), which would not bear to be touched without crumbling into an impalpable powder. The colour of this grain was grey, but there was little of it that was not mixed with earth, and it was found impracticable with the means and time at disposal to preserve any. A little to the south-west of the centre and near the upper flag stone, some larger pieces of bone were found, and plain indications of a human skeleton having been buried lying on its right side along the south side of the chamber, with the head to the east, and looking towards the north. The figure must have been in a bent posture, for parts of the leg bones were found projected towards the centre, whilst the pieces of the feet and rib bones were withdrawn towards the south wall, and the skull lay about 6 inches distant from the east end and the same distance from the south side.

The bones were too brittle to take out whole, and came out mostly in small pieces: but the pieces of the greater part of the skull were large and complete enough to be put together so as fairly to represent its shape and size.

I was unable personally to superintend the whole exhumation, being obliged to return to Bengalûr before nightfall, which put a stop to further search, before all the earth along the south and west sides was taken out.

Being unable to visit the spot again for some time, a week or so later I sent out a small party of men under an experienced and reliable native head workman to re-examine the earth that had been taken out in the twilight, on the last evening, to finish the excavation, and bring in the remaining portions of the "*find*," which they did, consisting of a few more little pieces of bone, making up a weight of about 4 lbs. altogether. With these they also brought in two hollow horn-shaped vessels with a hole on the convex side of each near the tip (Plate III, *Fig.* 29). One was flat enough to stand on its base, but the other was pierced with a lateral hole, nearer the tip, apparently for a string to hang it up by, the base being too curved for it to stand on[5] (*Figs.* 29 A and B).

The distance from base to tip is :—

	A		B	
Chord length	9″·3	and	8″·8	inches respectively.
Arc length	12 ·0	„	10 ·8	„
Max. diam.	3 ·5	„	2 ·8	„
Hole or orifice	0 ·5	„	0 ·3	„
Capacity (fluid oz.) ...	12·5 oz.		7·5 oz. up to the orifice.	
Weight (av.)	26·5 oz.		16·0 oz.	

[5] In a so-called Buddhist sculpture in Palnâd marble, horns or flasks of this shape are to be seen hung at the backs of some hunters or bird-catchers who have presented a bird to a râja seated on his throne. One is suspended by means of network. This representation must have been from one of the Amrâvati marbles presenting the story of king Sibi.

They are hollow throughout, and hold 12·5 and 7·5 ounces respectively. The larger (A) has five slight horizontal flat grooves round its greatest diameter, and on its side a scratched mark. It is stained black outside and above the hole. It was cracked or very porous, and will not hold water well. It is very slightly polished, and of a brownish dull red colour.

The other (B) is less polished, holds water well, and is of a dull light red colour (*Fig.* 29, B).

They were both found in the angle of the jar-trench on the true floor, at the N.W. corner of the chamber. They are pretty smooth, and regularly formed outside, but much rougher within, varying in thickness from 0″·17 to 0″·5.

The workmen now discovered that the trench extended along the west end, as well as the north side of the cell, and they found several more jars placed in it; and in the S. W. corner a ringed, circular, cylindrical pot-stand (*Fig.* 18), with splay lip at top, and five regular horizontal rings, grooves or corrugations (Pl. III, *Fig.* 18). It is open at bottom, having a rough flat-edged base to stand on, as if it were intended to stand the pointed bowls and pots on. It was not used for that purpose here, for on taking it up, a number of iron points were found to be protruding from the bottom touching the floor; indeed two of them had been struck by the excavating tool, and damaged from having slipped out through a broken place in the lower part of the pot-stand, and must have been left so by those who put them there, before filling up the kist with earth.

The pot-stand was full of earth, and contained ten flat, pointed, arrow-heads, with barbs running back nearly parallel to the shaft socket.

These are all of a similar lancet shape, from 2″·7 to 5″·6 long, over all. If complete the longest would have been about 5″ or rather more in length (Plate IV, *Fig.* 6).

The blades are from 2″·6 to 3″·5 long, 0″·8 wide, and 0″·15 thick.

The barbs are from 0″·4 to 1″·0 long, and their points in no case more than 1″·0 apart. Between the barbs, the shaft-socket extends from 1″·3 to 1″·6 in length backwards from the blade, being about 0″·18 in diameter at the neck, where smallest, and increasing to 0″·4 (in one case) at the back end, where largest.

The shaft tube or socket by which they were attached to the arrow-shaft is very well made, from 1″·0 to 1″·25 deep, and from 0″·25 to 0″·35 in diameter at the orifice.

Besides these, the pot-stand contained a plain modern-shaped arrow-tip of iron, like that previously found, and also a plain taper tang, 2″·0 long, 0″·08 thick, and from 0″·1 to 0″·2 wide, with sharp edges, and sides clean, flat, and squared, much like a modern "cut nail," or large brad, apparently of steel. There are indications of this piece of steel having been broken short off from a longer piece, at a point where it had been pierced with a (? rivet) hole. Compared with the arrow heads the tang is remarkably free from corrosion. The small end is broken irregularly, but a slight increase of the rate of tapering looks as if it had not been much longer in that direction. The ten arrow heads had evidently been stuck into the pot-stand vertically with their points downwards, and were all much corroded and some gone to pieces.

During the final examination of the earth taken out of the chamber, two small bars of iron were discovered, the larger is 2″·5 long, nearly 0″·5 wide and 0″·16 thick, and is bent. The other is 1″·2 long, 0″·4 wide, 0″·18 thick, and straight. Both these pieces are much rust-eaten for nearly half their length, but the thicker end is comparatively smooth, retaining its original shape.

3.—*The human remains.*

As soon as the pieces of the skeleton bones were brought in (to Bengalûr), I set to work to put the pieces of the skull together, and with some difficulty succeeded in setting up the major portion of the roof, but none of the base or facial parts were forthcoming. I then shewed it to several medical men from whom I gathered the little there is to say about it.

The outside of the bones is covered with a rough incrustation of indurated matter which is not removed by the application of water and a hard brush, but scales off before a knife.

The thickness of the skull is unusually great, being about 0″·7 where thickest. It is the skull of an adult or old person, the sutures having become completely closed and nearly obliterated, so that they can only be seen with difficulty. It gives the idea of being small, but long and narrow, and of a rather low type.

The missing portions of the skull were lost in

bringing in the first instalment. The dimensions are as follows:—

Measurement of the Skull.

External.	Extreme length	...7″·30
	Do. width	...5·35
	Least width	...4·1 (?)
	(Max.) circumference	20·3
Internal.	Maximum length	...6·63
	Do. width	...4·87
	Minimum do.	...3·5

Dividing the width by the length, the above measures give 0·733 external, and 0·735 internal, as the ratio of width to length, which brings it within the long-shaped class (*dolichocephalic*). The brow appears to be narrow, low and retreating; the orbital ridge (the right one alone remains) prominent. Six teeth of the right upper, and four of the left lower jaw remain, and though much ground down, are in good order, and of a good white colour.

One of the peculiarities of the skull is the existence of a fracture extending for some six inches in length from the base of the occipital bone on the left side obliquely upwards through its centre, and well into the right parietal bone.

Where this long crack crosses the suture, on the interior surface there appears to be a cross fracture following the line of the suture to the trijunction at the apex of the occipital bone, and a short distance down its other (left) side; at the point of cross fracture a decided spiculum of bone can be felt and seen slightly projecting inwards from the skull.

The fracture appears to have joined partially but firmly, although an open seam is left throughout the greater part, as if death had ensued at a sufficient interval of time after the fracture to admit of a partial junction, but not long enough for a completion of the healing process.

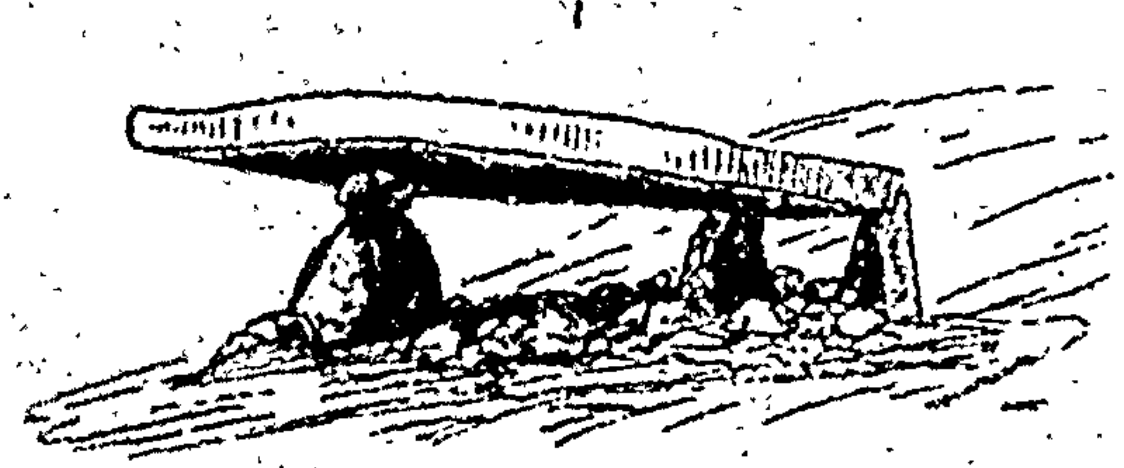
A few pieces of the bones of the head have not been set up for want of many missing parts; amongst those to hand are the petrous portions of the temporal bones of both sides, a fragment of the right upper jaw containing six teeth (the 5 molars and 1 canine), and a piece of the left lower jaw containing four teeth (the last incisor, 1 canine, and 2 molars), a loose canine of the right lower, and lastly a large molar, also of the right lower jaw, set alone in a fragment 0″·6 thick, and 1″·5 long.

The teeth are all much ground, even the canines, as if by an eater of hard grain, and are generally small, to correspond with the small size of the head. The bones of this subject were positively stated to have been taken out from a space extending over 5 ft. 6 inches from top to toe, but the small size of the skull and teeth contradicts the idea of a large body, as also I believe do the other fragments of bones, which seem to belong to a rather undersized individual.

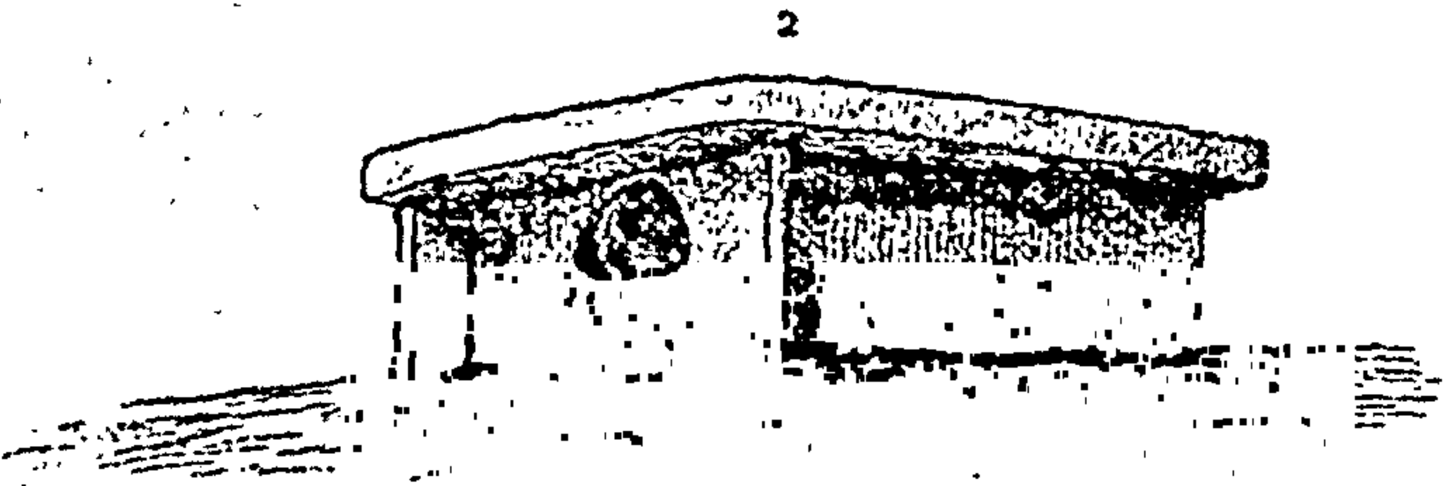
On the 2nd of August I again visited the Iṭṭige-bail *kistvaens* at Sâvandurga, with a view first to sift and closely examine all the earth taken out of the kist in my absence, and search for the missing pieces of bone requisite to complete the skull, and also to examine more closely the structure of the *kistvaen*, especially its floor. The earth had been cleared out down to the true floor along the north and west sides, but only down to the raised flag-stone or '*bed-stone*' on the south, east and centre. This bed-stone was fairly rectangular, 6 ft. long, 4 ft. wide, and comparatively thin, being only 2 or 3 inches thick. It rested apparently on a bed of hard earth, like that with which the rest of the chamber had been filled, but on clearing away the earth beneath its exposed sides, rough blocks of stone were found under the corners serving the purpose of legs, from 3 to 5 inches in height. Finding how thin the bed-stone was, it was lifted up by 5 or 6 men, and set upright along the south wall, whilst the earth that filled the space between it and the true floor of the chamber was examined.

The exact form of the underside of the bed-stone was found impressed on the surface, and gave the idea that the earth, which seemed not different from the rest, had been put down first, and the stone then laid upon it; but the surface was of rather finer mould, and the whole of it a good deal less compact and hard than that above it. This comparative softness however may have arisen from the wet having recently got in, there having been many heavy showers lately, since 5th July, when it was first opened. The great mass of the earth in the chamber from top to bottom was exceedingly dry and hard, as if it had not been moist for a very long while, and I cannot but attribute the partial moisture of the earth under the bed-stone to the recent rains, which had evidently stood in the bared portions of the floor, especially in the north-east corner under the opening.

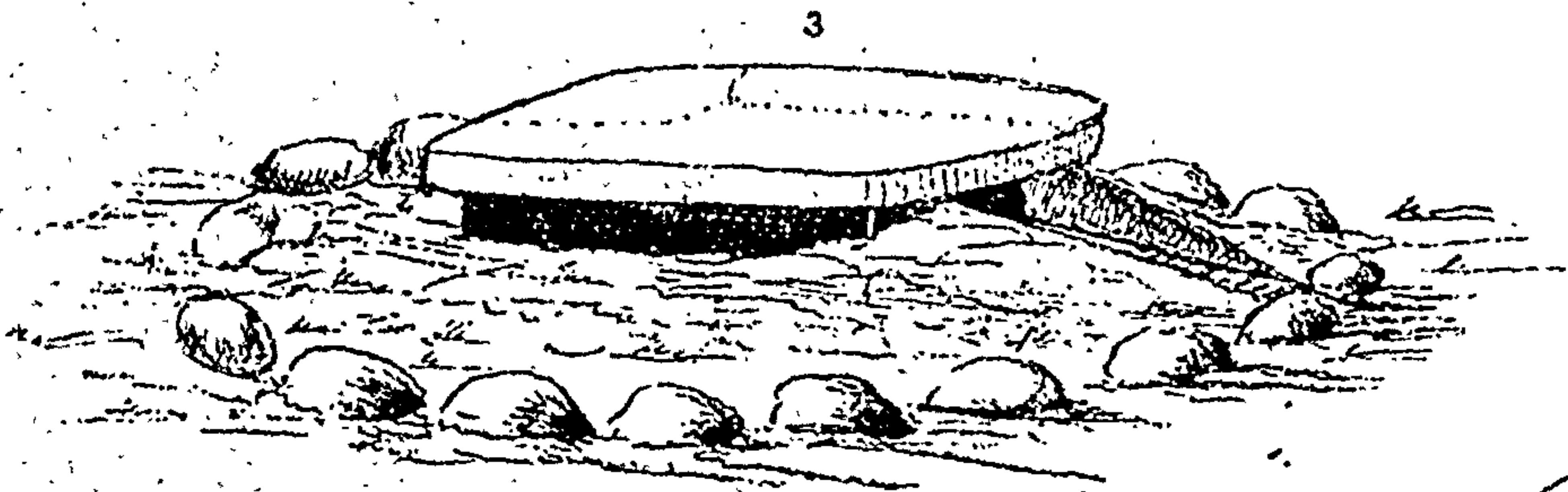
I. KISTVAENS AT SÂVANDURGA, MYSORE.



DOLMEN ON SLOPING BARE ROCK

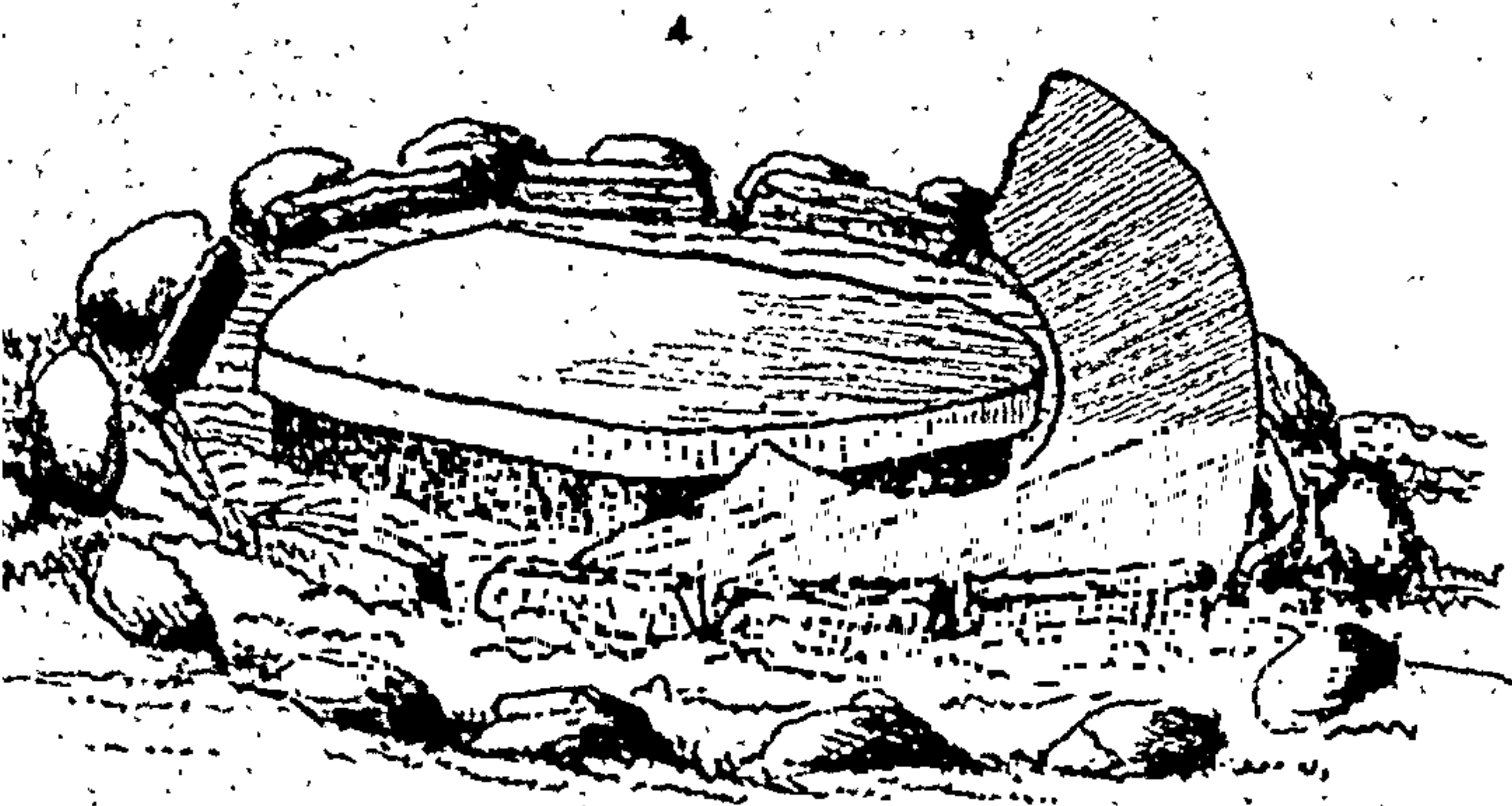


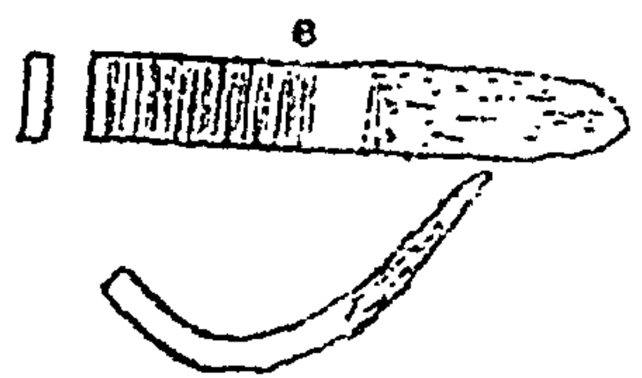
PANDUVAR-GUDI; ON TOP OF HILL OF BARE ROCK

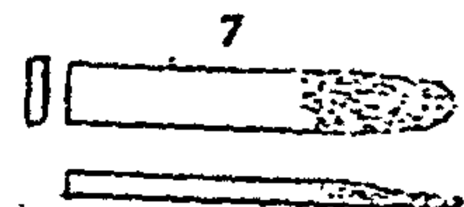


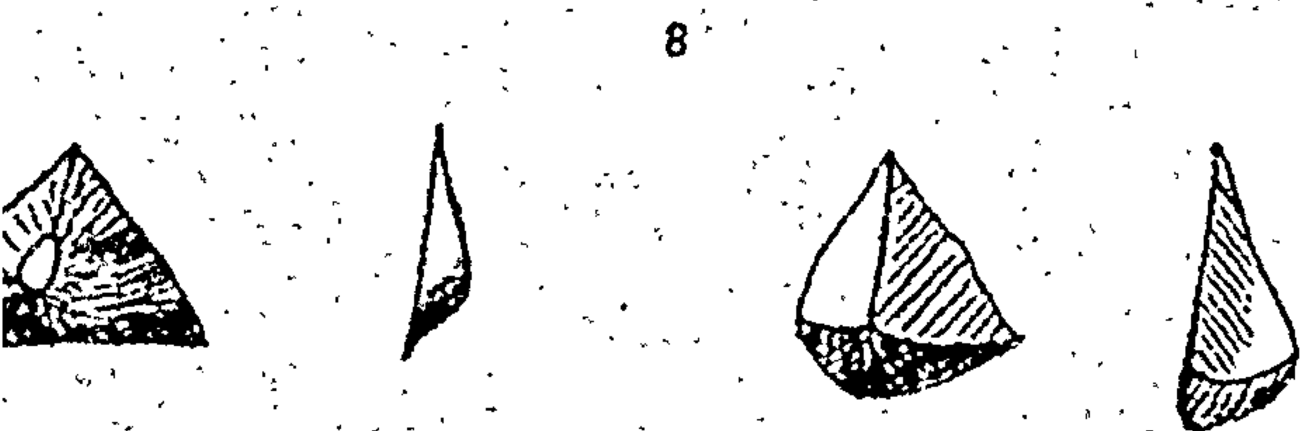
KISTVAEN AT ITTIGE-BAIL.















javelin or spear-head 13″·6 long, over all, of which 1″·5 was the tang, the blade being about 1″·1 wide at the base, and tapering gradually to the tip (Pl. IV, *Fig.* 5). At most it is only 0″·16 thick. Eastward of this lay a broken-pointed (? knife) blade 2″·5 long, 0″·9 wide, and 0″·12 thick. It has a slight bend at the break at each end, and is better preserved than the other iron blades. The pottery was all broken, and contained nothing distinguishable from common earth.

The dimensions of this kist (No. 3) were as follows:—Interior 8′-2″ long, 4′-9″ wide, and 5′-9″ high. The entrance hole was nearly circular, 1′-9″ in diameter, and more nearly in the centre of the east end wall than usual.

The four side stones were 6′ to 9′ long, 5′-9″ high, and from 2″ to 5″ thick.

No. 4 *Kistvaen.*

Whilst No. 3 was being excavated, a fourth kist close to it, also without any capstone, was excavated as being convenient. It was smaller, but otherwise like No. 3, with only a single circle of stones, 18 ft. in diameter. The recent rain had penetrated but slightly, and the earth being comparatively soft and friable, its examination was completed first. As in the cases of Nos. 2 and 3, nothing was found, except two or three small fragments of pottery, until near the bottom, when a great many jars and pots were found very closely packed, especially towards the west end and the two sides, but more or less spread all over the floor.

Four or five high narrow tripod jars were found, one of them standing up, the rest lying down. Some globular pots with rather pointed bottoms and large mouths occurred; and some flat bowls, one of which, a little east of the centre, was full of charred bones, besides which there were two other pots full of bones on the south side.

Two circular pot-stands were seen and numerous small hemisperical bowls interspersed amongst the rest of the pottery. Everything was already more or less broken or cracked, and could not be taken out whole. The jars, pots, bowls and vase-stands numbered thirty-two in all. Except the bones, nothing could be made out of the contents of the pottery, but that it consisted largely of common gritty soil; no iron implements were found here, nor was anything of any special interest noticed.

The dimensions of this kist (No. 4) were—7′-8″ long, 4′-6′ wide, and 5′-4″ high.

The entrance hole, 1′-9″ in diameter, was as usual high up in the slab forming the east end of the chamber, and within 9″ of the north side.

The two side slabs were 8′ and 9′ long, 5′-4″ high, and from 3″ to 6″ thick; the end slabs 5′-5″ and 5′-8″ long, 5′-4″ high, and 2″ to 5″ thick.

They all stood about a foot above the ground within the circle of stones, which was very little above the general ground level.

The "*bearing*" or direction of the length of this cell was a point or so to the south of east, whereas by far the most of those observed were rather north of east: but a few differed considerably.

The peculiarities of the *kistvaen* (No. 1) first opened at Sâvandurga, wherein it differs from those ordinarily found in this part of the country, are as follows:—

1. The earth with which it was filled contained fragments of all sorts of pottery, a copper coin or token, a few pieces of wrought iron, and some charred bones, possibly human, as well as of birds (apparently uncharred), all scattered up and down throughout the kist, except near the surface.

2. There is no cinerarium, but the remains of many of the bones of a human skeleton (besides the charred bones above mentioned) as if a body had been buried unburnt. The earth in which they were embedded was very hard and dry, and the bones were so brittle or decayed that few or none of them could be taken out whole.

3. The couch or bed-stone raised a little above the floor, on and beneath which lay a number of iron weapons and implements of the chase, amongst which was a knife or dagger with a copper fillet round the handle-guard.

4. The somewhat large size of the entrance hole (2′-7″ wide).

Arch-stone Kistvaens.

On this occasion I visited a small group of *kistvaens* amongst the rocks 10 minutes' walk or more to the north of Ittige-bail, having been attracted thither from the foot-path by catching sight of a conspicuous upright arched stone, standing in the inner edge of a double circle of stones in front of a fine half-buried kist, with a capstone 12′ long, 9′ wide, and 9″ thick (Plate I, *Fig.* 4). The arched stone is formed out of a very

even and flat thin slab of dark stone, and is well shaped by rough chipping or hammer-dressing, into a rounded arch form at top with a hole of the same rounded shape as most of the entrance holes to these *kistvaens*, that is, flatter than the true circle, below, and more pointed above, but without any great difference between the height and the width, which in the few instances I have met has been from 20″ to 30″. One or two other tombs in this group had broken arch-stones, but much smaller than that here described, which stands over 5′ high above the ground on the inside, and more still on the out, and must have been about 8′ wide when entire. The only other one I measured stood 3′ high above ground, and must have been about 6′-6″ wide, with a hole 24″ wide and high.*

General Remarks, Notes and Impressions, &c.

The huge capstones must have been put on after the chambers they cover had been filled with earth, for, in some cases, the kist is full but has no entrance hole at all, or the entrance is too low to admit of the chamber being filled through it.

Standing on a spur or plateau of rising ground with deep ravines around, they cannot have been subject to floods, and the rain could not have washed in so much soil through the crevices, from a mound of earth that may have been raised over them originally, without also leaving some portion of it spread around.

The "site" may be a cemetery, or place of interment, selected perhaps for its seclusion in the depths of the forest, and for the convenience of the locality for the requisite materials,—stone slabs of all sizes, boulders, and a suitable space of ground near to the quarry. The prominent rounded masses of solid bare rock, cropping up like islands above the general level of the soil, so common in Southern India, offer great facilities and frequent opportunities for the purpose.

The gneissic rock is laminated, and peels off, or is easily exfoliated in scales of any size, and may be transported on log rollers down the sloping spurs without difficulty. The rounded boulders are to be found in the adjacent ravines.

The form of the *kistvaen*, a cubical chamber surrounded by a circle of stones, is perhaps only a copy of the dwellings of the people who built them.

In many parts of India people still live in houses of a somewhat similar shape, composed of four upright walls of mud, covered by a flat mud roof; but the huts or cabins of the Toda folk of the Nilgiri Hills afford a closer parallel, allowance being made for the difference of material and the structural necessities of the case, for they are surrounded in a similar way by a circular wall or enclosure, and have an entrance hole at one end as small as these. The customs still in vogue amongst the (quasi-)aboriginal tribes, Toda, Kota, Gond, Kol, Khâsia, &c. would probably, if collated, go far to explain all about these *kistvaens*, and the rites that attended their use.

Occasionally a patriarch or headman may have died under circumstances that forbade the rite of cremation, when he might be buried in a monumental sepulchre built specially for the occasion, and in a manner that would leave all the appearances described above, as found in the case of the first *kistvaen* (No. 1) opened at Sâvandurga.

The raised couch or bed-stone, the number of iron implements and weapons found associated with the remains of a single unburnt skeleton, and possibly also the fractured skull point to an unusual case, and indicate that the person here buried had been a warrior, or a great hunter.

In the 2nd instance (*kist.* No. 2) the thin flakes of bone contained in the smaller bowl may be those of a wife who became *sati* upon the funeral pile of the person whose calcined remains were found in the larger.

The 3rd *kist* opened, that surrounded by a triple circle of stones with its two bowls of ashes (one large and one small), may indicate another case of cremation and *sati*. The long javelin head and single knife blade was a disappointingly small *find* in so fine a *kistvaen*.

The last *kist* excavated (No. 4) with its three (or more) cinerary urns full of ashes, and its 30 accompanying earthen vessels, and the entire absence of iron weapons, may indicate the sepulchural monument of several minor members of the tribe or family, who had died at the

* See Welsh's *Military Reminiscences* (Smith, and Co., 1830), vol. II, p. 55, where a cromlech or with arched entrance stone is figured and stone wall calls the rail round a Buddhist Tope

same time, or within a short period of one another, and whose ashes were all interred together.

The free-standing *kistvaens* on the adjacent rock may be the '*lich-gate*' to the cemetery, or the purgatorial abode for the departed, whilst awaiting their final disposal.

The people who left these monuments were no wild savages. They treated the ashes of their dead with a respect that must have bordered on worship, and lodged them with much care in most lasting tombs, furnished apparently with all the necessaries of life. They had clever iron workers and potters amongst them, and used copper, but sparingly. The good preservation of the iron weapons, especially of the points and edges, is remarkable, and may be partly due to the dryness of the situation and to the closeness of the earth in which they have been embedded. The neighbouring town of Mâgadi is well known for its iron, which abounds in the vicinity. The stone-masons' work has been done cleverly though roughly, and considerable skill must have been requisite, and many workmen, to take out, transport, knock into shape, and erect such masses as the cap-stones, arch-stones, side-walls, and flags of these *kistvaens* and *dolmens*.

The present inhabitants have no traditions beyond the name Pâṇḍuvar mane, or Pâṇḍuvar-guḍi, = 'dwelling, or temple, of the Pâṇḍu-folk,' a race of dwarfs that preceded their own forefathers as inhabitants of this country.

In the present day the Waddar folk (Voddaru) are the rude stone-masons of the country; and are said to have come originally from Telingana. But the Kotar of the Nilgiri hills would be more probably the descendants of the artizans of the cromlech period in Maisûr.

The cromlech and kistvaen building people must have lived amongst, or been able to assemble considerable numbers of able-bodied workmen; but the paucity of their cemeteries and tombs (or monuments) does not look like a large population all practising these same funeral rites.

If they were numerous, it can only have been their great men, princes or patriarchs, warriors and priests, who became as gods at their death, and whose remains and relics were honoured with these rude but lasting shrines. On the death of such, his body was perhaps brought to the cemetery, and placed under the great dolmen until the arrangements and preliminary ceremonies for its cremation were complete.

After the cremation, the ashes and the remnants of bones and relics may have been placed in an urn or bowl in one of the free-standing chambers, of which the cemetery contains several, until a fit and separate *kistvaen* was prepared for their final resting-place and interment.

The entrance-holes and shutter-stones of these would then serve their appropriate purpose repeatedly, and not be merely copies of the dwellings of the living, as above suggested.

More than one cremation at a time, or several at intervals, may have been thus temporarily disposed of, before the final sepulture took place.

From time to time the entrance-hole might also be used in making offerings of flowers, fruit, food, water or incense, &c. to the dead.

When the proper season came and the new tomb was ready, the final funeral ceremony would take place, and the vessels full of ashes and relics would be removed from their temporary to their final abode, in presence of the whole family or clan. This would be an occasion of feasting and possibly of sacrifice, which may account for the stray pieces of bones, charcoal, and fragments of pottery that are now to be found scattered through the upper portions of the earth with which the chamber (No. 1) was then filled.

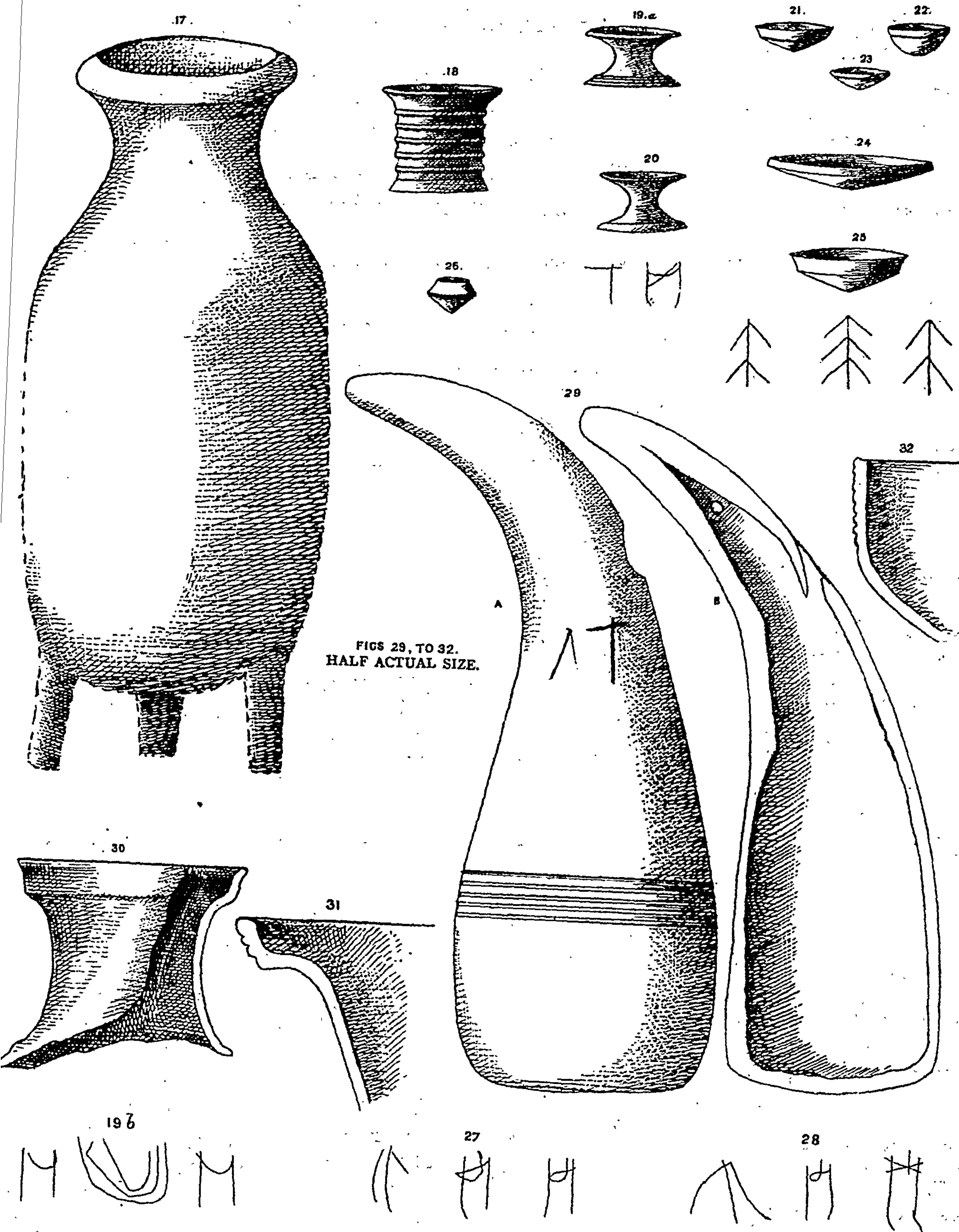
In three of the cases above described the charred bones, intimately mixed with earth, had been placed in open, flat, rimmed bowls, surrounded by numerous jars, pots and vessels of sorts, originally containing no doubt supplies or offerings of which scarcely a trace now remains.

In two cases of the four examined, implements of iron and weapons of the chase, or of war, were deposited also; the earth was then filled in together with the debris of the feast, heaped up[7] over the whole, and covered by the capstone, the entrance hole was closed by a shutterstone, and banked up in front, to be left for the honour of the departed, to remain for ages and excite the curiosity of races yet to come.

The railing round the Buddhist Topes has been referred to a common origin with that of

[7] Many of the side slabs or walls were bulged or forced outwards as if by the pressure of the capstone on the heaped-up earth, and the uppermost earth seemed most compressed and solid.

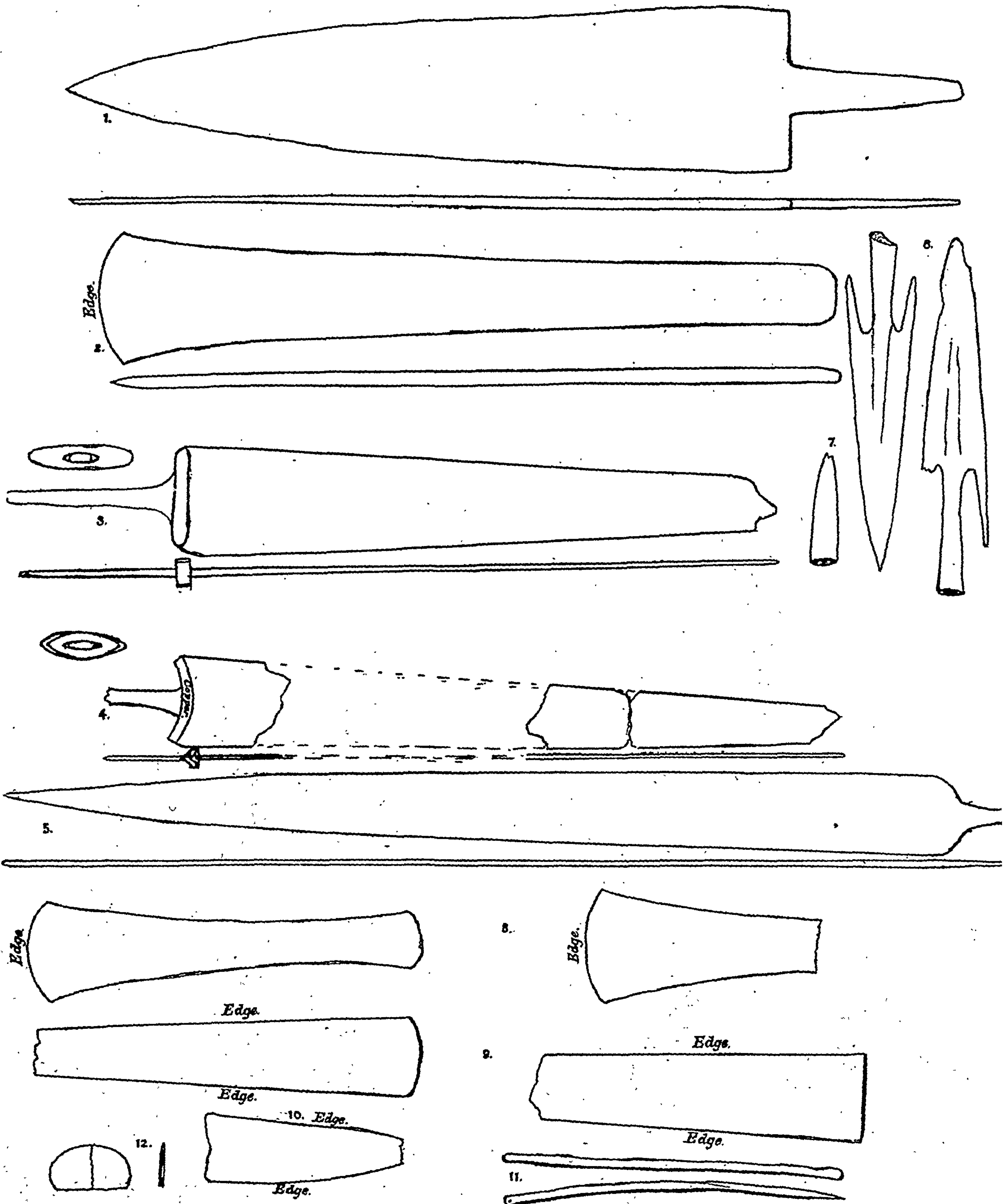
III - POTTERY FROM THE KISTVAENS AT SAVANDURGA.



FIGS 29, TO 32.
HALF ACTUAL SIZE.

IV-IRON WEAPONS FROM SÂVANDURGA KISTVAENS.

HALF ACTUAL SIZE.



W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH. LONDON. S. E.

these sepulchral chambers and their surrounding circle of stones; may not their arched-stone entrances correspond to the Buddhist Tope gateways, in a similar manner? And may not the mediæval and modern great gateway spires or entrance towers of the south Indian temples, called *Gôpuram*, be traced to the same origin as that of the stûpa gateway and the cromlech archstone, and possibly also that of our own church steeples?

The space within the outer circle of stones occasionally (but not often) recalls in like manner the procession path around the Buddhist stûpa, and more modern temple.

In east Maisûr *kistvaens* are found surrounded or enclosed by four great arch-shaped slabs 9 or 10 feet high, set up parallel to, and a little apart from, the four walls of the *kist*.

As mentioned above, certain marks were noticed on the first entire pot taken out (*Fig.* 9) and on one of the horn-shaped vessels. On washing the soil off the other vessels many of them were observed to have somewhat similar marks scratched on them, very rudely done, but all apparently with a like object (*Figs.* 12, 19, 20, 25, 27, 28).

Many of the small bowls are marked in three places on the bottom, whereas the marks on other pots now in the Bengalûr Museum taken from the J â l a *kistvaens* and from Kôdagu are only in two places on each vessel, nearly opposite to one another. The commonest mark on those appears to be ᛗ on one side, and Ⓤ on the opposite; a resemblance to which may be traced in one or two of these. The scratches are frequently faint, and indistinct, but can be made out in a suitable light, with the aid of a magnifying glass, on the polished surface quite well enough to trace the figure.

The *svastika* symbol appears rudely scratched twice on a small vase taken from a *kistvaen* in Kôdagu, now in the BengalûrMuseum, thus—卐

Pottery found in the Kistvaens at Sâvandurga.
(*See Plates.*)

Fig. 9. A smaller pot, but very similar to No. 13, found inside a bigger; size, 6″ high and 6″ in diam. at bulge; 3″·8 outside lip rim; 3″·0 outside neck; and 2″·64 inside. Thickness 0″·18. Neck is 1″·5 high; and it has five horizontal lines just above bulge and on neck for ornament, and some scratched marks, shown in the figure.

Fig. 11. A big earthen globular pot, light red; polished, entire; found on floor against west wall, full of earth. Has no plain artificial marks on it. Very modern looking, and devoid of ornament. Size 11″·8 high, 39″ in circumference at biggest, 12″·4 diam. The lip outside 6″, and inside neck 4″·8 diam. The neck and lip-rim stand 1″·5 high and 5″·2 in diam. outside. It is 0″·2 thick and weighs 5 lbs.

Fig. 12. A smaller pot with wide neck, polished, black, with some fine grooves or horizontal lines round the neck, which stands 1″ high, the entire height being 6″, diam. at biggest 7″·75, and of neck 4″·4 inside. On the shoulder of it are scratched the marks represented below the figure.

Fig. 13. A smaller pot of still ruder make, and red colour throughout, with little polish. Found like No. 9, inside another bigger pot; size 6″ high, of which 1″·8 is neck; 5″·8 in diam. at the bulge, 3″·6 at lip, 2″·66 at neck outside, and 2″·22 inside; and 0″·2 thick throughout.

Fig. 14. A very small rude vase, with a rough surface, of light red colour. It was found full of grit and earth, inside another. It is only 3″·15 high, 2″·75 in diam. at bulge, 1″·7 at lip, and 1″·2 at neck, and from 0″·2 to 0″·25 thick.

Fig. 15. Several high tripod jars were found, both standing up and (more commonly) lying down, all more or less broken. They were mostly red throughout and had been polished. The only ornament noticed was some horizontal lines. One stood 18″ high and was 6″·75 in diam., the legs being 4″ long.

Fig. 16. The handle and part of a pipkin of red pottery. The handle has a slight spiral groove along it to give a firmer hold, and prevent it slipping from the hand. Its shape would be globular, and quite plain without lip or rim. In size it would be a sphere about 6″ in diam.; with the top cut off for a mouth 3″ in diam.

Fig. 17. Pieces of a large coarse crock or jar, in very coarse pottery. Dull greyish light red colour. Diameter outside lip 15″, inside neck 11″. From the scattered state of the pieces found in the earth throughout the middle of the chamber, this must have been used and broken outside before the earth was filled in. It is nearly 0″·5 thick.

Figs. 18, 19, 20. Three circular vase-holders or potstands were found, open at both ends, top and bottom, and evidently designed to place the pots and vases on, they having generally too pointed a base to rest on unless supported by some such contrivance, or on sand. They vary in height from 3″·4 to 5″·2, and in diam. from 6″·6 the outside maximum, to 2″·9 interior minimum diam. at the waist. They are somewhat ornamental, two of them are contracted in mid-height,

bell or trumpet fashion. The first is more cylindrical, but corrugated by horizontal grooves and bands. The third has scratched upon it two marks represented below the figure; those on *Fig.* 19*a* are shown at *Fig.* 19*b*.

Figs. 21, 22, 23. Many little bowls or cups were found interspersed amongst the larger vessels. They are mostly of fine thin well-baked pottery of a black colour, and well polished throughout. They have little if any ornament or marks on them, and vary slightly in shape; most of them have a more or less pointed bottom, but a few are spheroidal. In size they run from 3''·5 to 4''·5 in diam. and 1''·5 to 2''·5 deep. On the bottom of No. 22 are scratched the marks shown in *Fig.* 28; and on another those in *Fig.* 27.

Fig. 24. Wide shallow bowls or dishes were found containing the charred bones, generally 8'' to 9'' in diam. and 2''·5 to 3''·0 deep, with a rim varying from 0''·5 to 1''·0 in height. They are of fine black polished pottery, and have the favourite pointed bottom.

Fig. 25. An intermediate form and size of bowl between the small cups and the larger flat bowls, which also contained bones. It has a deeper side, and is much like *Fig.* 21. It is polished black above and inside, but red polished below outside. Three marks scratched on the bottom of it are represented below the figure. In size it is 7'' in diam. and 2''·7 deep.

Fig. 26. A diminutive cup or vessel was also found which looks as if it had been designed for the cap or stopper of a goblet; in size 2''·3 in diam. and 1''·4 high. Its colour is a dirty grey, almost as if unbaked.

Fig. 29. Two horn-shaped vessels of rude pottery found lying on the floor of one of the *kistvaens* and described above.

Fig. 30. A piece of the top, neck and lip of an earthenware water-bottle or vase. It is thin, and well formed on the potter's wheel, of a good reddish colour, and polished outside. In size it is 3''·15 in diam. at lip, and 2'' at the neck, which is 2'' high: the thickness is 0''·12.

Fig. 31. Part of a large pan or basin with a hollow horizontal rim, and a vertical edge, somewhat ornamental. It must have been from 8''·5 to 8''·9 in diam. (uncommon).

List of iron weapons from Sâvandurga kistvaens.

Plate IV.

Fig. 1. Spear head or javelin blade; flat and thin; blade 9''·25 long, 2''·15 wide, 0''·1 thick, tang 2''·25 long. Weight 4¾ oz.

Fig. 2. Chisel (?) 9''·5 long, 1''·62 wide, 0''·25 thick. Weight 7 oz. This is a good serviceable hand-chopper not in use or known by the country artizans now.

Fig. 3. Dagger knife with guard. The blade is thin and rusted to pieces; 8'' or 9'' long, 1''·4 wide and 0''·1 thick. Tang 2''·2.

Fig. 4. Thin dagger-knife with copper fillet. The blade when complete would be 8'' or 9'' long, 1''·2 wide and 0''·07 thick.

Fig. 5. Long flat tapering arrow blade or javelin point, 12'' long (besides 1''·6 of tang), 1''·1 wide and 0''·16 thick. Weight 2⅓ oz.

Fig. 6. Double barbed arrow points, lancet-shaped, with hollow shaft socket. From 3'' to 6'' long, 0''·8 wide and 0''·15 thick. Weight about ½ oz. each. Tubes well made and points fine.

Fig. 7. Modern shaped (English) arrow tip, 1''·4 long and 0''·4 thick. Shaft socket well made. Weight about ¼ oz.

Fig. 8. Thin flat chisels or cutters, 5'' or more long, chopping edge 1''·2 and 1''·5 wide, and 0''·06 to 0''·10 thick.

Fig. 9. Double-edged thin flat blades, under 1''·2 wide and 0''·1 thick.

Fig. 10. Part of tapering two-edged blade, 0''·12 thick.

Fig. 11. Awl or needle, 4''·3 long and 0''·15 thick.

Fig. 12. Part of edged oval cutter or scraper.

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(*Continued from vol. IX, p. 278.*)

V.

The position of Temujin at the period we have reached is not easy to understand. He was the eldest son of Yessugei, the Khakan of the Mongol race. He was married to the daughter of the chief of the Kongurut, the most illustrious tribe of the Turks, and, as we shall shew presently, was on friendly terms with Tughrul, the chief of the Kirais who dominated over the Mongolian steppes, and yet he seems reduced to the condition of a mere shepherd having few followers and hardly any authority, and was virtually a fugitive from the great bulk of his people who obeyed the Taijut chief Terkutai Kiriltuk. Terkutai Kiriltuk and the Taijuts encamped, as we have seen, on the

Onon. Temujin meanwhile had wandered to the upper valleys of the Kerulon, and lived with his family on the river Sangur.[1]

It was while living there that Chinghiz set off down the Kerulon to fetch his wife home. We afterwards read that he removed farther up into the higher land of the Kerulon, and settled at the foot of the Birgâ,[2] where he lived with his wife Burté.

When she returned with him, she took with her a *kaftan* or robe made of black sable, as a present for her mother-in-law. Temujin, who doubtless thought it might be made more useful in another way, recalled the fact that his father had been on good terms with Tughrul Khân, the chief of the Kirais, who was therefore like a father to himself, and he determined to present the *kaftan* to him. He therefore rode off with his brothers to the river Tula, where Tughrul lived, and told him he had brought him a present which his wife had intended for her mother-in-law. Tughrul was much pleased, and said "I will bring your people together again, and reunite the scattered once more to you, and will treasure this in my heart."[3]

We must now consider shortly who the Kirais and their chief Tughrul were. Until recently it has been almost universally considered that they were Mongols. In the first volume of my *History of the Mongols*[4] I argued that they were Turks, and belonged to the famous section of the Turks called Uighurs. In this view I have been strengthened by further study. The name Kirai[5] is still borne by a well-known stock of Eastern Turks who live in South-Eastern Sungaria, and who are very probably descended from the Kirais we are now describing. This tribe forms the principal section of the Burut or Kirghises proper. Two other tribes belonging respectively to the Middle and the Little Hordes of the Kazaks, are still known as Kirai and Kirait, and it is not improbable that the Ghirais who ruled in the Krim derived their name from the same source. These are all Turkish tribes.

In contrast with these facts is the ominous one that no modern Mongol tribe bears such a name as Kirai. No ancient author known to me calls the Kirais Mongols. Rashid classes them among the people who afterwards adopted the name of Mongol, while the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* and the Chinese writers nowhere make them Mongols. Khuandemir calls them Turks, and Abu'lfaraj, the Syrian historian, speaks of the Krit as a race of the Southern Turks in the East ("Gens quædam Turcorum mediterranaorum in Oriente"—are the words in the translation of Bruns and Kirsch), and in another place speaks of their king as ruling over a tribe of barbarian Huns called Cherith.[6]

The Uighurs as we know were largely Christians, thus Carpini tells us they were Christians of the sect of the Nestorians.[7] Rubruquis says that in all their cities there was a mixture of Nestorians and Saracens.[8] The adjoining province of Tangut was the seat of one of the metropolitan sees of the Nestorians.[9]

I have collected several references showing the prevalence of Christianity in Tangut and its neighbourhood in the times of Marco Polo in my volume already quoted.[10] All this exactly conforms with what we know of the religion of the Kirais. Gregorius Bar Hebraeus, surnamed Abu'lfaraj, was a Jacobite Christian of the town of Malatiya in Cappadocia. He was born in 1222 and died in 1286. He tells us that in the year 398 of the Hejira, *i.e.* in 1007 A.D., a tribe called Krit, was converted to Christianity, and their king was baptised. He gives a number of details which I have quoted elsewhere.[11] Rubruquis says[12] the people of Krit and Merkit[13] were Nestorian Christians. Rashid-u'd-din expressly says of the Kerais, whom he calls Kerait: "They have their own Padishâhs, and belong to the Christian religion."[14] Again in another place he says of them:—"The fame

[1] There can be little doubt that this was the Sengher mentioned in the Chinese Geographical work translated by Hyacinthe, where we read the Kerulon rises on the south side of the chain of Kentei, it receives five small rivers, runs 200 li farther north, and turns towards the south-east; passes for a hundred li through a cleft of the Bain-ola, and receives the Sangher. Timkofski, vol. II, p. 234.

[2] This mountain is also mentioned in the Chinese Geography just named, where we read—The Birga daba (daba means a mountain the summit of which may be crossed—Id. p. 227) to the south-east of the source of the Kerulon is a branch of the Kentei mountains: from its left side issues the Birga-gol which empties itself into the Onon.—Id. p. 232.

[3] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, ed. Pall. pp. 45 and 49.

[4] See page 696.

[5] The final *t* or *d* in this and other tribal names, as usually spelt, is merely the Mongol plural.

[6] Abu'lfaraj, *Chron. Syriacum*, ed. cit. pp. 219 and 447-8.

[7] D'Avezac, p. 650.

[8] *i. e.* Musalmans, id. pp. 292 and 288.

[9] Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, p. 179.

[10] *Hist. Mong.* vol. I, pp. 542 and 543.

[11] *Op. cit.* p. 543.

[12] D'Avezac, p. 261.

[13] *i. e.* the Kerais and Merkis.

[14] Erdmann, *Vollständige Uebersicht*, etc. p. 180.

of the Lord Jesus came to them, and they adopted his faith.[15] Von Hammer, in describing Dokuz Khatun the wife of Khulagu Khân, who was a grand-daughter of Tughrul, the chief of the Kirais, says, "As the Kerait had for a long time been Christians, Dokuz Khatun was much attached to the Christians, who during her life-time were in a flourishing condition * * * At the gate of the Ordu of Dokuz Khatun was a chapel where bells were constantly rung.[16] Again, in speaking of Siurkukteni the mother of Khulagu, who was a niece of Tughrul's, he says, "Although she was a Christian yet she favoured the Moslem Imâms," etc.[17]

The phrase Southern Turks in the East, applied to the Krit or Kerait by Abu'l-faraj, can mean assuredly nothing else than that they were Uïghurs.

Again, the old Uïghur country was Karakorum and its neighbourhood. It was there the Uïghurs were attacked and broken to pieces by the Hakas in the 9th century. When this happened a large portion of the race went southward and settled on the Chinese frontier. Further, we are expressly told by Visdelou that they attacked the town of Tiente,[18] where they were defeated by a Chinese General, and that one section of them submitted to the Emperor. The other section with the Khân asked permission to settle at Chin-vu, which being refused, it attacked the Chinese borders in the following year, committed great ravages, and eventually occupied the country between Tiente and Chin-vu. A third section encamped south of Ta-tung-fu in the mountains Liu-men-shan. Several of the Uïghur grandees submitted to the Emperor, and were rewarded with titles, and many of their followers seem to have become Chinese subjects. The Chinese fought several engagements with their main body, which are detailed by Visdelou.[19] At this time other hordes of them overran several provinces of Tangut, and settled there, especially in the districts of Sha-chau and Kua-chau and as far south as the river Chaidam.[20] It would seem in fact that the whole of the northern frontier of the present Chinese empire south of the Desert, from Sha-chau to the borders of the province of Pehchehli, was occupied by the Uïghurs, and among the places specially mentioned as so occupied are Tiente and Ta-tung. So extensive was this occupation that it will be remembered in the famous polemic that took place between Schmidt and Klaproth about the nationality of the Uïghurs, the former relied almost entirely for his case on a passage in a Mongol work on the origin of writing, in which it is stated that at one time the people of Tangut were called Uïghurs.

The evidence therefore points conclusively to the Kirais having been a section of the Uïghurs.[21]

Tughrul under his title of Wang Khân was, as we have shewn in the first volume of the *History of the Mongols*,[22] the Prester John of mediæval romance, and Prester John's country is called Tenduc by Marco Polo, whose description enables us to fix it with tolerable accuracy. He tells us that on leaving Calachan[23] he proceeded eastward, and entered the land of Prester John, which he calls Tenduc, whose capital was also named Tenduc. He tells us it had been the capital of Prester John, and that his heirs still ruled there.[24] After leaving this province he proceeded eastwards for three days, and then arrived at Chaghan Nur.[25] Colonel Yule identifies the place thus described with "the extensive and well cultivated plain which stretches from the Yellow River past the city of Koko Khotan which still abounds in the remains of cities attributed to the Mongol era," and he goes on to suggest that the city of Koko Khotan[26] is on the site of Prester John's capital.[27] Pauthier identifies Tenduc with Ta-tung, the name of a city and *fu* in Northern Shan-si, south of the wall and not very far from Koko Khotan. We may take it therefore that the country of Prester John as understood by Marco Polo included the district now held by the Tumed of Koko Khotan and its neighbourhood. Rashidu'd-dîn in describing the country of the Kirais tells us that they lived on the borders of Khitai[28] as well as in outer

[15] Von Hammer, *Ilkhans*, vol. I, p. 11, note 1.
[16] Quatremère's Rashidu'd-dîn, pp. 94 and 95.
[17] Pauthier, *Marco Polo*, tom. I, p. 214 note.
[18] Tenduc.
[19] *Op. cit.* pp. 153-5.
[20] Klaproth, *Beleuchtung*, etc. p. 61.
[21] In regard to the name Kirai, Rashidu'd-dîn derives it *more suo* from the fact that once they were ruled by a chief who had eight sons, all of whom were dark complexioned, whence their name from *Kara*, black,—Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 231.
[22] Pp. 533—545.
[23] *i.e.* Alashan, a little west of the Yellow river, Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 273.
[24] Id. vol. I, pp. 275-6.
[25] Id. p. 286.
[26] Called Tsingchau in mediæval times.
[27] Id. p. 277.
[28] *i.e.* China.

Mongolia in the country of Onon and Keluron.[29] The latter part of the sentence is a mere general expression, and we may limit it very considerably by turning to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, where we are told that Tughrul lived on the river Tula and in the Black Forest.[30]

This black forest is called Karaun Kipchak by Rashidu'd-dîn. Tughrul's camp on the Tula was probably at or near the modern town of Urga. This northern settlement of the Kirais was apparently their summer quarters only, and their principal country when Tughrul's father and grandfather lived was Tenduc.

I ought to add that both Abu'l-faraj and Rubruquis tell us that he became a pervert from Christianity. The former says that on marrying a wife belonging to the nation Karakhitai, the Cherit King John, whom he a few sentences before calls Unach Khân, forsook the religion of his fathers, and served strange gods.[31] The latter says he had abandoned Christianity and taken to idolatry, keeping about him those priests of the idols who are addicted to sorcery and the invocation of demons.[32]

Such was the chief and such his people to whom the young Temujin paid court in his earlier days, and who then were probably the most powerful neighbours of the Mongols. It would seem from a passage in Abu'l-ghazi that Tughrul's wife was the sister of Burtê Fujin,[33] which was thus another tie binding the Kirai and Mongol chiefs together. We must now go on with our story.

The *Yuan-cha'o-pi-shi* tells us that on Temujin's return home from visiting Tughrul there went to him an old man called Charchiutai from the mountain Burkhan leading his son Chelmi by the hand, and taking with him some furs as a present. He said to Temujin: "when you were born at Deliun Boldakha I made you a present of a baby's coat lined with sable, and presented you with my son, but as he was still very young, I took him home, and trained him. Now I have brought him, let him look after your horse and open your door."[34]

Rashidu'd-dîn calls the boy Jelmeh and says he belonged to the tribe Uriangkut, and that he was surnamed Uheh, *i.e.*, robber, highway man. He says he was one of Temujin's principal amirs, and commanded the vanguard.[35] I have previously referred to the Uriangkut. Rashidu'd-dîn says further of them, that they claimed to have had a part in the metal-forging at Irgene Kun, a tradition, as I have said, pointing to their being a Turkish stock. When it thundered they addressed shouts and jeers to the noise, thinking they could thus make it cease. The other Mongols on the contrary were afraid of thunder, and kept inside their *yurts*. If the lightening killed a four-footed animal among them, they would not eat it, and took care not to touch it. They deemed that the lightning proceeds from a dragon which, flying towards the earth, gets its tail entangled, and in its rage spits out fire. They believed that if *kumis*, sweet or sour milk, and especially wine, was spilt on the ground, the lightning would strike their four-footed animals, particularly their horses. This also happened when any one put one of his boots out in the sun to dry. Hence when drying their boots they covered the top of their tent, or dried them inside.[36] These strange superstitions like many others that prevail on the steppe, are the heritage of the Shamans, and are the subjects of much minute regulation.

Let us again return to Temujin:—It will be remembered that when Yessugei married Khoilun, he virtually committed a rape, for he carried her off from the Merki Yeke Jilatu, who had in turn carried her off from the Olkhonut. The Merkit now had their revenge.

One morning an old woman named Khoakhchin, who was in the service of Khoilun, and who was apparently a concubine of Yessugei and the mother of Belgutei, aroused her saying, "Get up quickly, it would seem as if the earth were quaking. It is probably the Taijut who are again upon us." She also roused Temujin and his brothers. They all rose suddenly, as did Boghorchi and Chelmi, who were with them, and mounted their horses, while Khoilun took her daughter Tumalun in her arms.

Temujin showed little gallantry, for he at once rode off with his brothers for the mountain Burkhan, *i. e.*, for the Kentei, and left his

[29] Erdmann, *Temudschin*, etc. pp. 230-1.
[30] *Op. cit.* 49. Black forests still line the banks of the Tula, and south of it is a large wooded district known as the Djao-modo or Dzao-modo.
[31] *Chron. Syr.* pp. 448 and 449.
[32] D'Avezac, p. 261.
[33] *Op. cit.*, ed. Desm. p. 178.
[34] *Op. cit.* p. 49.
[35] Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 196.
[36] Id. pp. 195 and 196.

wife Burtê to her resources. We are told the old woman Khoakhchin put her into a black *kibitka*[37] and putting a brindled cow in the shafts drove it along the river Tunggeli. They met a party of horsemen, whom the old woman tried to put off the scent, and pretended she knew nothing of Temujin's whereabouts, as she had been away shearing sheep. They rode off, but presently the axle of the *kibitka* broke. The horsemen again came up. They seized the old woman, and inquired who was inside the cart. She replied that it was loaded with wool, but they quickly dismounted and searched it, and on finding Burtê, put her and the old woman on two horses, and rode off with them. They then set off in search of Temujin himself, following his horse's tracks. They rode three times round the mountain Burkhan, but could not penetrate into its recesses on account of the woods and bogs on its flanks.[38]

The horsemen were in reality Merki's, led by Tokhtoa from the tribe Uduut, Dair Usun from the tribe Yuvas, and Kha-a-tai Darmala from the tribe Khaat, and had gone, we are told, expressly to revenge themselves for the rape of Khoilun.

Meanwhile Temujin hid away in the mountain, and sent Belgutei, Boghorchi and Chelmi to explore, and when they reported all safe he came out from his retreat. He declared that the mountain Burkhan had saved his life, and promised that in future he and his descendants would sacrifice to it, then turning to the sun, putting his scarf about his neck, and holding his cap on his hand, he struck his breast nine times, and nine times bowed his knee, and poured out an offering of *kumis*. After this Temujin with Khazar and Belgutei went off to the black forest on the river Tula to see Wang Khân and to ask his assistance. The latter promised that he would destroy the Merkis and restore his wife. He told him to go and inform Chamukha, and promised to supply two *tumans*, *i. e.* 20,000 to form the right wing of the army, while Chamukha would furnish another two *tumans* for the left wing. The latter according to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* was the chief of the tribe Jajirat or Juriat, and was reported to have been descended from Budantsar by a concubine who was pregnant when he married her. She belonged, we are told, to the tribe Jarjiun Adankhan Uriankhajin. Her son was named Jajiratai, who had a son named Tugu-udai, who had a son Buri Bulchiru, he a son Kara Kadan, and he a son Chamukha. Rashidu'd-dîn on the other hand makes the Juriat descend from Durbayan, the 7th son of Tumeneh Khân.[39] Chamukha afterwards became one of Temujin's most bitter enemies. We are told in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* that he lived at Khorkhon Akhubur, which was probably somewhere in the valley of the Onon. The first name, I believe, is preserved in that of one of the tributaries of the Onon figured in the map in Pallas's atlas, and there called Kirkoun.

On his return home Temujin sent Khazar and Belgutei to Chamukha to tell him what had taken place and also to take him Tughrul's message. He said he had heard of the event, and consented to go, saying they would cross the river Kil-ho on a bridge made out of a plant called the pig's bristle, which they would plait together, and thus approach the quarters of Tokhtu, fall upon his *yurt* through the upper opening and defeat his people. "Tell Tughrul and Temujin that I have already equipped my army, let the former pass along the front of the mountain Burkhan, and meet me in the place called Botokhan Boorchi (doubtless somewhere on the upper Onon). I have here some people belonging to Temujin. From them I will collect a tuman of warriors, and will also take a tuman of my own, and with these two *we will go up the river Onon* to the place Botokhan Boorchi, where we will unite."

After this he began to move. Belgutei and Khazar now returned and reported the result of their mission to Temujin and the chief of the Kirais. The latter thereupon ordered two tumans of his people to unite and to march over the shoulder of the mountain Burkhan Khalduna towards the river Kerulon, and Temujin's old camping ground at Birga. The latter with his warriors mounted the Tunggelik to the mountain Burkhan, and to where the small river Tana (?) flows. He joined Tughrul and Tughrul's brother Jakhaganbo on the banks of the Kimurka[40] in the place Ailkharakhona (?).

[37] *i.e.* a cart with a tent fastened upon it like the Nogais still use.

[38] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, pp. 49-51.

[39] Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 224.

[40] The Kimurka or Tsimurka, according to a note by Palladius, is a tributary of the Onon. I cannot find it however on my maps.

The three set out together for the appointed trysting place Botokhan Boorchi at the source of the Onon. When they arrived Chamukha had already been there three days, and he said angrily: "When we agree to a time of meeting, then whether it be wind or rain, one ought to keep one's appointment. With us Tartars, a promise is as good as an oath. If you don't mean to fulfil it, there is no need to ask for assistance." Tughrul confessed that he was late, and told Chamukha to reproach him as much as he pleased. The united force of 40,000 men now set out, as Palladius quaintly says, to rescue the Mongol Helen. They speedily reached the banks of the Kil-ho.[41]

Having crossed this river by a bridge made as already mentioned, they arrived at the place Buura, where they seized the wives and people of Tokhtoa. He would also have been taken, but was warned in time by some fishermen, who had observed the crossing of the Kil-ho. With Dair Ussun and a few followers he fled down the river Selanie, (*i.e.* the Selinga) to Barguchin. As he pursued the fugitives down the Selinga, Temujin shouted out the name of his wife Burtê. She happened to be there, and noting his voice dismounted from the *kibitka*, and with the old woman Khoakhchin ran up to his horse and seized its bridle. The moon was then shining, and they recognised each other. The same night he went to tell his friends what had happened. The pursuit was stopped for a while, and they encamped there. The fugitive Merkis also stopped.[42]

It seems that Jiladu, from whom Yesugei had forcibly carried off his wife Khoilun, was a brother of Tokhtoa. A third and younger brother was Chilger, to whom when the Merkis carried off Burtê they had married her. He now reproached himself for this misfortune which had overtaken his people. "I," he said, "am like the black raven who is fated to feed on mere shreds of leather. A desire comes over me to taste the wild goose and the *dracva*.[43] Having offended against Burtê I have brought this misfortune on my people. It will return on my head. To save my life I must hide in some dark and secret place." Whereupon he fled.[44]

The Mongols captured Khaatai Darmala and put the cangue upon him, and then returned to the mountain Burkhan. Meanwhile Belgutei searched for his mother, *i.e.* for Khoakhchin. He entered the *yurt* she had been living in by one door as she fled out of another. "I have heard," she said, "that my children have been made princes, and I am here and have been given to a vile man, how am I to look them in the face?" Whereupon she hid herself in a thicket. Belgutei who was beside himself went about shouting—Restore me my mother. The Merkis who had taken part in the raid, 300 in number, were all put to death. Of their widows those who were worthy were remarried, while the rest were made slaves of. The three allies now returned home by way of Talkhini Aral between the Orkhon and the Selinga. Temujin and Chamukha went back to the latter's quarters at Khorkhon-okhchibir, but Tughrul going behind the mountain Burkhan passed the three places Khokor-tu-chirbi, Khajurartu[45] Sibjit and Khuli-ya-tu Sibjit.[46]

He occupied himself on the way with a great hunt, and eventually reached his camp again on the Tula. We are told that in their retreat the Uduut Merkit abandoned a five year old boy named Kichu, who was left behind in their camp. He was very handsome, and had beautiful sparkling eyes, and was clothed in the white fur of the river sable.[47] On his head was a sable cap and on his feet boots made from reindeer skin. The warriors presented him to Temujin's mother Khoilun.[48]

Of this long story Rashidu'd-dîn has preserved only a very short and distorted account. He says the Merkis captured Temujin when he was very young, and afterwards often plundered his camp, and once carried off Burtê Fujin, and took her to Wang Khân, who on her husband's request restored her to him.[49] It was when returning home again after this adven-

[41] This river is so called in the map attached to De Mailla's *History of China*. It is otherwise known as the Khilok and Chilok. It falls into the Selinga just below the town of Selenginsk. Pallas describes it as a considerable river. The fords were not passable when he was there, and he had to make a detour to get on his journey.—*Voyages*, tome IV, pp. 366 and 367.

[42] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, pp. 54 and 55.

[43] A bird esteemed by the Mongols, but which the common people are not allowed to eat.

[44] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, pp. 55 and 56.

[45] Probably Ordu.

[46] I cannot find these places, unless the first is Ourmkouktui, marked in Timkofski's map as a station between Urga and the Selinga.

[47] ? The ermine.

[48] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, p. 57.

[49] Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 185.

ture that Khoilun gave birth to a boy, who was named J u c h i, or the unexpected. He was the eldest son of Chinghiz Khân, and the circumstances attending his birth seem to have thrown some suspicions on his legitimacy, which somewhat affected his later fortunes.[50] We are told the young child was surrounded with dough, and was thus carried along safely in the cloak of a Mongol officer. As J u c h i died in 1224 at the age of 48, it follows that he was born in 1176, which was therefore the date of these adventures. Let us now consider the M e r k i t or M e r g e d as the name is written by Schmidt. The word is the plural of *mergen*,[51] whose primary meaning is skilful, dexterous, and a skilful archer or shooter is pre-eminently styled *Mergen*. It is a name therefore which is merely descriptive, and answers to the Manchu *Solon*.[52] The M e r k i t are in fact confused with the S o l o n s, and are called Solongos Merged by Ssanang Setzen, a name of his own which led to a fruitless polemic between Schmidt and Klaproth.[53] The Merkit with whom Temujin came in contact lived on the lower Selinga. They were also according to Rashidu'd-dîn called U d u y u t or Udayut Merkit, a name they derived according to Klaproth from the river Uda,[54] a well-known eastern tributary of the Selinga, which was probably therefore the chief camping ground of the race. Rashid also says they were divided into four tribes. The name of the first of these reads Uighur in the MSS. followed by Von Hammer and Erdmann.[55] Klaproth says that in one passage where Rashid speaks of the wives of Ogotai Khân he calls this tribe U h a t.[56] D'Ohsson reads it O h u z, which is doubtless right, for in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* we find one of the tribes of Merki called Y u v a s. The second tribe Rashid calls M u d a n, the third T u d a k a l i n, and the fourth J i y u n.[57]

The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* names three only of their tribes, which it calls respectively U d u u t, Y u v a s and K h a a t.

The domicile of the M e r k i t s is not difficult to fix, all the evidence points to their having occupied the country watered by the Eastern feeders of the Selinga. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* says that T o k t o a, the ruler of the U d u u t, had his camp at Buurakeher, *i. e.* the plain of Buura. This is apparently the district watered by the little muddy river Bura, which falls into the Selinga south of the Chikoi. D a i r U s u n, the chief of the Yuvas, lived between the Orkhon and the Selinga in the place called Talkhini Aral. Aral means island, and the description doubtless applies to "the Entre-Rios," limited on the east and west by the Orkhon and Selinga respectively. Kha-a-tai Darmala lived in Kharachi-keher, *i.e.* the plain of Kharachi. Rashid tells us that in 1197 Chinghiz Khân marched against the Uduyut Merkit, and defeated them near the river Monja in the district of Karas Muran before the K e l u r a n[58] and in the neighbourhood of the Selinga.[59] The *Yuan-chi* calls this river the Manacha-ula.[60] The Karas Muran of this notice is probably the district watered by the Kara-gol which falls into the Orkhon, while the Monja is to be recognized in the Manzia, a well-known tributary of the Chikoi, which rises between the great and little Kentei, crosses the Siberian frontier at Obur Khadain Ussu, and then goes by the fort of Manzinskoi.[61]

The next year W a n g K h â n marched against the Merkit and defeated them at a place called B u k e h K e h r e h.[62] I notice a place called Baikara on Ritter's map as situated on the Chikoi nearly opposite the outfall of the Manzia.

On another occasion C h i n g h i z having pursued the Uhuz or Yuvas Merkit, made terms with them on a river Bar.[63] This may be the B u r a already named, or perhaps the Boro, a tributary of the Kara-gol. Lastly, when Chinghiz conquered the tribe of D a i r U s u n, we are told he did so at a fortified place called Kurukchal or Khurukkipchak near the Selinga.[64]

These citations suffice to prove that the country of the M e r k i t was in fact that watered by the Eastern feeders of the Selinga. In one place the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* distinctly calls the country of the Merkit, Selinga. This exactly fits Marco Polo's description when he tells us that on leaving Caracoron and the Altai * * *

[50] Howorth. *History of the Mongols*, vol. II, p. 35.
[51] The Mekrin of Rashidu'd-dîn.
[52] Ssanang Setzen, p. 381, note 28.
[53] Id., and *Nouv. Jour. Asiat.* tom. XI, pp. 448—452.
[54] Id. p. 452 note.
[55] Erdmann, *Volstan.* etc. p. 53.
[56] *Nouv. Jour. Asiat.* pp. 453, 454, note 1.
[57] Id.
[58] *i. e.* the Kerulon.
[59] *Nouv. Journ. Asiat.* tom XI, p. 452.
[60] Erdmann, *Temudschin*, note 75.
[61] Klaproth, *Nouv. Journ. Asiat.* tom. XI, p. 453.
[62] Erdmann, *op. cit.* p. 271, and note 76.
[63] A name which Klaproth says may also be written Tar, Yar or Nar;—Id.
[64] Klaproth, *loc. cit.* Erdmann, p. 206.

you go north for 40 days till you reach a country called the Plain of Bargu. The people there are called Mescript.[65] "They are a very wild race and live by their cattle, the most of which are stags, and these stags, I assure you, they used to ride upon. Their customs are like those of the Tartars, and they are subject to the Great Khan."[66]

In regard to the nationality of the Merkit our evidence unfortunately is very slight. I believe they were Turks, and like the Kirais a branch of the Uïghurs. In Rashid's table they are classed with the various tribes who afterwards called themselves Mongol, but it is clear from the genealogies, etc. etc. that they did not belong to the Mongol nation proper. Their name, a mere appellative, is no guide. Rubruquis links them with the Kirais in speaking of the Crit and Meerit who were Christians and subjects of Unk Khân. In the biography of Su-bu-t'ai in the *Yuan-shi*, we find them associated in one army corps with the Kinch'a or Kipchaks and the Nai-mans, both Turkish tribes.[67] Lastly we find in Rashid a reference to another tribe of the same name and perhaps origin living in the mountains near Bishbaligh or the Uïghur country proper, and who are apparently the Mukritæ of Theophylactus.

When defeated by Temujin, the Merkit apparently migrated in two directions, one section down the Selinga and the other westward. As to the former I am going to venture upon a suggestion, only at present a tentative one, but as I believe worthy of study. Perhaps the most interesting of all the tribes of Turkish descent which still remain in Northern Asia are the Yakuts of the river Lena. There they occupy an isolated position surrounded by Tungusic and other tribes, and entirely separated from the main body of Turks. They occupy a considerable area extending southwards as far as the Aldan, eastwards as far as the Kolyma, and west as far as the Yenissei. Their physique is very Mongolian, closely resembling that of the Buriats of lake Baikal, while their language is Turkish in the main, but has been considerably sophisticated by an infusion of Mongol words.

Every inquirer who has studied the Yakuts is agreed that they have migrated to their present quarters on the Lena from more southern climates within a comparatively recent period. Their traditions all point to this conclusion. Isbrand Ides, the earliest traveller who notices them, goes so far as to say that they migrated in consequence of the Russian extension in Siberia, that is as recently as the 17th century, but this is incredible, unless it means that they have within the last two centuries pushed their northern frontier considerably farther. Dobell was told by the Yakuts that they were descended from two tribes, one of them called Batulen. They affirmed that they migrated under their chief called Omogoy Bey to the country of the Buriats, where they stayed for a considerable time. And this is confirmed by another tradition that they formerly lived with the Buriats and formed one people with them.

They seem to have lived on bad terms with the latter, by whom they were frequently attacked, and, who at length collecting all their hordes, had determined to exterminate them. Taking advantage of a superstition which prevented the Buriats from fighting between the full moon and the new, they escaped from Irkutsk across the mountains to the Lena, on which they embarked in rafts with their cattle and horses, and soon escaped beyond the reach of pursuit, and we are told the place of their embarkation is still known as Yakutskoi-svoz, or the Yakut transport, to the Russians.

After a while we are told their second tribe followed the example of the first, and migrated under a chief named Elliya, and on reaching Yakutsk amalgamated with the former one Wrangel says their leader was a Tartar named Sakhalan, who on arriving at Yakutsk married a Tungusian woman. Strahlenberg, who is followed by Latham, calls their leader Deptzi Tarchan-tegin. He also gives Zacha as the name of one of their ancient princes. However the details may differ, and for a rectification of these we must wait till we have more evidence, the main fact remains that only very recently the Yakuts were neighbours of the Buriats, and have displaced a prior population on the Lena consisting of Tungus, Omoki, Shelagi and Yukahiri, none of whom were Turks. An old Yakut, 82 years old, told Wrangel that his people were formerly more civilized before they separated from the other Tartar

[65] Ramusio apparently reads it Mecriti, see Klaproth, *Nouv. Journ. Asiat.* tom. XI, pp. 450 and 451.

[66] Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 261.

[67] Bretschneider, *Notices*, etc. p. 71.

races, that they then possessed written characters. He said his race had formerly inhabited far distant southern lands, and quoted several popular sayings in proof of it in which gold and gems, lions and tigers of which they are now quite ignorant are mentioned. To this we may add that the Yakuts use the famous cycle of animals employed by the southern Turks and the Mongols in calculating their chronology. Following up this clue, and bearing in mind the distinctively Turkish language spoken by the Yakuts, the evidence we have of a mixture of Buriat blood, and the more distinct characteristic that being Turks they are not Muhammadans but Shamanists, it ought not to be difficult to discover their nearest relations. The emigration of such tribes is bounded by certain conditions. In winter small parties and detached families of hunters find their way across the snow-covered *tundra,* but a whole race emigrates generally along some river. The traditional method in the case of the Yakuts is also the most reasonable. Following the mighty river Lena to its head waters, we arrive at the sea of Baikal, whose shores are now occupied by the Buriats, the Bratzki of the Russian writers, an incroaching race, formerly limited to the region south of the Baikal Lake, and only recently and since the Russian conquest of Siberia pushing further north and west. Close to the Baikal lake and on the river Angara stands the city of Irkutsk. This city is described by Isbrand Ides, the earliest authority we have for this region, under the name of Jekutska, and it is so named on his map. It is placed on a small tributary of the Angara called by him the Jekut. I have no hesitation in accepting this form of the name as one current in the time of Ides, nor have I much hesitation in assigning it and the river on which it is placed as the original head-quarters of the Yakuts from which they took their name, as Ides expressly says, and from which they were driven by the encroachment of the Russians. This area is close to that of the Buriats on the one hand and to that of kindred races to the Turks on the other, and is placed at the very fountain head from which a migration would naturally creep down the Lena. Now it is a very remarkable fact in confirmation of this reasoning that the name Baikal itself is not of Mongol origin, but as we are expressly told, is a Yakut gloss, the Yakuts now living a long way from the Baikal. From all these facts I am convinced that the Yakuts were once the dominant race about the Baikal, and have since been thrust out and moved down the Lena. This brings us to the gist of our question. The only tribe which is known to me in early times which can be identified with the ancestors of the Yakuts is that of the Merkits of the 13th century. Like the Yakuts they were Turks, like them they occupied the borders of the Baikal, were unsophisticated by Muhammadanism, and were no doubt coheirs of the old culture of the Uighurs.

The Yakuts occupied as we know the country just opposite the head stream of the Lena. Their name, we are told, is not indigenous but one given them by the Buriats, while the name Merkit was doubtless a mere appellative also of foreign origin. I believe therefore that when defeated and dispersed by Chinghiz Khân the Merkits withdrew across the Baikal, whence they have gradually wandered down the Lena, and that the Yakuts are descended from them. This I take to be an important result for the ethnographer and historian of Asia, and enables us to simplify very considerably the disintegrated history of the Turks.

MISCELLANEA.

VESTIGES OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT IN CENTRAL ASIA.

The village of Gumuche Tepê itself is remarkable as being the only maritime Turkoman village of any importance on the Caspian coast. The inhabitants are practically independent, paying only a small annual tribute to Persia. The interior administration of the place is entirely in the hands of the Turkomans. The main industry of Gumuche Tepê is fish-drying, preparation of the skins of water fowl, manufacture of kibitkas and boats, together with the nets and felt carpets used by the residents. The settlement dates from a remote period. It takes its name from a large earthen mound situated about half a mile to the northward, close to the water's edge. This mound,

two hundred yards long by eighty in breadth, is entirely artificial, constituting the western extremity of the great line of defence constructed by Alexander the Great as a barrier against Skythian invasion, and which runs eastward as far as Budinurd on the Aterek, ten days' ride from the coast. It is occasionally used as a place of burial by the Turkomans. When excavating graves pieces of silver money, bearing the head of Alexander, are frequently found, and hence its name of Gumuche Tepê (the Silver Hill). Its base and sides are covered with an immense quantity of large bricks, formerly constituting the fortifications of the station. Fragments of ancient pottery and glass also abound. Close by is a Turkoman village named Khorib, which the inhabitants say is the name of the old town that existed alongside the military station. It was doubtless at the mouth of the Giurgen that reliefs of the garrison and the necessary supplies were formerly disembarked. From the hill a brick wall formerly ran zig-zag in a south-easterly direction. The foundations of this wall are still to be seen. It was about three feet thick, and built of flat bricks nearly twelve inches square, very heavy and extremely hard. The mortar binding them together is even still harder. This wall must have been deliberately destroyed. Even the long period which has elapsed since its construction would not sufficiently account for the total demolition of a wall constructed so solidly. This wall ran along the very slightly raiced watershed of the Aterek and Giurgen Rivers, much closer to the latter than to the former. I think it is Vambéry who says it was so placed as to be beyond the reach of the inundations caused by the overflow of the Giurgen. This cannot have been the reason; for such a thing as the overflow of the river is absolutely impossible, at so great a depth does its channel, for the greater part of its course, run below the level of the surrounding plain. At intervals of three to four miles, sometimes much closer, are the remains of immense entrenched camps, each having usually a kind of acropolis, consisting of a great earth mound, two to three hundred yards long, one hundred to one hundred and fifty wide, and forty to fifty feet in height. The Turkomans have names for each of these mounds or tepês. Westward of Gumuche Tepê are the entrenchments named respectively Kara and Suli Tepêes (Greater and Lesser), Karga Tepê, Sigur Tepê, Attoun Tepê (Gold-hill), and Aser Shyah. Rising abruptly from the midst of the dead level plain, these tepês are conspicuous objects. In many cases portions of the brick *revêtement* which formerly retained the sides of the mounds at a steep slope still remain. In rear of the main line of entrenchment, and south of the Giurgen, is a second line of hills, but at much greater distances from each other than those of the former. The Turkomans inform one that these hills and walls were made by Iskender Zul Karnein (Alexander with two horns). Some, however, will insist that they are the work of Suleiman ibn Daod (Solomon, the son of David), a person to whom all works of a surprising nature are attributed.—*Daily News' Correspondent.*

GHAZNI.

Ghazni lies on the borderland between the powerful clan of the southern Ghilzais, whose headquarters is at Khelati-Ghilzai and the Wardaks, who extend northwards towards Kabul, but its military importance has always kept it in the hands of the central power. It is distant about 90 miles south-west from Kabul and 230 miles north-east from Kandahar. The existing town has shrunk back to the limits of the old citadel, which stands on a mound, partly natural and partly artificial, rising about 40 feet above the plain. The elevation above the sea is given as 7,726 feet, or more than 1000 feet higher than Kabul, and therefore proportionately colder. The shape is an irregular square, each side being about a quarter of a mile long, and thus the entire perimeter is not more than one mile. The highest ground is in the north-east, where is situated the Bala Hissar, or Upper Fort. When Ghazni was stormed by General Keane in 1839 the fortifications consisted of a masonry wall, rising about 30 feet sheer from the face of the mound. Below ran a *fausse braye* and a wet ditch, which could be flooded from the river of Ghazni, that flows round the western angle and ultimately falls into the salt lake of Ab-i-Istada. These fortifications were blown up by General Nott in 1842, when he retired by this route from Kandahar to India. No European has since visited the spot, but it is known that Shir Ali repaired the works, and doubtless they have been reconstructed substantially in their old form. From a military point of view, they are commanded by neighbouring heights both north and south, upon which batteries could be erected; but the walls are probably proof against field artillery. The town of Ghazni has a considerable bazar, which constitutes an entrepôt for the trade of India which passes by the Gomal route. The houses are thickly built of mud, and the streets are described as even more narrow and dirty than those of Afghan towns generally.

In population and in trade Ghazni cannot compare with the three great cities of Kabul, Kandahar, and Herat, but by force of historical traditions and

religious sanctity the name still retains a strong hold upon the Afghan imagination. Here was the capital of Mahmud of Ghazni, or Mahmud the Destroyer, as he is known in Eastern story, the first of the Muhammadan conquerors of India, and the *only one* who had his home in Afghanistan, though he was himself of Turki or Mongol nationality. Seventeen times did he issue forth from his native mountains, spreading fire and sword over the plains of Hindustan, westward as far as the Ganges Valley, and southward to the shore of Gujarât. Seventeen times did he return to Ghaznì, laden with the spoil of Rajput Kings, and the shrines of Hindu pilgrimage. In one of these expeditions his goal was the far-famed temple of Somnâth or Somnâth Patan in Gujarât. Resistance was vain, and equally useless were the tears of the Brahmans, who besought him to take their treasures, but at least spare their idol. With his own hand, and with the mace which is the counterpart of Excalibur in Oriental legend, he smote the face of the idol, and a torrent of precious stones gushed out.[1] When Keane's army took Ghazni in 1839, this mace was still to be seen hanging up over the sarcophagus of Mahmud, and the tomb was then entered through folding gates, which tradition asserted to be those of the Temple of Somnâth. Lord Ellenborough gave instructions to General Nott to bring back with him to India both the mace and the gates. The latter, as is well-known, now lie mouldering in the lumber room of the fort at Agra, for their authenticity is absolutely indefensible; but the mace could nowhere be found by the British plunderer. Mahmud reigned from 997 to 1030 A.D., and in his days Ghazni was probably the first city in Asia. The extensive ruins of his city stretch northwards along the Kabul road for more than two miles from the present town; but all that now remains standing are two lofty pillars or minarets, 400 yards apart, one bearing the name of Mahmud, the other that of his son Masaud. Beyond these ruins again is the Roza or Garden which surrounds the mausoleum of Mahmud. The building itself is a poor structure, and can hardly date back for eight centuries. The great conqueror is said to rest beneath a marble slab, which bears an inscription in Cufic characters, thus interpreted by Major (now Sir Henry) Rawlinson :—" May there be forgiveness of God upon him, who is the great lord, the noble Nizam-ud-din (Ruler of the Faith) Abul Kasim Mahmud, the son of Sabaktagin! May God have mercy upon him!" The Ghaznivide dynasty founded by Mahmud lasted for more than a century after his death, though with greatly restricted dominions. Finally, it was extinguished in 1152 by one of those awful acts of atrocity which are fortunately recorded only in the East. Alau'd-din, Prince of Ghor, a town in the north-western hills of Afghanistan, marched upon Ghazni to avenge the death of two of his brothers. The King was slain in battle, and the city given up to be sacked. The common orders of the people were all massacred upon the spot; the nobles were taken to Ghor, and there put to death, and their blood used to cement the rising walls of the capital. Henceforth the name of Ghazni scarcely again appears in history, except as a fortress and a place of associations.—*Daily News' Correspondent.*

THE ṬHÂṆÂ MARTYRS.[2]

CIϽCCCXIX.[3] Pope John read in the consistory, with great approval, a letter which he had received, to the effect following. "To wit, that certain brethren of the orders of Minors and Preachers, who had been sent on a mission to Ormus to preach the faith to the infidels, when they found that they could do no good there, thought it well to go over to Columbum[4] in India. And when they arrived at the island called Dyo,[5] the brethren of the order of Minors separated from the rest of the party, both preachers and secular Christians, and set out by land to a place called Thana, that they might there take ship for Columbum. Now there was at that place a certain Saracen of Alexandria Yusufus[6] by name, and he summoned them to the presence of Melich, the governor of the land, to make inquest how and why they were come. Being thus summoned, he demands, what manner of men are ye called? They made answer, that they were Franks, devoted to holy poverty, and anxious to visit St. Thomas.

"Then, being questioned concerning their faith, they replied that they were true Christians, and uttered many things with holy fervour regarding the faith of Christ. But when Melich let them go, the aforesaid Yusuf a second and a third time persuaded him to arrest and detain them. At length Melich and the Cadi and the people of the place were assembled, pagans and idolaters as well as Saracens, and questioned the brethren: How can Christ, whom ye call the Virgin's son, be the son of God, seeing that God hath not a mate? Then set they forth many instances of divine

[1] This is only a tradition and not correct in details.—ED.

[2] Extract from the *Satyrica Gestarum* of Jordanus, given in Yule's edition of *The Wonders of the East*, by Friar Jordanus, pref. p. x.

[3] This date 1319 must be an error, for Odorious of Friuli who was at Ṭhâṇâ in 1322, describes the events as having occurred in the preceding year.

[4] Quilon. [5] Diu. [6] Yusuf.

generation, as from the sun's rays, from trees, from germs in the soil; so that the infidels could not resist the Spirit who spake in them. But the Saracens kindled a great fire, and said: Ye say that your law is better than the law of Mahomet; and it be so, go ye into the fire, and by miracle prove your words. The brethren replied that, for the honour of Christ, that they would freely do; and brother Thomas coming forward would first go in, but the Saracens suffered him not, for that he seemed older than the others; then came forward the youngest of the brethren, James of Padua, a young wrestler for Christ, and incontinently went into the fire, and abode in it until it was well nigh spent, rejoicing and uttering praise, and without any burning of his hair even, or of the cloth of his gown. Now they who stood by shouted with a great cry, Verily these be good and holy men!

"But the Cadi, willing to deny so glorious a miracle, said: It is not as ye think, but his raiment came from the land of Aben......[7] a great friend of God, who when cast into the flames in Caldea, took no hurt; therefore, hath this man abode scatheless in the fire.

"Then stripped they the innocent youth, and all naked as he was born was he cast by four men into the fire. But he bore the flames without hurt, and went forth from the fire unscathed and rejoicing. Then Melich set them free to go whither they would. But the Cadi, and the aforesaid Yusuf, full of malice, knowing that they had been entertained in the house of a certain Christian, said to Melich: What dost thou? why slayest thou not these Christ-worshippers? He replied: That I find no cause of death in them. But they say: if ye let them go, all will believe in Christ, and the law of Mahomet will be utterly destroyed. Melich again says: What will ye that I should do, seeing that I find no cause of death? But they said: His blood be upon us, for it is said that if one cannot go pilgrim to Mecca, let him slay a Christian and he shall obtain a full remission of sins, as if he had visited Mecca. Wherefore, the night following, the three men aforesaid, Melich, the Cadi, and Yusuf, sent officers who despatched the three brethren, Thomas, James, and Demetrius, to the joys of heaven, bearing the palm of martyrdom. And after awhile, having made brother Peter, who was in another place, present himself before them, when he firmly held to the faith of Christ, for two days they vexed him with sore afflictions, and on the third day cutting off his head, accomplished his martyrdom. But their comrades, the preachers and the rest, when they heard this, wrote to the West lamenting wofully that they had been parted from the company of the holy martyrs, and saying that they were devoutly engaged in recovering the relics of the martyrs."

BOOK NOTICES.

A Classified Index to the Sanskrit MSS. in the Palace at Tanjore. Prepared for the Madras Government by A. C. Burnell, Ph.D., &c. (London: Trübner and Co. 1879-80.)

In March 1871, Dr. Burnell was deputed to examine the Tanjore Palace library by Lord Napier and Ettrick, then Governor of Madras. Then, he says, "I found it to be, though with huge masses of rubbish properly buried in it, of far greater importance than was suspected, and I suggested a tolerably complete catalogue, instead of a brief and partial report. To this, Lord Napier at once assented. I was at Tanjore for nearly eleven months, and in this time I drew up the slips for the 12,376 MSS. in the library as roughly classified, and I also sorted them roughly to begin the work of drawing up the *Catalogue*. I was then required to go to a distance of some hundreds of miles to take up very heavy routine work. This impeded sadly my progress, and I had often to rely for necessary information on correspondence. In 1874, I got back to Tanjore, but my official duties continued so heavy, that I could do but little, and it was only when I was enabled to devote three months to this work alone at the end of 1878 and the beginning of 1879, that I could finally complete this *Catalogue*. But for these numerous and serious obstacles to my progress the work would have been done long ago."

The arrangement of the *Index* is excellent. Many works being represented by a number of copies of different ages, the description of each work is founded on the copy which seemed to Dr. Burnell to be the original, from which in many cases the others had been copied; and, in the case of the more important, a tolerably full description is given, with extracts to show the state of the texts. The other copies are then described simply with reference to age, writing, extent, and general condition. By this means the author has contrived to compress the detailed account of over 12,000 MSS. into the space of 208 quarto pages. They are divided into three great sections; 1,

[7] *Sic*, perhaps Ibn Azer, the Muhammadan name for the son of Terah, *i. e.* Abraham.

Vedic and Technical Literature; 2, Philosophy and Law; and 3, Drama, Epics, Purâṇas, and Tantras. In each subdivision the collection contains fairly representative works and recensions peculiar to Southern India. In the introduction Dr. Burnell says:—"One important fact will, at once, be evident from this *Catalogue*—the great part taken, during later times, in S. India in the development of Sanskrit literature. More has been done, in this way, during the past thousand years in the South than in the North." The complete volume occupies 240 royal 4to pages, double columns, and was printed in England, Dr. Rost (Librarian of the India Office) reading the proof-sheets during the author's absence in India. Dr. Rost has compiled three full indexes which complete this very important volume.

THE RELIGIONS of CHINA: Confucianism and Tâoism described and compared with Christianity. By James Legge, Professor of the Chinese Language and Literature in the University of Oxford (London: Hodder and Stoughton: 1880).

There are few men living better qualified to supply us with correct information on the subject of the religions of China than the Oxford Professor of the Chinese Language and Literature, and this volume presents the reader with a very accurate outline of the two principal. Buddhism, for which some writers ignorantly claim most of the Chinese population, is almost ignored by the author as a minor sect; so that the oft-repeated statement that Buddhism claims a greater number of votaries than any other religion, requires at least re-examination. Of the great and all but over-mastering influence of Buddhism on the development of Tâoism, however, there is no doubt, and Dr. Legge illustrates this very strikingly.

"You go into a Buddhist temple in China," he says, "and what strikes you most at first sight is the three gigantic images in the principal hall, called the San Pâo, or 'Three Precious Ones.' You know that in the theory of Buddhism 'the three precious ones' are Intelligence personified as Buddha, the Law, and the Church; but an attendant of the temple will tell you that the images represent Buddha past, present, and to come. The common people, ignorant of the esoteric view of a Trinity, cannot understand the logical abstractions that are thus represented, and blindly worship what they suppose are three divinities; and when you stand, as I have often done, a long time before the great figures, you feel that you are sympathizing with their popular worshippers more than with the philosophers.

"You go now into a Tâoist temple, and are immediately confronted by three vast images, which you mistake at first for the precious Buddhas. By-and-by you see that they are different, and understand that they are San Ch'ing, 'the three Pure or Holy Ones': 'the Perfect Holy One'; 'the Highest Holy One'; and 'the Greatest Holy One.' Each of them has the title of T'ien Tsun, the Heavenly and Honoured, and also the title of Shang Ti or God, the latter taken from the Confucian or old religion of the country. The second of the three is 'the Most High Prince Lâo,' the usual style in speaking of Lâo-tsze; but his full title is 'the greatest Holy One (the Lord) of Tâo and Virtue, the Heavenly and Honoured.' The first of the three, 'the Perfect (literally Gemmeous,) Holy One, who was at the first beginning, the Heavenly and Honoured,' is also called 'P'an-kû,' or Chaos. P'an-kû is spoken of by the common people as 'the first man, who opened up heaven and earth.'" And "in Tâoist picture-books, I have seen him as a shaggy, dwarfish Hercules, developing from a bear rather than an ape, and wielding an immense hammer and chisel with which he is breaking the chaotic rocks." "Next to them is Yü Hwang Shang Tî, 'the gemmeous sovereign, God,' who has in a great measure displaced the others from the public mind, superintending, as he is supposed to do, all human affairs, and also exercising a control over the physical world. He is styled 'the God of mysterious existence.' The Tâoists contend that he is the same with the Shang Tî of the classics, forgetting that Shang Tî was worshipped by the sage Shûn, more than two thousand years before Tâoism had assumed the form of a religion. And more than this: the original of this popular idol was a magician of the Chang family that has given so many patriarchs to Tâoism whose deification cannot be traced higher than the T'ang dynasty, in our 7th or 8th century" (pp. 166-169).

The first two lectures, or half the volume, is devoted to Confucianism, as the national religion of China is usually called. But this religion does not owe its origin to the Chinese sage: he only expounded it. "He received it, as did others, from prehistoric time, both in its twofold worship and in its rules of social duty." "He taught morality, but not a morality without reference to God. He taught ceremonialism, but not for the sake of the ceremony merely. His formation did not content itself with the outward observance of established rites" (pp. 123, 124). To Confucianism the Chinese owe their best morality.

What is called the Science of Comparative Religion—a title to which the new study is hardly as yet entitled—has of late years drawn forth many books, of which but a few are written with the scientific accuracy of information and correct-

ness of deduction that ought to entitle them to serious attention and a long life. Dr. Legge's volume, though written in quite a popular style, is one of sterling value on account of both these features, and is thus a valuable contribution to the comparative study of religions, which ought to be welcomed by every student. He does not suppose that the Divine origin of Christianity "imprints the brand of falsehood on other religions. They are to be tested according to what they are in themselves;" the good is to be approved; the defective to be noted; and the wrong to be disapproved. "The study of them continues to be a duty, full of interest and importance." But this unprejudiced study will dissipate the imagination of some, that "we shall find one truth of importance here and another there, and that, bringing these together, we may, by an electic process, frame a universal religion that will supersede Christianity itself."

The Voyages and Works of John Davis the Navigator. Edited, &c., by Albert Hastings Markham, Captain, R. N., &c. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society; 1880.

Captain John Davis, of Sandridge, Devon, "stands foremost among the navigators of the great Queen as a seaman, combining scientific knowledge and skilled pilotage with the qualities of a fearless and determined explorer." So far his biographer; who has well earned the right to use such language.

Davis's greatest exploits were connected with that fatal and heroic mare's nest the North-West Passage; whereof he was the inventor. Three times he essayed it with courage and (circumstances considered) success equal to those of any of his followers on that path. When the Court and City had had enough of the North-west Passage for one generation, we find him sailing for the already discovered South-west Passage of the Straits of Magellan, with the unfortunate Cavendish. But neither by this route was he to gain the "Golden Indies." The squadron failed to pass the Straits; and put back, intending to harry the Brazilian ports as a *pis aller*.

They were scattered by tempest; some lost; and the few survivors brought nothing back to England but accusations against each other. Davis himself was accused of desertion by Cavendish, in his testamentary letter to Sir Tristram Gorges. He is, however, acquitted by Captain Markham; and no one will wish to dispute the verdict. It would appear, however, that his reputation suffered; for we do not find him, for some time, employed in any great enterprise. He brought out, however, two important works; *The Seaman's Secrets*, 1594; and the *Worlde's Hydrographical Description*, 1595; and had also, apparently, a hand in the construction of the great globes of the Middle Temple; on one of which his name has honourable mention. Sanderson, at whose expense these globes were constructed (the first ever made in England), was an old and staunch friend of Davis's.

Captain Markham thinks that Davis served as a pilot under the Earl of Essex in his Atlantic Expeditions of 1596-7; but he evidently still hankered after the Indies; and on the 15th of March 1598, he sailed from Middelburg as Pilot of the Leeuw (Lion) despatched by "Mushrom, Clark, and Monef, Owners and only Adventurers." Cornelis van Houtman, who had already made the first Dutch voyage to the East Indies, was general of the Expedition; Pieter Stockman Captain of the Lion; and Frederick Van Houtman of the Lioness. It had been proposed to send four vessels, but only these two sailed. Another Englishman named Tomkins was on board the Lion, apparently as an officer, but it does not exactly appear of what rank or duty. He was certainly inferior to Davis, whose position as pilot was much higher in those days than that which landsmen now associate with the title. He was, in fact, the principal navigating officer of the ship, as well at sea as when nearing port: and owed that position not to mere local knowledge but to superior scientific acquirements. He was the only historian of the expedition. On the 9th June the ships made the coast of Brazil in 7° south lat., and on the 15th (having bad winds) Fernando Noronha. On the 11th of November they anchored in Saldanha Bay. Here they found a people "blacker than the Brasilians, their haire curled and blacke as the Negroes of Angola, their words are for the most part in-articulate; and in speaking they clocke with the Tongue like a brood Hen, which clocking and the word are both pronounced together verie strangely" (p. 135). Davis had a good ear for language; and had already compiled an Eskimo vocabulary which Captain Markham gives in its place (p. 21), with some interesting comments by Dr. Rink.[1]

These people had many sheep and oxen, the latter "large, and under several markes having upon the backe by the fore shoulders a great lumpe of flesh like a Camels backe." Captain Markham thinks that this is an exaggerated account of domesticated specimens of Bubalus Caffer. It

[1] Vide the *Hawkins Voyages*; published by the Hakluyt Society, London, 1877. The editor of that volume, Mr. Clements Markham, identifies Saldania with Table Bay. Captain Markham thinks it the bay now so called. Vide also *Ind. Ant.* vol. VIII, p. 235.

sounds a good deal more like one of the Indian, or an allied race of oxen. Such races do exist in North-eastern Africa; and that alluded to may have become extinct. Or there may have been some confusion in Davis's notes or memory.

"The Flemmings offered them (the natives) some rude wrong," which cost them 13 men killed; and the rest of the shore party were kept to their tents "being belegred with Canibals and Cowes." The poor Hottentots apparently are only called Cannibals here to turn the phrase; as no overt act of anthropophagy is alleged against them.

They had decidedly the better of the Dutch, who, according to Davis, behaved like poltroons from "the Baase" (Van Houtman) downwards, and eventually "went all aboord, only leaving our great Mastive Dogge behind us, who by no meanes would come to us. For I thinke" (says the sarcastic Davis) "he was ashamed of our companie." It is to be hoped that this spirited animal, the first Cape Colonist, throve in the land of his adoption.

On the 6th December the Lion doubled "Cape das Agulios" (Agulhas), and on the 6th January saw Madagascar. On the 3rd February they anchored in St. Augustine's Bay; where the people would have little to say to them, Houtman having used them badly on his last voyage. They were "a strong, well shaped people, and cole blacke, their language sweete and pleasing;" says our philological pilot.

On the 14th March they left St. Augustine, nicknaming it Hungry Bay. On the 30th they anchored at Mayotta in the Comoro group of islands, where they were well used; and furnished with a letter of introduction to the Queen of Ansuame, now called Johanna, in the same group, where they arrived on the 19th, and anchored "before a city named Demos, which hath beene a strong place, as by the ruines appeare. Their houses are built with free hewed stone and lime."

The inhabitants were Musalmans; and had swords, targets, bows and arrows. The king of Mayotta and his nobles had "long silke garments imbrodred, after the Turkish manner." The people were "Negroes, but smooth haired," and "greatly regarded paper." Evidently the Arabian civilization was of old date here.

On the 23rd May they made the Maldive Islands, and on the next captured a boat containing a "gentleman and his wife; he was apparelled in very fine white linnen; after the Turkish manner." "His colour was blacke, with smooth haire, a man of middle stature." His modest and noble bearing much affected Davis; and his wife was "pardanishin." Possibly he may have been a Musalman from India or Ceylon. Davis would have recognized an Arab. On the 27th they got a pilot who "spoke a little Portugall," and showed them the "Four degree channel." On the 3rd June they made the land near Cochin; but held on; and on 21st anchored in the bay of Achin. The king was called Sultan Aladin, he was an usurper; and a hundred years old; but still lusty, a great lecher, drunkard, and glutton.

He treated the Dutch well at first; endeavouring to engage them in his wars with "Ior" (Johore) and paying for their services in pepper. He was very solicitous to see the Englishmen Davis and Tomkins, to whom at first Van Houtman refused leave on shore (they don't seem to have got on well with him from first to last). Eventually the king forced Van Houtman to let Davis visit him, whom he treated with much honour and hospitality. But in the end he made a determined attempt to seize the ships. All the men on shore, including Van Houtman, were murdered; except eight, taken prisoners. In the meanwhile the Malay nobles on board the ships had intoxicated the officers with a kind of seed which seems to have been datura, with which "all the meate and drinke which they brought was infected." Upon this advantage they suddenly seized the ships. The Lion was saved after a desperate struggle; mainly, according to Davis, in consequence of some previous precautions taken by his advice; and by the actual conduct of himself, Tomkins, and a Frenchman not named. The Lioness was taken outright; and "all the chiefest murdered," but the victorious crew of the Lion "cut our cables and drave (drifted) to her, and with our shot made the Indians flie: so we recovered the ship; the Gallies durst not come near us. In this great miserie it was some pleasure to see how the base Indians did flye, how they were killed, and how well they were drowned" (p. 145).

The ships departed and anchored before Pider in Sumatra. On the next, 2nd September, "there came eleven gallies with Portugalls (as we thought) to take our ships. We sunke one and beate the rest."

In the afternoon one of the prisoners was sent aboard by the king, with a message laying the blame upon the Dutch; and requiring their best ship in satisfaction and as ransom for his prisoners. This was refused, and the messenger remained on board. Strangely enough this man, Guyan Lafort, the son of a French merchant in London, turned out to be the person appointed to the command of the expedition by sealed letters kept to be opened in case of its falling vacant. He was probably the first Frenchman who ever commanded a ship east of the Cape.

In this affair of Achin the Dutch lost altogether 67 men, two pinnaces and the Lion's boat; and much merchandize which was ashore; including all Davis's "Europe commodities with those things which I had provided to show my duty and love to my best friends." He had made good use of his eyes however; and gives a very good account of Achin. He "saw only two pieces of coin, the one of gold; the other of lead; that gold is of the bignesse of a penny, and is named Mas, the other is a little leaden token, called Caxas." Captain Markham in a note refers to the Chinese "Cash" of to-day.

In another note he mentions also the Chinese *tael*; and quotes Taylor the Water poet:—

"Goods in and out which daily ships doe freight,
By guess, by *tale*, by measure, and by weight."

The italics are his; and would seem to imply a supposed connection between *tale* and *tayel*—an astounding etymology!

The Achinese, says Davis, sell pepper by the Bhar = 360 lbs. This can hardly be derived from anything but the Indian *Bhar*; which varies locally, but is always a heavy weight for raw produce. He saw there besides "many of China," "Portugalls," "Gusarates," Arabians, and "those of Bengala and Pegu each having their particular towne;" so that their trade must have been important and of long standing. He also mentions "people of Coromandel, Java, and Rumos. Rumos is in the Red Sea." The King's secretary was called "Corcoun," which looks uncommonly like the Indian *Karkun*; but may have been a proper name. It is properly a Marâṭhi word; and he does not mention the Marâṭha ports as represented at Achin. Probably the Portuguese had already monopolized the trade of that part of the coast of India.

On the 12th October the ships returned to Achin to make a last effort for the release of their men in the king's hands, but only succeeded in having a skirmish with his gallies. These are distinguished from the "Prawes," "Prahus," and are described as quite open; and without artillery, but capable, some of them, of bearing 400 men. They were paddled; and must have been mere war-canoes. The Prahus do not seem to have been used for war at this period. The king had about 100 gallies; and a female admiral, "for he will trust no men."

On the 18th October the ships sailed for "Tanasserin, for it is a place of great trade," but failed for want of wind; and on the 12th November anchored at the Nicobars, where the people brought them hens (perhaps Megapodes) and fruit. They had no grain crops.

On the 6th December they took a ship of Negapatam, laden with rice for Achin. "There were in her three score persons of Achien, of Java, of Zeilon, of Pegu, Narsinga and Coromandel." Captain Markham says Narsinga is an inland town of Bengal, which sounds queer. Probably it stands for "the country of the Narsinha Raya," a peninsular prince. The prisoners told them that "in Ceylon was a citie named Matecalou, a place of great trade;" presumably Batticaloa; and of "Trinquanamale" (Trinkumali) where was the like trade, *i. e.* in spices.

Captain Lafort had difficulties with his crew; and on the 28th December shaped his course homeward; and arrived at Middelburg on the 29th July 1600.

On the 1st August Davis writes to the Earl of Essex by Master Tomkins, forwarding his Journal. On the 13th February O. S. of the same year (1601 N. S.) he was again afloat in Lancaster's famous 'Red Dragon,' bound eastward on the Company's first voyage. This voyage has been described in a former publication of the Hakluyt Society.[3] Lancaster returned on the 11th September 1603, and on the 5th December 1604 Davis sailed again for the East on his last voyage.

This was the expedition of Sir Edward Michelborne, the first of the "Interlopers." He seems to have designed to do a little trade; and a good deal of what we should now call piracy; but was too much of a gentleman for either business. His ships were the 'Tiger,' of 240 tons, and a pinnace called the 'Tiger's Whelp.' They got to Saldanha Bay on the 8th April; and using the natives well, were well supplied by them. On the 7th they passed Cape Agulhas, and parted company with their pinnace in a storm. On the 19th July they sighted Sumatra, and on the 26th anchored at Batu Island, on the West coast; where they built a shallop and named her the 'Bat,' after the abundant flying squirrels (*Pteromys petaurista*) which are very well described by the anonymous historian of the voyage. On the 11th August they cast anchor at Priaman, where they had a joyful meeting with the 'Tiger's Whelp' which had got so far by herself; a very creditable voyage for a vessel of her class. Her tonnage is not stated; but probably did not exceed 40 tons. Priaman was disturbed by civil war. Our old friend "the king of Achien having two sonnes, he kept the eldest at home with him, to succeed him after his death, and the youngest he made king of Pedir. Whereupon the eldest sonne took his father prisoner, affirming that he was too old to govern any longer" (the reader will remember that at our last meeting he was said to be

[3] Vide *supra*, vol. VIII, p. 235.

over 100), "and afterwards made war upon his younger brother."

Captain Markham, in a note, says that there is a great discrepancy between this and Davis' account in his journal of his voyage with Van Houtman; but it is quite plain that the historian of the Tiger's voyage is speaking of what had happened in the interval of nearly six years.

These wars hindered Michelborne's business; and on the 21st August he sailed for Bantam, worrying fishing and coasting craft on the way, impressing pilots, and capturing a ship of "Cambaya" of 80 tons. This prize he carried into Sillibar on the 2nd of September; and "having despatched all his business," (meaning probably the stripping of her and purchase of provisions,) he left that port on the 28th. On the 23rd October he came to Pulo Marra, left it on the 28th, and the same evening anchored 3 leagues from Bantam. Here the English Factors came and told him that "the Company of the Hollander's ships that were in the road had used very slanderous reports of us to the king of Bantam," hinting, amongst other calumnies, that he (Michelborne) was afraid to anchor near them, the Hollanders. The knight in high dudgeon weighed anchor at once, "sending the Hollanders word that hee would come and ride close by their sides; and bad the proudest of them all that durst to put out a piece of Ordinance upon him; and with all that if they did go about either to brave or to disgrace him or his countrymen hee would either sink them or sink by their sides." The Hollanders, according to our chronicler, mended their manners accordingly.

On the 2nd of November Michelborne sailed for Patane, still worrying small craft and impressing pilots. On the 27th December he met with "a Juncke of the Japons which had been pyrating along the coast of China and Camboia" much like himself. These fellows had lost their own ship on the shoals of Borneo; and made shift to capture another; which, however, was old and leaky, and so bad a sailer that they had little hope of getting home in her. The English determined to search the Juncke; with the view of course of appropriating whatever they might find there worth taking, and the Japanese for their part, though apparently yielding to superior force, probably looked upon the Tiger as sent by Providence to be a spoil unto them upon the first opportunity. "They were 90 men, most of them in too gallant a habit for saylers, and such an equalitie of behaviour among them that they seemed all fellows: yet one among them there was that they called Capitaine; but gave him little respect" (p. 179).

Filled with these amiable intentions, the two parties of corsairs "interchanged mutuall courtesies, with gifts and feastings;" and sometimes 25 or 26 Japanese would be aboard the Tiger; but not more than six were allowed to bring arms. The narrator, who seems to have been Michelborne's second in command, told Davis "to possess himself of their weapons and put the companie before mast, and to leave some guard upon their Weapons while they (the English) searched in the Rice."

Davis, however, appears to have neglected to seize the arms; perhaps thinking that that would only precipitate an outbreak; but he did search the ship. Whatever the Japanese intended before, they had now clear proof of the intentions of their new friends, and at sunset they broke out in both ships. Those in the Junk regained her in an instant; killing or driving overboard all the Englishmen in her, while six and twenty on board the Tiger, arming themselves as they best could, sallied out of the cabin, and maintained a desperate fight on deck for near half an hour, when they were stoned back into the cabin with stones from the tops; a regular manœuvre in deck fighting in those days; and that by which Davis himself had saved the Lion in Achin Roads six years before. The valiant Japanese in the cabin, proving utterly inexpugnable by ordinary means, two demiculverins (32 lbs. guns) were loaded with langrage and turned upon the bulkheads; and but one of them was left standing of two and twenty.

Davis was the first man whom the Japanese met as they sallied out of the cabin. They dragged him into it, gave him six or seven mortal wounds, and pushed him out again. He died almost immediately. Probably, as the active agent in searching their ship, he was a mark for special vengeance.

Michelborne went on doing much harm to other people and very little good to himself, till the 5th February, when he weighed for home from "two little Islands, which they of Java call Pulo Sumatra;" and anchored in Portsmouth 19th July 1606. There was another Captain John Davis, of Limehouse; who made six voyages to the East Indies in the service of the Company. Captain Markham is not pleased with former biographers; and especially with Mr. Froude, for mixing the two Johns up. He even seems to have a grudge against poor John of Limehouse himself for presuming to be mistaken for his betters. What is worth knowing about him is that he wrote a *Ruter* (Routier), i.e. a book of sailing directions for the East Indies. This ill-used forerunner of Horsburgh died at Batavia on his last voyage in 1621.

W. F. S.

SASANIAN INSCRIPTION OF NAQSH-I RUSTAM.

BY E. W. WEST, PH.D., MUNICH.

Of all the Sasanian rock-inscriptions known to exist in Persia the longest are those attached, respectively, to the two groups of sculpture which are now called Naqsh-i Rajab and Naqsh-i Rustam. The former inscription consists of thirty-one lines containing originally about 1,400 letters, and the latter appears to have formerly comprised about seventy-seven lines and nearly 7,000 letters.

The late Professor Westergaard, when sending me a tracing of his copy of the remains of the Naqsh-i Rustam inscription, in March 1878, remarked that he had "unfortunately missed the Naqsh-i Rajab inscription when visiting Persepolis" in 1843, but had "tried to make a copy of the large Naqsh-i Rustam inscription, as exact as its mutilated state would allow." That Westergaard did not see the Naqsh-i Rajab inscription must still remain a source of regret to Pahlavi scholars, as there can be no doubt that the whole of that inscription would have been deciphered long ago if a copy of it had been taken and published by Westergaard with his usual care and accuracy. As it is, we have to depend upon the copy taken by the French expedition under M. Flandin,[1] which is more of an artist's sketch than a rigorously accurate transcript, and, therefore, makes the greater part of the inscription unintelligible, although it is evident that not more than one in forty of its letters is really illegible.

The state of the Naqsh-i Rustam inscription is very different; for, although some of the latter words in each of its first thirty-six lines are so distinctly legible as to be accurately given in the copy taken by the French expedition,[2] yet only scattered words and letters can be read over the remaining surface. The mutilated condition of this inscription can be readily seen from the reduced facsimile[3] of Westergaard's copy, which accompanies this paper; and at first sight there seems little chance of obtaining any connected meaning from these scattered fragments. Further investigation, however, shows that the names and titles of the kings, when restored, fill up several of the blank spaces; also, that two or three phrases, which frequently occur and can be readily recovered, fill up several more; while some missing words can be supplied by guesses, more or less hazardous, so as to obtain a connected meaning for more than one-third of the inscription. Such guesses are, however, only justifiable when there is little hope of obtaining a better copy, and when they are so carefully indicated as not to mislead the reader by assuming any greater certainty than really exists.

The following transliteration of as much of the first thirty-four lines as seems recoverable has been prepared by these means; and it may be noted, as a proof of Westergaard's accuracy, that hardly one in a hundred of his letters seems to require emendation, although some of the Sasanian characters can be easily mistaken for others. In this transliteration all the words and letters supplied by guess are printed in italics, and all vowels expressed by Sasanian characters (except initial *a*) are circumflexed; the rest of the vowels being merely understood in the original. Where the number of letters apparently missing (including spaces between words) is not expressly mentioned, it is indicated by a hyphen for one letter, a dot for two, or a dash for five letters and spaces omitted, or by any combination of such dashes, dots, and hyphens as may be necessary for indicating the probable number of missing letters and spaces. The beginning of each line of the inscription is indicated by its number in parentheses; the letters *h* and *kh*, or *p* and *f*, represent the same Sasanian character; the letter *r* is often written like *l* in Sasanian, and the syllable *-man* represents a single letter which appears to be usually equivalent to a Semitic final א, but is written *-man* in Pahlavi MSS.

Transliteration of the first part of the Naqsh-i Rustam Inscription.

(1) A*matam* kar*tî*r[4] zî magô*pat va aêharpat val Artakh*shatar malkân *malkâ Aîrân va* Shahpûharî malkân *malkâ* zî *hû*rastâî[5] va hûkâmakî havîtun

(2) *afam âfrînakân va si*pâsî dîm — . — va

[1] See Flandin's *Voyage en Perse*, vol. IV, pl. 190.

[2] Ibid., vol. IV, pl. 181.

[3] Photographed from the original copy made by Westergaard on 24th and 25th April 1843, for the use of which I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Fausböll and the courtesy of the chief librarian of the University Library at Copenhagen, to which the literary papers of the late Professor Westergaard have been presented.

[4] Compare the Naqsh-i Rajab inscription. The word is *vartîr* in line 8.

[5] For *hûrastakî* apparently.

Artakhshatar *Aîrân malkân* malkâ va Shahpûharî malkân malkâ kartî havitun zakam vabîdûn

(3) zî *Shahpûharî malkân* malkâ pavan *Aîrân va Anîrân kartî pavan*[6] babâ val *babâ shatarî* val shatarî *zîvâk* val *zîvâk* hâmshatarî pavan Magôstan kâmkârî

(4) va pavan *dûshârmakî* farmân *zî Artakhshatar malkân* malkâ *pavan* shatarî *zî* Aîrân *malkân malkâ shatarî val* shatarî zîvâk val zîvâk kabîr kartakân zî

(5) *yazdân*[7] *afzâdîhî va kabîr âtûrî va Aîrân* yetîbûnd . - *barâ*[8] *avlayâ aêharpat va magôpat va kabîr âtûrân âtûrî* . — . pâtakhshatarî hatîmûn va Aûharmazdî va yazdân

(6) babâ sûtî *yehevûn* — — v-â-rabâ-v-v — ûnt va zenman — . — nâ . m — . — *pavan* shatarî *Shahpûharî* malkân malkâ pavan vâspôhara kan pakdûn vabîdûn

(7) *va* yetîbûnî a — — î — - chîgûn . — âî *Aûharmazdî va* yazdân val *kâmakî* . — vazîr va —*va* zatî pûtakhshatar va mâtzadân maman valman

(8) *vidanâ madam* Shahpûharî *malkân* malkâ pavan babâ *val babâ shatarî val shatarî zîvâk* val *zîvâk kartî* valman *pavan hanâ* avagûn[9] *madam* nipishtî yekavîmûnt aîk vartîr zî aêharpat

(9) *va magôpat* Shahpûharî *malkân* malkâ val bagdât *gâsî*[10] *vazlûnt va Aûharmazdî* malkân malkâ aîtî barman pavan *shatarî yekavîmûnt*[11] afam Aûharmazdî malkân malkâ kûrâpî

(10) *madam* yetîbûnî afam *gadman* va *pâtakhsatarî vabîdûnî afam*[12] *babâ val babâ* shatarî val *shatarî* zîvâk val zîvâk *hâmshatarî*[13] pavan *malkân* zî yazdân hamgûnakî kâmkârîtarî

(11) *afam*[14] *Shahpûharî* aêharpat *shem va magôpat* shem kartî *Aûharmazdî* magôpat *shem va* aêharpat *kartî* d-d . . p . k — . shatarî val *shatarî* zîvâk val zîvâk kabîr

(12) *kartakân zî yazdân afzâdîhî va* kabîr âtûrî *va gehân*[15] yetîbûnd . — - *barâ* avlayâ aêharpat *va magôpat* — — va kabîr âtûrân *âtûrî* pâtakhshatarî

(13) *hatîmûnd va zatî*[16] *pâtakhshatarî va* mâtzadân *maman valman vidanâ* madam Aûharmazdî malkân malkâ pavan *babâ val babâ shatarî val shatarî zîvâk* val zîvâk kartî *valman pavan* hanâ avagûn

(14) *madam* nipishtî *yekavîmûnt aîk vartîr* . — *zî* magôpat va aêharpat Aûharmazdî malkân *malkâ val bagdât* gâsî vazlûnt *va* Varahrân malkân

(15) *malkâ* hanâ *Shahpûharî* — — — — *Aûharmazdî* malkân *malkâ pavan hamshatardarî* yekavîmûnt *afam* Varahrân malkân malkâ zak hamgûnakî[17] pavan

(16) *gadman yetîbûnî* va *pâtakhshatarî vabîdûnî* afam *babâ val* babâ va shatarî *val shatarî* zîvâk val *zîvâk* hamkartakârân zî yazdân *hamgûnakî kâmkârî*

(17) *afam Aûharmazdî magôpat shem Varahrân shem kartî*[18] *hamâkî* shatarî[19] *val shatarî zîvâk* val *zîvâk kabîr* kartakân zî yazdân afzâdîhî va kabîr âtûrî

(18) *va gehân yetîbûnd* — . — - *barâ avlayâ aêharpat va magôpat* — *va kabîr* âtûrân *âtûrî pâtakhshatarî* hatîmûnd va zatî

(19) *pâtakhshatarî va mâtzadân maman valman vidanâ madam* Varahrân *malkân* malkâ *kartî va valman pavan hanâ* madam *nipishtî*

(20) *yekavîmûnt aîk vartîr zî aêharpat va magôpat Varahrân malkân malkâ val* bagdât *gâsî*

(21) *vazlûnt* [60 letters] *kartakî*[20] pavan . .

(22) [60 letters] î gâ — tah-*yetîbûnî*[21]

(23) *afam gadman va pâtakhshatarî vabîdûnî afam babâ val babâ shatarî val shatarî zîvâk* val zîvâk *hâmshatarî* pavan

(24) *malkân zî yazdân hamgûnakî kâmkârîtarî va bûkht rûbân Varahrân*[22] *aêharpat shem va* magôpatam *Varahrân shem magôpat*

(25) *va aêharpat kartî* [48 letters] t v . - hanâ *vabîdûnt*

(26) [53 letters] *shatarî* val shatarî zîvâk val

(27) *zîvâk* [51 letters] ân *va* magôî gabrâ bên shatarî

(28) [27 letters] mayâ va âtûrî [24 letters] ihî madam yehamtûn

(29) [28 letters) babâ [29 letters] shikân min — shedîtun

(30) [32 letters] asl [27 letters] t-î — yehevûnd va aûzdêsî gûnâkîhî

[6] See line 8.
[7] See lines 17 and 31.
[8] See line 32.
[9] See line 13.
[10] See lines 14 and 20.
[11] See line 15.
[12] See line 16.
[13] See lines 3 and 23.
[14] This sentence is very doubtful.
[15] See line 32.
[16] See lines 7, 18, and 32.
[17] So in Flandin's copy.
[18] A very doubtful sentence; compare lines 11 and 24.
[19] See lines 11-14.
[20] In Flandin's copy it is *kar - - î*.
[21] See lines 10 and 11.
[22] See line 33, but the sentence is very doubtful; compare lines 11 and 17.

NAQSH-I RUSTAM INSCRIPTION.

Rock

blank.

Horse's Trappings

blank

blank.

NAQSH-I RUSTAM INSCRIPTION.

A few scattered letters legible in some of the lines

Traces of lines and letters.

There are traces of some twelve more lines, but very indistinct.

Reduced from a copy taken by Prof. Westergaard in 1843.

The dots indicate blank spaces.

(31) — — — . vpûhî[23] — — va nished — — — *shatarî*[24] *val shatarî zîvâk* val zîvâk kabîr kartakân zi yazdân afzâdîhî

(32) *va kabîr âtûri* va gehân *yetîbûnd* — - barâ avlayâ *aêharpat va magôpat* — *va kabîr âtûrân âtûri* pâtakhshatari hatîmûnt va *zatî pâtakhshatarî*

(33) *maman valman vidanâ* madam *Varahrân malkân malkâ va* Varahrân [30 letters] kar — bûkht rûbân Varahrân *aêharpat va* magôpat

(34) [20 letters] ûnî p — — ûh [28 letters] m — . — - t kabîr âtûrân vamdûni bên shatarî.

Translation of the above.[25]

(1) *When my crown* of mobad *and herbad*[26] existed *for Artakh*shatar, *king* of the *kings of Irân, and* Shahpûharî, *king* of kings (who *was well*-principled and well-inclined

(2) *and* . . [27] my *benedictions and praise* which . . [28] me), and had made Artakhshatar a *king* of the *kings of Irân*, and Sha*h*pûhar*î* a king of the kings, that *was* done by me

(3) which *Shah*pûharî, king of *kings*, *did* in Irân *and non-Irân through* capital to *capital, town* to *town, and place* to place of the united country, spontaneously in Magôstan

(4) and b*y* the *loving* command *of Artakhshatar*, king of *kings, in* the countr*y of* the king of *kings* of *Irân*. *From town to* town *and* place to place the great deeds which

(5) *are* the *bounty* of the *angels and* settle *in the great fire and* Irân . . [29] *but the* . . *of the first herbad and* mobad, *and of the great fire of fires*, ended the sovereign; and Aûharmazdî and the angels

(6) beca*me* the benefit of the capital ... great . . . . and this . . . . . *in* the co*untry* *Shahpû*harî, king of ki*ngs*, inflicted chastisement on the nobles

(7) *and* sat . . . as . . *Aûharmazdî and* the angels, at *will* . . . *And* smitten *was* the sovereign and the slain, for that

(8) *time it was done unto* Shahp*û*har*î*, king of *kings*, throu*gh* capital *to capital*, *town to town*, *and p*lace to place. *In th*is *fashion* it is writt*en* *about*, that the crown of the herbad

(9) *and mobad* Shahp*û*har*î*, king of *kings, goes* to the divinely-appoint*ed place, and Aûharmazdî*, king of kings *who is* the son, *remains in* the *country*. And Aûharmazdî, king of kings, sat on my kûrâpî (or kûlâpî)

(10) and *was made my glory* and sovereign; *and from capital to capital*, town to *town, and* place to place of my *united country he was* more absolute among the *kings* who *were* similar to angels.[30]

(11) *and Shahpûharî's title of* herbad *and* title of *mobad*, appointed *by me, was made Aûharmazdî's title of* mobad *and* herbad[31]. . . *From town to town, and* place to place, the great

(12) *deeds which are the bounty of the angels and* settle *in* the great fire *and the world* . . , *but the* . . of the fir*st herbad and mobad*, and the great *fire* of fires, end the sovereign.

(13) *And smitten was the sovereign and* the *slain*, for *that time it was* done unto Aû*harmazdî*, kin*g* of kings, through *capital to capital, town to town, and p*lace to place. *In* this fashion *it is* writt*en* abou*t*, *that* the crown . . *of* the mobad and herb*ad* Aûharmazdî, *king* of kings, goes *to* the *divinely-appointed* place, *and* Vara*h*rân, *king* of kings, th*is* , . . of *Shah*pûharî, remai*ns as coadj*utor of *Aûharma*zdî, kin*g* of kings. *And* Varah*rân*, king of kings, *in* like manner,

(16) *sat in glory* and *was made sovereign* by me; *and from capital to* capital, and to*wn to town, and* place to *p*l*ace* he was absolute, through me, over fell*ow*-perfo*rmers* of exploits who *were* si*m*ilar *to* angels;

(17) *and Aûharmazdî's title of mobad was made the title of Varahrân by me*. *From every* tow*n to town, and place* to *p*lace, the *great* deeds which are the bounty of the an*gels* and *settle in* the great fire

(18) *and the world* . . , *but the* . . *of the first herbad and mobad and the great fire* of fir*es* end the *s*overeig*n*. And smitten

(19) *was the sovereign and the slain, for that time it was* done *unto* Varahr*ân*, king of *kings*; *and in* this *way it is written* about,

(20) *that the crown of the herbad and mobad*

[23] Possibly *Shapûharî*.

[24] See lines 11-13.

[25] Italics indicate words and portions of words which are either supplied by guess where the inscription is illegible, or are added to complete the sense. The commencement of each line in the original inscription is approximately indicated by its number in parentheses, and the extent of the missing text is only approximately shown by the number of dots.

[26] A Mobad is a Parsi priest whose special duty is to conduct religious ceremonies, and herbad is a general term applied to all ranks of the priesthood.

[27] Perhaps "celebrated."

[28] Perhaps "propitiated or pleased."

[29] Perhaps "he performed" both here and in the similar phases in lines 12, 18, and 32.

[30] That is, beings inferior to him who was their supreme lord.

[31] This sentence and the corresponding passages in lines 17 and 24 are the most doubtful parts of this decipherment.

Varahrân, king of kings, goes to the divinely-*appointed* place,

(21) . . . . a *deed* in . .

(22) . . . . . sat,

(23) *and was made my glory and sovereign; and from capital to capital, town to town, and place* to place of *my united country*, among

(24) *the kings who were similar to angels, he was more absolute; and the title of herbad and mobad of Varahrân with the saved soul*[32] *was made* by me *Varahrân's title of* mobad

(25) *and herbad* . . . . . this *he does*

(26) . . . . . *from* town to town *and* place to

(27) *place* . . . . . *and* the *Magian* men *in* the country

(28) . . . water and fire . . . came on

(29) . . . capital . . . cast the . . from . .

(30) . . . . . become, and the habitude[33] of the idol-temple

(31) . . . and sits (?) . . *From town to town, and place* to *place*, the great deeds which are the bounty of the angels

(32) *and settle in the great fire* and the world . . , but *the* . . of the first *herbad and mobad and of the great fire of fires*, ends the sovereign. And *smitten was* the sovereign,

(33) *for that is the time* unto *Varahrân, king of kings, and* Varahrân . . . . Varahrân with the saved soul, the herbad *and* mobad,

(34) . . . . . the great fires arose[34] in the country.

In the subsequent lines of the inscription, owing to its mutilated condition, only the following words and phrases are intelligible:—

(35) Va zatakân, 'and the smitten;'

(36) *Shahpûharî* mal*kân malkâ*, '*Shahpûharî, king* of kings;' satarî âtûrî, 'the fire of the country;

(37) malkân mal*kâ*, '*king* of kings;'

(38) satarî maman, 'the country, for;'

(39) vab*îdûn* vad, '*did*, until;' val, 'to;' babâ Shahp*ûh*arî malkân

(40) *malkâ*, 'the capital of Shahp*ûh*arî, *king* of kings'; mekhîtun afa*m*, 'struck, and by *me*;' *Aûharmazdî* malkân *malkâ* minô, '*Aûharmazdî, king* of kings, the spirit;'

(41) kartî yehevûn, zak ham barâ yansebûn, 'was done, that same took away;'

(42) râdî, 'liberal;'

(43) mekhî*tun*, afam, 'struc*k*, and by me;'

(44) kabîr, 'great;'

(45) afash, 'and by him;'

(46) vakhdûn, va kabîr, 'took, and great;' yazd*ân va k*abîr â*tûrî kamkâr*tarî yehevûn, 'he was more *absolute than* the angels *and* the *great fire*;'

(47) yehevûn hô*man*, *a*fam, '*has* been, *and* by me;' âtûrî, 'fire;'

(48) va yehevûn, 'and was;' shatarî, 'town, or country'; bêtâ, 'house;'

(49) nafsh*man*, 'ow*n*;' zenman min, '*th*is from;'

(50) *afz*âdîhî, '*b*ounty;' *ye*hevûn, '*was*;'

(52) bôn vêhtarî, 'among better;'

(53) hôman, 'is;'

(54) debr*ûnt*, 'conv*eys*;'

(55) *ye*hevûn chîgû*n*, '*w*as as;'

(56) yazdân, 'angels;'

(58) vaspô*haragân*, '*nobles*;'

(60) va*l*man rôêshman val, 'that head to,

(61) vazlûnd tamman, 'they go there;'

(62) gûftî aîk, 'said thus;'

(63) yadman va min, 'hand, and from;'

(64) bên zak adûîn*akî*, 'within that sor*t*;'

(65) barâ, 'except.'

If the first portion of this inscription has been correctly restored it would appear to contain merely an account of the succession of the first six Sasanian monarchs (A.D. 226—283), from Artakhshatar I *to* Varahrân III, with some general allusion to their chief actions. Whether this succession is continued beyond Varahrân III is very doubtful, for though some kings are afterwards mentioned, such as Shahpûharî in lines 36 and 39, Aûharmazdî in line 40, and a king whose name is missing in line 37, yet these names can hardly refer to Aûharmazdî II and his successor, Shahpûharî II, because the latter name is mentioned first. But they are, most probably, the names of the second and third Sasanian monarchs, already mentioned in the earlier part of the inscription; so that the latter half of the inscription probably gave a more detailed account of the deeds of the kings mentioned in the former half. As, however, the very short reign of Varahrân III is hardly likely to have been commemorated by so long an inscription, it is perhaps most reasonable to suppose that the accession of his succes-

[32] Equivalent to "the deceased Varahrân."

[33] Compare Pers. *gûnâ*. It cannot be "sinfulness," because that is *vinâsîh* in Pahlavi; the change to *gunâhî* being modern.

[34] The verb *vamdûnî* is unknown in the MSS., but is a regular formation from the Semitic root עמר.

sor, Narsîhî (A.D. 283—300), may have been mentioned in the missing portion of line 35 or 36, and that the actual date of the inscription was about A.D. 290.

Owing to its mutilated state this inscription is of little value as a historical document. Like that of Naqsh-i Rajab it is written in the first person, and professes apparently to be dictated by the divine Aûharmazd himself; this is clear enough in the first half of the inscription, and the occurrence of the word *afam*, 'and by me,' in lines 40, 43, and 47, shows that the use of the first person continued in the latter half.

The chief value of the inscription is philological. Even in its present mutilated state it supplies one hundred distinct Sasanian words, of which forty-five have not been found in other inscriptions, though all but fourteen are known to exist in Pahlavi MSS. Allowing for certain peculiarities in orthography, and for the existence of about one strange word in seven, its language is practically the same as that of the MSS. still preserved by the Pârsîs.

One peculiarity of Sasanian orthography is the existence of a final *î* in several Iranian words, which disappears in MS. Pahlavi, as in *Aûharmazdî*, *aûzdêsî*, *gâsî*, *kâmkârî*, and *sipâsî*, in the abstract suffix *-îhî* of *afzûdîhî* and *gûnâkîhî* (which has become *-î* in modern Persian), and in the comparative suffix *-tarî* of *kamkârîtarî* and *vêhtarî*. In some cases the Sasanian final *î* has become an optional final *ô* in MS. Pahlavi, as in *âtûrî*, *hamgûnakî*, *hûkâmakî*, *kartakî*, *râdî*, *shatarî*, and *sûtî*, in the past participial suffix *-tî* of *gûftî*, *kartî*, *nipishtî*, and *zatî*, and likewise in the Semitic word *aîtî*. But many Iranian words have no final *î* in Sasanian (even though some of them have frequently a final *ô* in MS. Pahlavi) such as *aêharpat*, *Aîrân*, *Anîrân*, *Artakhshatar*, *avagûn*, *bagdât*, *bûkht*, *chîgûn*, *farmân*, *gehân*, *ham*, *magôpat*, *Magôstan*, *minô*, *rûbân*, *Varahrân*, *vartîr*, and *zîvâk*; also all plurals, such as *âtûrân*, *kartakân*, *malkân*, *mâtzadân*, *vâspôharakan*, *yazdân*, and *zatakân*; and the pronominal suffixes, as in *afam*, *afash*, *zakam* and *zîm*. In no case is this final *î* an *izâfat*, or relative particle, which is always either understood in Sasanian inscriptions, or expressed by the Semitic relative *zî*; nor is it an abstract or adjectival suffix, as in modern Persian. Neither can it be merely a sign indicating the end of the word, for in that case it would be used after all words, and not be confined to a few of them; moreover, in this inscription the words are separated by blank spaces.

With regard to the verbs, the suffix of the past participle in Iranian verbs (which is also used for the preterit) is *-tî*, as has been noticed above; and no other forms of Iranian verbs occur in this inscription. The Semitic verbs not only occur in their crude forms, which appear to be used for both the past participle and preterit, but also take the suffixes *-î* (or *-ê*), *-t*, and *-d*. The effect of these suffixes is rather doubtful, though *-t* and *-d* may perhaps form the third persons singular and plural of the present tense, respectively, as has been assumed in the translation, although it is by no means certain that they are not used indifferently; and it is possible that the suffix *-î* (or *-ê*) may give a conditional meaning to the preterit, but this requires confirmation.

The Semitic verbs which occur in this inscription furnish many corrections of the traditional pronunciation of the Huzvârish verbs used in Pahlavi MSS., most of which have been anticipated by European Orientalists on etymological grounds. Thus, we find *debrûn*, 'conveyed,' for the traditional *dedrôn* and *gabrôn*; *hatîmûn*, 'ended,' for *atîmôn*; *mekhîtun*,[35] 'struck,' for *mâîtôn*; *shedîtun*, 'cast,' for *shakîtôn*; *vabîdûn*, 'did,' for *vâdôn*;[36] *vakhdûn*, 'took,' for *vâgôn*; *vazlûn*, 'went,' for *vazrôn*; *yansebûn*, 'seized,' for *jôsgôn* and *jôsbôn*; *yehamtûn*, 'arrived,' for *jâmtôn*; *yehevûn*, 'was,' for *jânôn*; *yekâvîmûn*, 'remained,' for *jaknîmôn*; and *yetîbûn*, 'sat,' for *jatîbôn*. Two of the Semitic verbs, *havîtun*, 'was,' and *vamdûn*, 'arose,' are not known to occur in Pahlavi MSS.

Several other corrections of the traditional pronunciation of Huzvârish words are also supplied by the Semitic words in this inscription. Thus, we find *afam*, 'and by me,' for the traditional *avam*; *barâ*, 'except, but,' for *banâ*; *bên*, 'within,' for *dayen*; *hanâ*, 'this,' for *anâ*; *val*, 'to,' for *var*; *valman*, 'that,' for *varman*; *zenman*, 'this,' for *gôman*; and *zîvâk*, 'place,' for *jînâk*. The meaning of the last word is not absolutely certain, as *zîvak* must mean 'living,

[35] The Sasanian inscriptions confirm the practice of the Pahlavi MSS. written in Persia, by using a short vowel, instead of a long one, in the last syllable of Huzvârish verbs ending in *-îtûn*, when the *t* is not radical.

[36] The letters *bî* must first have been joined and written like *dî*, and then mistaken for *â*.

or living-place;' bearing the same relation to *zîvastan* (Pers. *zistan*), 'to live,' as *dânâk*, 'knowing, wise,' does to *dânistan*, 'to know;' and it may be compared with Pers. *zay*, 'side, quarter, shore;' in this inscription it is, however, used exactly as the traditional *jînâk*, 'place,' would be, and it may, therefore, be the same word.

Some few traditional readings, which are not easy to explain by etymology, are confirmed by this inscription, such as *madam*, 'on, about, unto,' which is used both as a preposition and as an adverb in the inscription, exactly as it is in the MSS.; also *adûînakî*, 'kind, sort,' if that word has been correctly identified. It likewise proves the conversion of *b* into *d* or *g*, by the writers of MSS., in such words as *bên*, *debrûn*, *vabîdûn*, and *yansebûn* which have become *dên*, *dedrûn*, *vadîdûn* (afterwards *vâdûn*), and *yansegûn* in the MSS.

Any traveller in Persia who would obtain and publish photographs of this inscription and that of Naqsh-i Rajab, taken while the sun is shining obliquely on the surface of the rock (when the letters are most distinctly visible), would be doing good service to Pahlavi scholarship, as it is doubtful if Westergaard found time to copy all the visible letters in the lower part of the inscription. There are also two shorter Sasanian inscriptions, of the succeeding century, on the marbles of an edifice near the south-west corner of the platform at Persepolis, and south of the Hall of Columns (see Ouseley's *Travels in Persia*, vol. II, p. 237 and plate 42), of which photographs would be very valuable. When such photographs have been obtained it will, no doubt, be necessary to make several emendations in that portion of the text of the Naqsh-i Rustam inscription which has been here supplied mainly by conjecture.

INSCRIPTION FROM KÂMÂ OR KÂMAVANA.

BY BHAGWÂNLAL INDRAJI PANDIT.

Kâmâ or Kâmavana is about forty miles west from Mathurâ in the Bharatpur territory. In the middle of the village is a rising ground on which is an old fort, and in this fort are many fragments of Hindu sculpture and a Masjid called Chôrâsi-Khamba, built of the stones of old Hindu temples of various ages,—the pillars being placed, as in many other similar cases, in pairs above one another, to give the necessary height to the mosque. On one pillar is carved, in letters resembling the Haḷe Kannaḍa, the words—*namaḥ śivâya*. The Masjid stands in a court, the outer measurements of which are 76 by 102 feet, with a corridor having a double row of pillars inside the front walls and a single row down each side. The mosque itself has three rows of pillars from end to end. The *mimbar* or pulpit in this mosque is locally called *Chhathîpâlna*—'Krishṇa's swing.'

The inscription, given in the accompanying plate, is found on an old pillar of hard reddish sandstone 4′ 2″ by 1 ft., built into the inner-side of the court wall to the right of the entrance on the east side. This pillar is laid upon its side. At one end 1′ 3″ of it is occupied by a *chakra* or wheel; and the inscription which occupies about 2′ 6″ of the remainder of the surface is in 37 lines; but a small piece on the left side, and a strip of irregular breadth down the right, has been chipped away. Some letters also have been injured over the remaining surface, but these can be generally made out with a little pains.

The following transcript was made on the spot. The language is Sanskrit, and it is in verse. It contains no date, but the alphabet appears to belong to the 8th century, or somewhat after the date of the Jalrapâṭan inscription (*Ind. Ant.* vol. V, p. 180).

Transcript.

[1] सशंखाश्चत्वारः स्फुरदुरुगदाचक्रविषमा घनश्यामा दैत्यक्षय[ज]

[2] [नित]सत्कीर्त्तिगुरवः । अलङ्घ्याः श्रीमन्तश्चलदलघुमाणिक्यवलया [:शिवं]

[3] [ह]स्ताः शौरेर्व्विदधतु महाम्भोधय इव ॥ श्रीसूरसेनवंशाद्भास्वानुदयाद्रि[तो]

[4] [यथा] महतां स्वच्छो मणिरिव गुणवान् श्रीफक्को भूभुजाममलः तस्य [प्रियाभ]

[5] [व]द्देवी देयिका देवसम्मता यस्याः कुलभटः श्रीमान्सुतोभून्नृप [सत्तमः]

[6] [ब]भूव तस्य सा साध्वी महिषी महिता गुणैः द्राङ्गिणीनाम विख्याता [तत्पुत्रो]
[7] [ह्य]जितो जितः ॥ अजितस्य गुणोत्कृष्टा जायासीदप्सरःप्रिया । यासू[त तनयं]
[8] [श्रे]ष्ठं श्रीदुर्ग्ग[भ]टमूर्ज्जितं ॥ भञ्जन्ती गुरुभारभुग्नशिरसश्शेषस्य – – – –
[9] – – कुचद्वयाहतिपतद्व्यालोलचीनांशुका । उधृत्य प्रसभं वराहव[पुषा] – – – –
[10] – – द्विजेभ्यो मुदा पृथ्वी येन मधुद्विषेव न पुनः क्रोडेन संरक्षिता ॥ – – – – – – –
[11] – स्य तस्य निश्शेषितद्विषः । वच्छुलिकेत्यभूद्भार्या विष्णोर्ल्लक्ष्मीरि[वापरा] – – –
[12] – – विवोत्पन्न एकवीरो महाद्युतिः दुर्ग्गदामा नृपश्रेष्ठः – – – –
[13] मूर्धनि ॥ नानाशस्त्रप्रहारद्रुतसभयचलन्मत्तमातङ्गसङ्ग – – – – – –
[14] चञ्चत्खरखुरदलनासादितार्त्तानरातीन् । हेलाकृष्टासि – – – – – – – – –
[15] – – – शारान्सदेशः स[न्यस्तो]यो जिगाय प्रतिदिशमनिशं – – – – – – –
[16] यः ॥ श्रीदुर्गदामनृपतेरदितिरिवासीदातिप्रिया भार्या – – – – – – –
[17] नी देवी ग्रा वच्छिका ख्याता । दुग्धाब्धेर्वीचिचक्रक्रमभरितमहा – – – – – – – –
[18] दामेरो राहिमाद्रेर्ज्जलधिपरिकरादा सुवेलात्सुवेलात् ॥ – – – – – – – –
[19] चतुरुदधिचलन्मेखलां भूतधात्रीं विद्वान्सः शासनाय प्र – – – – –
[20] टङ्कान्पाटयन्ति ॥ सम्य[क्सा]धनकल्पनाप्रविलसद्धेतो – – – – – – – –
[21] द्वादिसमस्तदोषरहिते पक्षे स्वसिद्धे स्थिते स्वच्छन्दप्रत – – – – – – – –
[22] प्रज्ञाभिमानाय सन्तुष्टो यः समरे जयन्प्रतिदिशं वादे च – – – – – – –
[23] श्रीदेवराजस्य देवराजसमद्युतेः यज्ञिकेत्यभवद्भार्या – – – – – – – – – ॥
[24] पौराणीव कथा ख्याता सद्वृत्ता यावनी शुभा धर्मप्रवाहा गङ्गेव – – – – –
[25] जिता ॥ महतस्तेजसो देवी जननी जननस्थितेः । पूर्व्वा सन्ध्येव – – – – –
[26] सः क्षयकारिणा ॥ साजीजनन्नृपश्रेष्ठं पुत्रं रत्नसमप्रभं । – – – – – – –
[27] – द्वत्सदामानमूर्ज्जितम् ॥ माद्यत्कुञ्जरकुंभदारणरणत्कार – – – – – – –
[28] स्तसमस्तशस्त्रविकलप्रख्यातकीर्त्तिष्वपि । आकाशद्युति – – – – – – –
[29] प्रोत्खातखड्गस्थितेर्यस्यात्मैव रणाङ्गणेष्वभिमुखं संदृश्य – – – –
[30] न्यदामा पुत्रोभूद्यस्याः, प्राज्यप्रतापवां बलिवन्धल – – – – – –
[31] स्थितः ॥ तयैतत्कारितं चित्रं चित्रकर्म्मोज्ज्वलं महत् । स्वय – – – – – – – – –
[32] बलिविद्विषः ॥ यावद्गुणाभिरामस्य – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
[33] स्यातु देव्या भवतु निर्म्मलं ॥ सद्वत्तास्म – – – – – – – – – – – –
[34] गणतनयः विरचितवान्ना [गमित्र] स – – – – – – – – – – –
[35] महटकपौत्रेण सता सुतेन वै – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
[36] यत्नात्प्रशस्तिरेषा समुत्कीर्णा – – – – – – – – – – – – –
[37] स्तुतिप्रपंचरमणी – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –

This gives us the genealogy of the Sûrasena dynasty extending over seven kings, if not of one more whose name is lost. These are—

1. Phakka, married Dêyikâ.
2. Kula-abhaṭa his son, married Draṅgiṇî.
3. Ajita their son, married Apsarapriyâ.
4. Durggabhaṭa their son, married Vachchhullikâ.
5. Durgadâman their son, married Vachchhikâ.
6. Dêvarâja their son, married Yajñikâ.

7. Vatsadâman their son.

Vachchhikâ had also another son whose name is lost. She built a temple to Vishṇu, which it seems to have been the object of this inscription to record.

We have no mention of this dynasty elsewhere; but, from the vicinity of the place both to Ambêr and Mathurâ, it was probably only a petty feudatory family subordinate to one or other of these places.

THE MAHÂVALI DYNASTY.

BY LEWIS RICE, M.R.A.S.

Some time ago, when at Śrînivâspura in the east of Maisur, I was led to a wild tract called Gûlgânpode, near which is the reputed site of an ancient city, now known as Haraḷukôṭe. There are scarcely any traces left, except mounds and bits of broken pottery here and there, but small coins are said to be washed up after heavy rain. The place is all jungle and surrounded by the low flat hills characteristic of the auriferous tract which runs along the right bank of the Pâlâr to beyond the limits of Maisur, and which indeed is said to commence with a cave at the north-eastern angle of the site in question. In a ditch I found fragments of a pillar with a Pallava inscription dated Śaka 690.

But at Gûlgânpode, seeing what appeared to be the edge of a large slab of stone standing a few inches out of the ground, I made an excavation, and was gratified with the discovery of the two massive stones, with inscriptions on them, of which the accompanying facsimiles were taken by photography.[1] They prove to be grants in Pûrvada Haḷe Kannaḍa, the oldest form of the Karṇâṭaka language, made during the reign of kings of the Mahâvali dynasty. They are engraved in bold and deep-cut characters, as if the work of giant hands, and have been well preserved by accidental burial in the ground. They bear no religious emblems, but one has a sort of ornamental floral device at top. The marks of great antiquity presented in the absence of sectarian symbols, the simplicity and brevity of the inscriptions, and the ancient forms of the letters, are borne out by the obsolete and obscure expressions used in them. One contains a couplet which appears to be a quotation of some proverb or popular maxim, of which the meaning is far from clear, and which I am inclined to think is about the oldest specimen of Canarese that has yet come to light.

The first inscription belongs to the reign of a king named Mahâvali Baṇarasa, of the Mahâvali-kula, who were door-keepers (?) (*pratihâra*) to Parameśvara adored by all three worlds as the lord over gods (*sura*) and giants (*asura*). It relates how an officer named Viyaḷa Vijyadhara was ordered to attack an enemy named Marigâra and slew him. But being compelled by the difficult ground to dismount and pursue the enemy's force on foot, he was himself killed, and a grant was made of the village of Kuḷa Nellûr as a means of livelihood for his family.

The second inscription is of the reign of Mahâvali Bâṇarasa, who seems on account of his victories to have been called Vikramâditya, and to whom other kings gave the celebrated name of Bâṇa Vijyâdhara. It records how Pekkiri Voradoga Râja was sent against a force besieging Mavindi-ûru and compelled it to retreat. But while pursuing the enemy, his eagerness was such that his troops could not keep up with him; hence, though securing the victory, he lost his life. A grant of land for the support of his family was in consequence made, apparently by his followers.

These inscriptions, it seems to me, are not less important in securing from oblivion a line of kings that ruled over a part of India historically most interesting, than curiously suggestive in the resemblances of their proper names, and valuable for the study of ancient forms of the language.

Mahâvali is the same as Mahâbali, after whom Mahâbalipur, known as the 'Seven Pagodas,' situated about thirty miles south of Madras on the Coromandel coast, is said to have been named, as it is called on the spot Mâvalivaram, or as some state Mâvalavaram. In the inscriptions at the place it is called Mâmallaipuram or Mâmallapuram, and Jananâthapuram.[2] Mahâbali or Bali,

[1] The first is 4½ ft. square, the second 6 ft. by 4½ ft., and 9 inches or more in thickness.

[1] See Carr's *Sev. Pag.* pp. 111, 66, 118, 132, 141.

KAMA OR KAMVAN INSCRIPTION.

HEAD OF STONE.

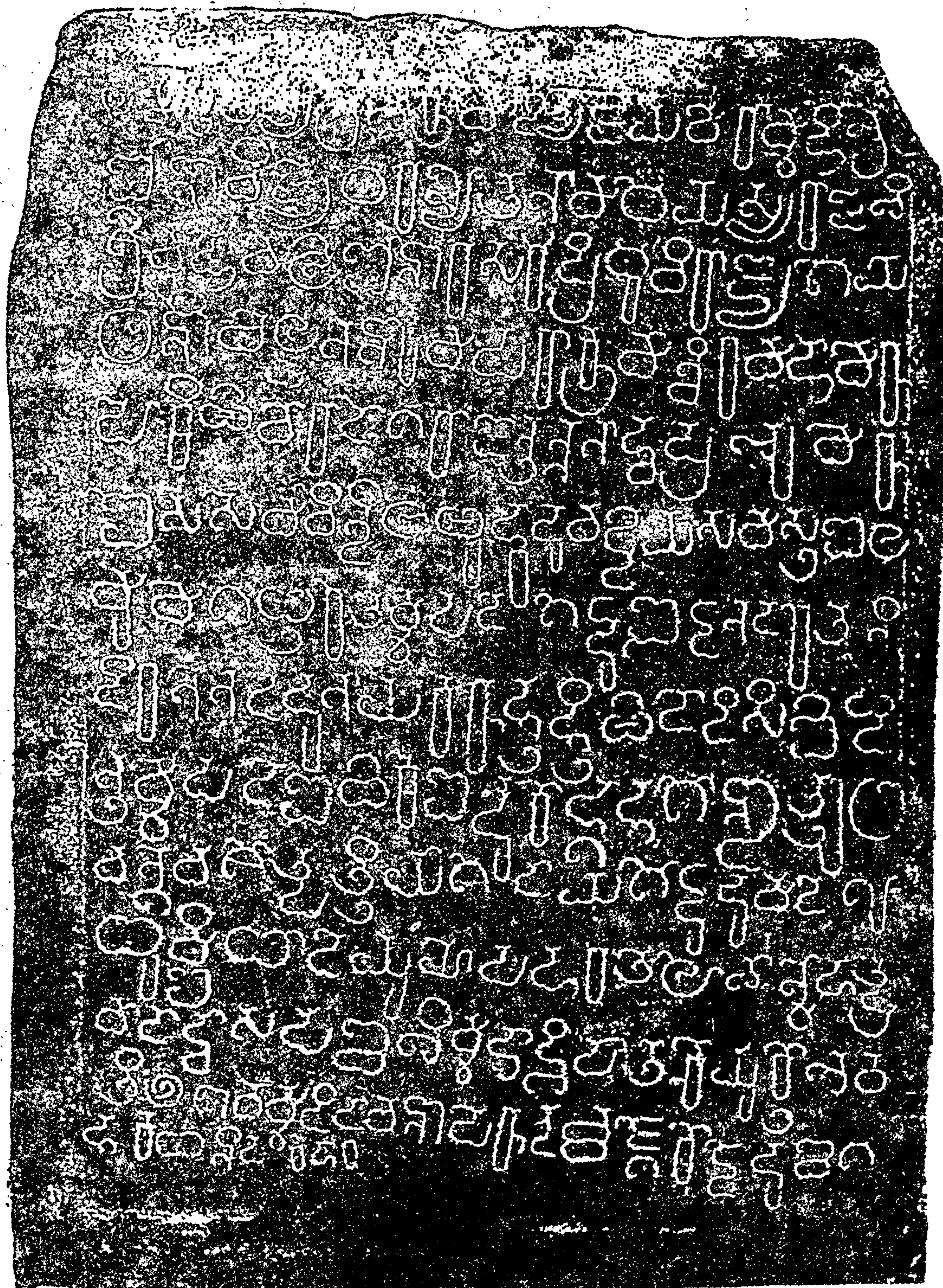


BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI, FECIT.

INSCRIPTION OF MAHÂVALI BANARASA, No. 1.

STONE 4½ FEET SQUARE.

INSCRIPTION OF MAHÂVALI BANARASA, No. II.



STONE 6′ BY 4½′.

whom Sir William Jones would identify with Belus, it is needless to state plays an important part in Hindu mythology. He was the powerful Asura emperor on account of whom Vishṇu assumed the Vâmana avatâra, the fifth or Dwarf-incarnation. The story as related in the *Râmâyaṇa* and the *Bhâgavata Purâṇa*[3] is well known and need not be repeated here.

Of the Mahâvali-kula I have met with only one single mention. This is in an inscription of the beginning of the 7th century, obtained by Sir Walter Elliot,[4] from which it appears that the Châlukya king Vikramâditya I. conquered the chief of the Mahâmalla[5] kula, besides by the capture of Kânchî subjecting the Pallava king Jayateśvara Pota Râja. "From these facts it may be inferred," says Sir Walter, "that the rulers of Mâmallaipura were in a state of independence in the 6th and beginning of the 7th centuries." The present inscriptions not only support this view, but, for reasons to be further stated, make it likely that from the 2nd century the Mahâvali line ruled the whole tract of country through which the river Pâlâr flows, from its source near Śrînivâspura, where these stones were found, past Kânchî to Mahâbalipur near its mouth.

The inscription just referred to has also been published by Mr. Fleet,[6] but by translating *Mahâmalla kula* as "family of mighty wrestlers," *Râja Malla* as "Royal Wrestler," and *Pota Râja* as "sea king (!) or king of ships" he has missed the significance of the allusions, and states that he does not know who are referred to.

As regards other names in this inscription which he is unable to identify, I may point out that Śrî Vallabha was a Ganga king who gained a great victory over the Pallava king, in which the latter lost his life.[7] This must have been the Narasiṁha here mentioned, the Narasiṁha Pota Varmma of the inscription published by me in *Ind. Ant.* vol. VIII, p. 23. Pota Varmma is a form of Buddha Varmma.

And here, as the phrase was first met with in the same inscription, I may notice the objection which Mr. Fleet makes[8] to my rendering of *avanipati-tritay-ântaritâm-sva-guro-śriyam-âtmasât-kritya* by "making his own the wealth his father had won, together with that inherited for three generations," proposing to read "having acquired for himself the regal splendour of his father, which had been interrupted by a confederacy of three kings." The discrepancy between the two translations rests upon the meaning attached to "*tritay-ântaritâm.*" Does this only signify "interrupted by a confederacy of three (*kings*)" so as to exclude entirely the rendering "transmitted by a succession of three (*kings*)"? I believe I am right in saying that, so far as the phrase goes, it may be interpreted in either way. We must be guided therefore by other evidence as to which was intended in the original.

The authority for the alleged "confederacy of three kings" is so slight that Mr. Fleet "would suggest the probability of Amara and Âdityavarmâ being really not of the Châlukya family at all, but two of the three confederate kings." Now, so far as the hypothesis rests upon this supposition, I think it is disproved by the inscription published by me in *Ind. Ant.* vol. VIII, p. 96, which is a grant by Ambera (*i.e.* Amara), "the dear son of Satyâśraya, of the Châlukya family." Again, a further reference is made to the three kings in line 17, where the religious endowments are said to have been lost or ruined *tasmin-râjya-traye(ṇa)*, "by those *three reigns*," which seems to me something different from the (necessarily single and combined) reign of a confederacy of three kings. Nor can the reference be to *Trairâjya Pallava*, unless one king can be said to have three reigns or form a triad in himself. There is thus no evidence for the "confederacy of three kings," and the statements made are inconsistent with the hypothesis; we may also infer from the details which *are* given that further particulars would certainly have been mentioned had so important a combination of hostile kings been formed and overcome.

[3] Muir's *Or. Sans. Texts*, vol. IV, p. 133ff.

[4] Carr's *Sev. Pag.* p. 127.

[5] Another form of the name, which also appears in that of the city as Mâmallaipuram. [This or Mâmalaippuram is doubtless the correct form. Mahâbalipuram has been made popular in Southey's *Curse of Kehama*, but is an English corruption: the natives call their village Mâvalavaram. See Carr's *Seven Pagodas*, p. 66, Burnell's *S. Ind. Palæog.* p. 35.—Ed.]

[6] *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 76.

[7] See Ganga inscription published by me in *Madras Journal* for 1878.

[8] *Ind. Ant.* vol. IX, p. 126.

In the absence therefore of further evidence I think my translation may stand, the reference being to the three kings specially mentioned in each of the inscriptions as the predecessors from whom Vikramâditya derived the fortune which had been his father's, thus establishing beyond dispute the legitimacy of his right to possess it and to bestow it.

To revert again to the legends of Mahâbalipur.[9] "The son of Bali, its reputed founder, was Bâṇâsura (Banâcheren in *As. Res.*) who is represented as a giant with a thousand hands. Aniruddha, the son (or grandson) of Krishṇa, came to his court in disguise and seduced his daughter; which produced a war, in the course of which Aniruddha was taken prisoner and brought to Mahâbalipur: upon which Krishṇa came in person from his capital Dvârakâ and laid siege to the place. Śiva guarded the gates and fought for Bâṇâsura,[10] who worshipped him with his thousand hands; but Krishṇa found means to overthrow Śiva, and having taken the city, cut off Bânâsura's hands, except two, with which he obliged him to do homage. He continued in subjection to Krishṇa till his death, after which a long period ensued, in which no mention is anywhere made of this place till a prince arose whose name was Malêcheren, who restored the kingdom to great splendour, and enlarged and beautified the capital. But in his time the calamity is said to have happened by which the city was entirely destroyed."

Whether Bâṇarasa of the present inscriptions had anything to do with Bâṇâsura or not, the coincidence of the names is singular. But it may be noticed that in the second inscription Bâṇa is called a Vijyâdhara, and in the first, the officer is a Vijyadhara. This term is more commonly met with as Vidyâdhara. The interchange of *ja* and *da* is according to rule, and is exemplified in the name of Vijayanagara which was originally Vidyânagara. The old Jain poem in Kannaḍa, the *Pampa Râmâyaṇa*, distinguishes three ruling races in the south in Rama's time:—the Râkshasa line, with capital at Lanka (in Ceylon); the Vânara or Kapi-dhvaja line, with capital at Kishkindha (the modern Ânegundi on the Tungabhadrâ); and the Vidyâdhara line more to the north, with capital at Rathanûpurachakravâlapura (? Ratanpur in the Central Provinces). The Vidyâdharas are uniformly described as superior to men in the possession of certain magical powers, and specially in the ability to travel at will through the air. This mode of locomotion has yet to be rediscovered. The Sîlahâra kings of Karahâṭa near Kolapur are said to be Vidyâdharas.

But we are not, I think, without a direct reference to Bâṇa which enables us to place him with certainty not later than the 7th century. For on revising the Nâgamangala plates (*Ind. Ant.* vol. II, p. 155) I find the first line of the 7th side describes Duṇḍu, the king of Nîrgunda, as *Śrîmad-Bâṇa-kula-kalah* (or *kalakalah*). This, it appears to me, must be the Bâṇa of the present inscription, and Bâna kula, if that be the form, would be equivalent to Mahâvali kula as applied to the kings of that line who came after Bâṇa. Moreover, from another phrase which follows, it may be surmised that their kingdom was called the Daṇḍa-maṇḍala, which would correspond with Toṇḍa-maṇḍala, a name applied by many writers, following Ellis, to the Pâlâr valley.

But even with regard to Baṇa, assuming that he is not the same as Bâṇa, I believe I have found a reference which would place him much further back than the latter. In the 2nd line of the earliest Mallohaḷḷi plates (*Ind. Ant.* vol. V, p. 133) was an undeciphered word which I suggested at the time might be a proper name. On close examination of the doubtful letter I am disposed to make the word Baṇaiti. If this should be correct, and Baṇa prove to be contemporary with Koṅgaṇi I, we must put him at the end of the 2nd century. And we should thence be justified in inferring that the Mahâvali line of kings ruled for at least five centuries down to the 7th.

That the Mahâvalis did not continue in power beyond the 7th century follows from the known fact that the Pallavas were in possession of Kânchî early in that century, and it seems probable also of Mahâbalipur, not only from the inscriptions there, but from its being impossible that they could have tolerated

[9] *Sev. Pag.* p. 13; *As. Res.* vol. I, p. 156.

[10] Among the weapons used was *jvara*, fever! For the full account see *Vishnu Purâṇa*.

the existence of an independent kingdom in such close proximity to their capital. Moreover, as we know, and as the inscription found on the same site mentioned at the beginning, and other inscriptions prove, that the Pallavas were ruling over the east of the Maisur country from that time onwards, coupled with the fact of there being no mention of the Pallavas in these two inscriptions, together with the undoubted evidences of their antiquity, these considerations give, I think, strong ground for supposing that the Mahâvali or Mahâmalla line immediately preceded the Pallavas, as the rulers of the entire Pâlâr valley or (?) Daṇḍa-maṇḍala.

Of the existence and importance of Mahâbalipur at the beginning of the 12th century we have evidence in an inscription of the Hoysala kings (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 331) in which, after the capture of Kânchi and Madura, the general of Vishnu Varddhana is said to have burnt Jananât-hapura.

I. Transcript.

Svasti sakala-jagat-trayabhivandita-surâ=surâdhisa-Paramesvara-pratihârî[11]-krita Ma=hâvalî-kulotbhava Śrî Mahâvalî Baṇa=rasam prithuvi-râjyâ-geye | manas-urar-aḷi kaype maganan, prabhu kaype tulî geva sa=ntan[12]: gaṇḍa paḍivanda[13] Viyaḷa Vijyadhara tannan âḷva prabhu-meru besased â Marigâran a=ṭṭi iṛidu kudurege pâhg-illa[14] âge kudure ind iḷidu naḍad ilid oṭṭi keydu biḷdan: ava=gebâḷ-gaḷvu koṭṭodu Kuḷa Nellûr savva parihâra. svadatam paradatan va yo hareti vasundara shashṭi=m barisha sahasrâṇî prishṭaya jayte krami[15]

Translation.

May it be well; While Śrî Mahâvalî Baṇarasa,—born in the Mahâvalî-kula, made door-keepers (?) (*pratihâra*) to Paramesvara the lord over gods (*sura*) and giants (*asura*), praised by all three worlds—was ruling the kingdom of the world:—

A brave heart dying has merit in a son, his lord has merit in the enterprise which showed his valour.[12]

Thus like a brave man,[13] Viyala Vijyadhara, at the command of the great lord who ruled him, pursuing that Marigâra, pierced him: then, there being no footing for the horse, dismounting from the horse, he went down walking, and joining fight, fell. To (or *on account of*) him is given for a livelihood Kuḷa Nellûr, free of all (*imposts*).

Whoso takes away a gift made by himself or by another shall be born a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years.

II. Transcript.

Svasti tasya Śrî-Vikramâditya-jaya-Mero-mmahîbhrit Bâṇa-Vijyâdhara-khyâta-nâmadheyasya râjabhi Śrî Mahâvalî Bâṇarasar prithuvi-râjya geye; aṇi chelvan aṇuma parâkraman vîra mahâ meru Pekkiṛi Voradoga Râjan tannan âḷva prabhu-meru besase Mavindi-ûruḷ kâdu vaṭṭiya samasta bala=mu megerṭare tamma paḍe geṭṭu beṭṭan adâre tani=d irane naḍadu nâyakaruḷ taḷt iṛid oḍisi bîlda=n. tamma paḍe baḷikke band ûroḷ gaḷagoṇḍ attu a=vange vasotpattiyâge dâya goṭṭudum: â degu=ḷum biḷâdeyu yo paharate. lobhân mohât pra=mâdâd vâ sa pañchabhi mmahâdbhi pâtakke yukto bhava=ti. i dhammad id âvaṇa perund avvange koṭṭodu ai gu=ḷa kaḷani parihâra.

Translation.

May it be well. While Śrî Mahâvalî Baṇarasa—a great king Vikramâditya who as a mount Meru of victory received from other kings the celebrated name of Bâṇa Vijyâdhara—was ruling the kingdom of the world:—

Pekkiṛi Voradoga Râja, of great beauty, of the highest valour, a mount Meru of bravery, by command of the great lord who ruled him, fighting in Mavindi-ûru and causing the whole of the besieging force to retreat; his army being weary, he, unshaken as a mountain, marched on, and coming up with the chiefs,

---

[11] If this be read *pratihârîkrita* it is difficult to make a reasonable translation. The *hâ* though undoubtedly long in *Mahâvalî* is not, it will be observed, marked so in the second mention of the name in line 3, nor in *parihâra* in line 10.

[12] This appears to be a quotation of some popular maxim, but the expressions are obscure, and I am not at all sure that I have separated the words correctly either in this or in the succeeding sentence.

[13] These words might be names or titles.

[14] or ? *ille*. I have taken *pahg* as representing *pâga* given in the Dictionary as "the place where a horse or elephant stands."

[15] The errors in spelling of Sanskrit words are evident.

pierced and drove them off and fell. His army, putting off their arms in the town near which they had come,[16] raised a lamentation and made a gift to yield an annual income for him.

Whoso through avarice, covetousness or envy usurps it and lets that waste be uncultivated, shall incur the guilt of the five great sins.

To him in whose name this gift stands, to him shall be given five ploughs, with release from fighting.

FOLKLORE IN THE PANJAB.

COLLECTED BY Mrs. F. A. STEEL. WITH NOTES BY LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

(*Continued from p. 304, vol. IX.*)

No. 6.—Folk Tale.

Sir Bumble.[1]

Once upon a time a soldier died, leaving a widow and one son. They were very poor, and at last matters became so bad that they had nothing to eat.

"Mother!" said the son, "give me two rupees, and I will seek my fortune in the world."

"Oh! ho!" said the mother, "and where am I, who haven't a pice wherewith to buy flour, to find two rupees?"

"There's that old coat of my father's," answered the lad, "look in the pocket; perchance there might be something there." So she looked, and behold! there were three rupees down in the very corner of the pocket. "More than I bargained for," said the lad, laughing. "See, mother! here is one for you, and I'll keep the other two for myself to pay my way until I find my fortune."

So he set off to find his fortune. On the way he saw a tigress,[2] licking her paw and moaning terribly. He was going to run away, but she called to him faintly, saying "Good lad, take this thorn out for me, and I shall be for ever grateful." But the lad answered, "Not I! why, if I begin to pull it out, and it pains you, you will kill me with one blow."

"No!" said the tigress, "I will turn my face to this tree, and then when the pain comes I will strike the trunk."

"All right," answered the soldier's son. So he pulled out the thorn, and when the pain came, the tigress gave the trunk such a blow that it split all to pieces. Then the grateful tigress said, "As a reward take this box, only don't open it till you have travelled nine miles." So the soldier's son set off to find his fortune with the box. Now when he had gone about five miles, he felt certain the box was heavier than it was at first, and every step he took it seemed to grow heavier and heavier. Still he tried to struggle on, but when he had walked eight miles and a quarter, his patience gave way, and he cried:—"I believe that tigress was a witch, and is playing off her tricks on me. I will stand it no longer. Lie there, you wretched box; Heaven knows what you contain, and I don't care."

So saying he threw the box down violently. It burst open, and out stepped a little old man. He was only one span[3] high, but his beard was a span and a quarter long.

He began to abuse the lad roundly for throwing him down so hard. "Upon my word," said the soldier's son, "but you are weighty for your size, old gentleman. And what may your name be?"

---

[16] Or "coming back and putting off their arms in the town."

[1] میاں بھنگا *Mián bhungá.* *Bhungá* or *bhúndá* is a curious word used in the Panjâb for any buzzing insect, and here for the big beetle or bumble bee. *Bhungá* Panj. and Hindi = Prâk. *bhingo*, though used for a bee, is apparently a small insect, and according to Fallon's Dictionary is the personification of weakness, the very opposite to "Sir Bumble." The ordinary word for the big beetle or bumble bee is *bhauñra* panj. and Hindi, also *bhaurá* or *bhañwar*. The root is apparently Sanskrit भ्रम् *bhram* to wander, whirl, whence *bhramara*, a bee, and *bhramari*, a butterfly = Hind. *bhañbîrî* and *bhañmîrî*, etc. This root is connected with the Lat. *fremo*, etc. *bhinnáná*, *bhimbinnáná*, *bhinakná*, to buzz as a bee or beetle. *Bhimbinnáná* is the word used in this story.—R. C. T.

The story is fairly well known in the Panjâb and is Muhammadan. It possesses considerable literary merits remarkable from their absence in most Panjâbî tales. The treatment is humorous and in places poetical, and the tale as a whole gives the idea of its having been at some period committed to writing. The description of "Sir Bumble" as being a mannikin "one span high with a beard one span and a quarter long" occurs in *The Arabian Nights* and in some German tales. It is possible the Muhammadans brought the tale in with them during some of their irruptions.—F. A. S., R. C. T.

[2] شیرنی *shêrnî*—a tigress. Though no description of the remarkable tigress of the story is given, she is usually described as a بھوت *bhût* = Sansk. *bhûta*, an evil spirit, demon, any creature possessing demoniacal powers, attendants of Śiva.—R. C. T.

[3] ہاتھ *háth* = 18 inches.—R. C. T.

"Sir Bumble," snapped the one span mannikin.

"Upon my word," said the soldier's son, "if you are all the box contained, I'm glad I didn't trouble to carry it further."

"That's not polite," returned the mannikin, "perhaps if you had carried it the full nine miles you would have found something better. It doesn't matter, however, for I'm quite good enough for you, and I shall serve you faithfully according to my mistress' orders."

"Serve me! Then I wish you would serve me with some dinner, for I'm mighty hungry. Here are two rupees to pay for it." No sooner had the soldier's son said this, than with a boom! bing! Sir Bumble whizzed away through the air to a confectioner's shop in the next town. There he stood, the one span mannikin with the span and a quarter beard, behind the preserving pan, and cried in ever so loud a voice, "Ho! ho! Sir confectioner, bring me sweets."

The confectioner looked about but could not see any one. Sir Bumble was so small he was quite hidden by the preserving pan, so he cried still louder: "Ho! ho! Sir confectioner, bring me sweets."

Then when the confectioner looked about in vain for his customer, the mannikin got angry, and ran and pinched him on the legs and kicked him on the foot, saying—"Impudent knave, do you mean to say you can't see *me?* why I was standing close beside the preserving pan."

The confectioner apologised humbly, and brought out his best sweets. Sir Bumble chose about a *man*[4] of them, and said, "Here, tie them up in something, and give them into my hand. I'll carry them home."

"They'll be a good weight," smiled the confectioner.

"What's that to you?" snapped Sir Bumble, "do as I bid you, and here is your money." He jingled the two rupees in his pocket.

"All right, sir," said the man cheerfully; so he tied up the sweets, and placed the big bundle on Sir Bumble's hand, and lo! with a boom! bing! he whizzed off with the rupees still in his pocket.

He alighted at a corn-dealer's shop, and standing behind a basket of flour, cried loudly, "Ho! ho! Sir Baniah, bring me flour."

Then the corn-dealer looked about for his noisy customer, but could see no one. Sir Bumble cried again: "Ho! ho! Sir Baniah, bring me flour." And when the man didn't answer, he flew into a violent rage, and ran and bit him in the leg, and pinched and kicked him, exclaiming: "Impudent varlet, do you mean to say you can't see *me?* why I was standing close beside you behind that basket."

The corn-dealer apologised humbly, and asked Sir Bumble how much flour he wanted. "Two *mans*," said the mannikin. "Two *mans*, neither more nor less. Tie it up in a bundle, and I'll take it home."

"Your honour has a cart with you doubtless, or a beast of burden, for it will be heavy."

"Do as I bid you," shrieked Sir Bumble stamping his foot, "and here is your money." He once more jingled the two rupees in his pocket. So the corn-dealer tied up the flour in a bundle, and placed it in Sir Bumble's hand, when whizz! buzz! the mannikin flew off with the rupees still in his pocket.

The soldier's son was just wondering what had become of the one span mannikin, when with a whirr he alighted, and wiping his face and panting, said: "I hope I've brought enough, but you men have such terrible appetites."

"More than enough," laughed the lad when he saw the huge bundle.

Then Sir Bumble cooked the bread, and the soldier's son ate three cakes and a handful of sweets; but Sir Bumble gobbled up all the rest, saying at each mouthful, "You men have such terrible appetites."

After that the soldier's son and his one span servant travelled ever so far till they came to the king's city. Now the king had a daughter called Princess Blossom,[5] who was so lovely, and tender, and slim, and fair, that she only weighed five flowers.

Every morning she was weighed in golden scales, and always the scale turned when the fifth flower was put in, neither less nor more.

Now it so happened that the soldier's son caught a glimpse of the lovely, tender, slim, and fair Princess Blossom, and he fell dreadfully in love with her. He would not sleep, or eat his food, and said all day to his faithful man-

[4] من *man*, = 80 lbs.

[5] بادشاہزادی پھول *Bâdshâhzâdî Phûl*, Princess Flower or Blossom; also *Phûlazâdî*, *i. e.* born of a flower; a blossom.—R. C. T.

nikin, "Oh dear Sir Bumble! carry me to the Princess Blossom that I may see and speak to her."

"Carry you!" snapped the one span mannikin, "that's a likely story, why you're ten times as big as I am. You should carry me."

But when the soldier's son begged and prayed, and grew thin and pined away thinking of the Princess Blossom, Sir Bumble, who had a kind heart, was moved, and bid the lad sit on his hand. Then with a tremendous boom! bing! there they were in the palace. It was night time, and the princess was asleep; she woke however with Sir Bumble's booming, and seeing a handsome young man beside her was quite frightened. She began to scream, but stopped when the soldier's son with great politeness begged her not to be alarmed. After this they began to talk together, and Sir Bumble stood at the door, where he stuck a brick upon end so that nobody could see him, and did sentry. Now when morning was breaking, the soldier's son, and the Princess Blossom, tired of talking, had both fallen asleep; Sir Bumble, the faithful servant, thought to himself, "Some one will be coming soon, then he will be killed; and if I wake him he won't go." So without more ado he put his hand underneath the bed, and bing! boom! carried it into a large garden outside the town. There he set down the bed in the shade of the biggest tree, and pulling up the next biggest by the roots threw it over his shoulder, and marched up and down keeping guard.

Before long the whole town was in a commotion. The Princess Blossom had been carried off, and everybody turned out to look for her. By-and-bye a one-eyed Kotwâl[6] came to the garden gate. "What do you want here?" cried valiant Sir Bumble. "The Princess Blossom," answered the Kotwâl. "I'll blossom you! get out of *my* garden, will you?" shrieked the one span mannikin with his span and a quarter beard. With that he belaboured the Kotwâl's pony so hard with the tree, that it ran away, nearly throwing the rider.

The poor Kotwâl went straight to the king, and said: "Your Majesty! I am sure the Princess Blossom is in your Highness' garden outside the town, only there is a terribly valiant little sentry there who fights with a tree."

Then the king went with horses and men to the garden, and tried to get in. But Sir Bumble with his tree routed them all; half were killed and the rest ran away. The noise of the fight awoke the young couple, and they determined at once to fly with each other. So when the fight was over, they all three set out to see the world.

Now the soldier's son was so enchanted with his good luck in winning the Princess Blossom that he said to Sir Bumble, "My fortune is made, I shan't want you any more, you can go back to your mistress."

"Pooh!" said Sir Bumble, "that's what you all think. There's trouble before you yet. However, have it your own way, only take this hair out of my beard, and if you want my help, burn it in the fire."

So Sir Bumble boomed off, and the soldier's son and the Princess Blossom lived and travelled together very happily. At last they lost their way in the jangals one day, and had nothing to eat or to drink. When they were just about as hungry as they could be, a wandering Brahman appeared. Hearing their story, he said, "Oh poor children! come home with me, and I will give you something to eat."

If he had said "I will eat you," it would have been nearer the mark, for he was no Brahman, but an ogre[7] dreadfully fond of handsome young men and slender girls. They went home with him, and he said: "Now get ready what you want to eat: here are all my keys; you may open all the cupboards except that with the golden key. Meanwhile I will go and gather firewood."

Then the Princess Blossom began to prepare the food, and meanwhile the soldier's son opened all the cupboards. He saw such lovely jewels, and dresses, and cups and platters, and bags of gold, that his curiosity got the better of him, and he said "*I will* see what wonderful thing is in the cupboard with the golden key." So he opened it, and lo! it was full of men's

[6] كوتوال *Kotwâl*, Persian, properly the chief police officer of a city; now however only the chief native Executive Officer in Cantonments in India without any strictly police duties.—R. C. T.

[7] غول Arabic *ghûl* (vulgo Eng. 'ghoul,' or 'ghowl'), an evil spirit, vampire. It is the *bhût* and *prêt* of the Hindus (for *bhût* see above note 2), the *prêts* are ghosts inhabiting graveyards. In Sansk. *preta*, √*pre*, is a departed spirit.—R. C. T.

skulls picked quite clean.[8] Then he flew to the princess and cried: "We are lost! this is no Brahman, but a horrid ogre."

Just then they heard him at the door, and the princess had barely time to thrust the hair into the fire before the ogre appeared. At the same moment a boom, boom, binging noise was heard in the air coming nearer and nearer. Then the ogre (who very well knew Sir Bumble's power) changed into a heavy rain which poured down in torrents, but Sir Bumble turned into the storm wind which beat back the rain. Then the ogre changed to a dove, and Sir Bumble pursued it as a hawk, and pressed it so hard that the ogre had barely time to change into a rose and drop into Râjâ Indra's lap,[9] who was listening to some dancing girls singing. Then Sir Bumble, quick as thought, changed into an old musician, and standing beside the bard who was thrumming the *sitâr*,[10] said "Brother, you are tired; let me play." Then he played so wonderfully and sang with such piercing sweetness that Râjâ Indra said: "What shall I give you as a reward? Name it, and it shall be yours." Then Sir Bumble said: "Only the rose in your lap." "I had rather you asked for something more, or something less," answered Râjâ Indra. "'Tis only a rose, but it fell from heaven: nevertheless, take it." He threw the rose towards him, and lo! the petals all scattered on the ground. Sir Bumble threw himself on his knees, and gathered them up; but one petal escaped, and changed into a mouse. Then Sir Bumble changed into a cat and caught the mouse. All this time the soldier's son and the Princess Blossom were waiting to see what would happen in the ogre's hut. Suddenly with a boom! bing! Sir Bumble arrived, shook his head, and said, "You two had better go home; you can't take care of yourselves." So he gathered together all the jewels and gold in one hand, and placed the Princess and the soldier's son on the other, and flew through the air to their home, where the poor mother, who had been living on one rupee, was delighted to see them. Then with a louder bing! boom! than ever, and without waiting for thanks, Sir Bumble whizzed out of sight, and was never seen any more.

But the Soldier's Son and Princess Blossom lived happily ever after.

SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY DR. G. BÜHLER, C.I.E.

We make the following extracts from Dr. G. Bühler's interesting Report on Sanskrit MSS., dated Aḥmadabad, 8th June 1880:—

As regards the cataloguing of important libraries, I directed my attention exclusively to the ancient Bhaṇḍârs of Aṇhilwâḍ-Pâṭhan and of Cambay. For while I consider it a mere waste of time and money to publish lists of the exceedingly numerous Brahmanical and Jaina manuscripts which are to be found in our Government collection, as well as in every Bhaṇḍâr and private library throughout India, the ancient collections made chiefly in the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries of our era possess a special interest. They contain, firstly, copies mostly written on palm-leaves, which surpass all those elsewhere obtainable by their great age and correctness. Secondly, it is in these libraries only that we find manuscripts of the more ancient works, which have ceased to be generally studied by the learned, but possess the greatest interest for the European scholar, who looks on the *Śâstras* from an historical stand-point. A reference to my earlier reports will show that I have repeatedly tried to fully explore these ancient libraries, and that I have been at least so far successful as to obtain a sight or copies of some books and of the catalogues in possession of the custodians. During the last year I tried to complete the information which I formerly gained and to have prepared by my Native Assistants new and accurate catalogues fit for publication. I sent, therefore, two men to

[8] This is 'Blue-beard' over again. The governing idea is the evil results of curiosity; from the coincidence there is no reason to presume any connection between the two tales.—R. C. T.

[9] Indra, originally the beneficent god of heaven, giver of rain, etc., in the later Hindu mythology took only second rank as ruler of the celestial beings who formed the *Indar kâ akhârâ* or Court of Indra, which was synonymous with licentiousness (*akhârâ* = a gay assemblage). He is usually known now as the Râjâ Indra, of whose doings and court innumerable stories are told and even books written. For the purpose of folk tales he appears as in ... o as a *deus ex machinâ* to explain the unexplainable ... up the situation.—R. C. T.

[10] ستار *sitâr* Persian = *si* + *târ*, three wires or three strings. It is an instrument with 3, 5, 7, and even 11 steel strings, but the usual number is three. Lat. *cithara*; German *zittern*, *gittern*; Eng. *guitar*, etc. But the Greek word is *κιθαρα*, Homeric form *κιθαρις*, Lat. from *cithara*. The European word is therefore very old, and hardly likely to be in any way connected with the Pers. *sitâr*. The Hebrew word for a similar instrument is *kinnor*, √ *kanar*, to make a stridulous sound; whence another set of words: Gr. *κινυρος kinuros*, and *γιγγρος*, *gingros*, Lat. *gingrina*, a pipe, and German *schnarren*, *knarren*.—R. C. T.

Cambay and one to Pâṭhan. The former were ordered to catalogue the Bhaṇḍâr attached to the temple of Ś â n t i n â t h, which contains only palm-leaf manuscripts of great antiquity, and such palm-leaf manuscripts as might be found in the other three public libraries of Cambay. Though armed with orders from the Acting Collector, Mr. G. Wilson, my emissaries were unable to prevail on the Cambay Darbâr to bring the exceedingly obstinate Panch to reason, and after spending a part of August and September in fruitless efforts, they had to return without having effected their purpose. Towards the end of the year I made a second attempt, which, owing to the energetic manner in which Mr. Sheppard, the Collector of Khêḍâ, espoused our cause, and to the intelligent and ready co-operation of the Divân, Mr. Shâmrâo Nârâyaṇ, turned out successful. At Mr. Sheppard's invitation I personally visited Cambay and inspected Śântinâth's Bhaṇḍâr, the catalogue of which had been begun by my men, as well as a smaller collection said to belong to Śripûj Guṇaratna Sâgara. The former library is fully worthy of its fame. The manuscripts, about 300 in number, are exceedingly old, six dating from the beginning of the 12th century and beautifully and correctly written. During my short inspection of the collection I discovered at once a new copy of the historical Prâkṛit poem, *Gauḍavaha*, which V â k p a t i composed in honour of his patron Y a ś o v a r m a n of K â n a u j (A.D. 725). The copy, the third which has been found, appears to be very correct and somewhat more complete than those discovered in Jêsalmîr and Pâṭhan. Its last verse gives the name of the author in full as "Kavirâyalaṁchhana Vappairâya," *i. e.*, Vâkpatirâja, who bears the mark or title of a "Prince of Poets." Besides this work I saw a considerable number of unknown Jaina works, among which were also some *Prabandhas* or "historical tales." A complete account of the contents of the library can be furnished in next year's report only. The Paṇḍit whom I sent to Pâṭhan, had orders to catalogue the Saṁghavinâ Pâḍâ Bhaṇḍâr and to attempt, after the completion of that task, the great library of H e m â c h â r y a. As I had found the custodian of the former collection very obliging in 1876 and 1877, I hoped that the preparation of the catalogue would cause no difficulties. In this expectation I was, however, disappointed. The Paṇḍit had to sue for many months in vain, as the leading Jainas feared that some sinister attempt against their books might be intended when the new catalogue had been prepared. At last the Gaikwâḍî Sar Subhâ took the matter earnestly in hand, and the permission to prepare the catalogue was given. The work was, however, only just finished at the end of the year. The trouble taken with it has been well rewarded by the discovery of a very ancient copy of the oldest Sanskrit dictionary, the *Śâśvata Kosha*, of which one other copy only (preserved at Oxford) is known, of several copies of Hemâchârya's *Prâkṛita Dvyâśrayakosha* together with a commentary thereon, and of a *Vikramâṅkâbhyudaya Kâvya*, apparently another historical poem.

The second work is a life of Hemâchârya's patron, K u m â r a p â l a of A ṇ h i l w â ḍ, and bears therefore the second title *Kumârapâlâcharita* or history of K u m â r a p â l a. Its primary object is to illustrate the rules of the author's Prâkṛit grammar. It is, therefore, written in six different dialects, and below each verse the author names the rules of his grammar, according to which the remarkable words employed have been formed. The work has, therefore, a double importance for Sanskritists, as a source for a portion of the history of G u j a r â t and an illustration of Hemâchârya's grammar. The Saṁghavi Bhaṇḍâr contains nothing but palm-leaf manuscripts, upwards of 400, and among them some belonging to the 12th century. Its contents as well as those of Śântinâth's library at Cambay and of the great library of Jêsalmîr will, I hope, convince those European Sanskritists who still doubt the existence of Sanskrit manuscripts dating from the 12th and earlier centuries, that they can fearlessly acknowledge the fact. These revered old hoards of the Jaina communities do not contain forgeries, but genuine relics of very ancient times. The condition of the manuscripts, the characters in which they are written, the material on which they are written, furnish strong testimony on the point, and the quantities in which these documents occur (but only in so jealously guarded localities to which in general neither the faithful nor infidels are admitted), make it also unbelievable that they can have been manufactured in modern times. The genuineness of these documents granted, it will be the duty of Sanskrit scholars, who again and again publish the classical Sanskrit books according to manuscripts dating at the best from the 15th century, to turn their attention to our old Bhaṇḍârs and to use the copies there deposited, which are not only older than the earliest paper copies, but older also than the oldest commentators on whom usually great reliance is placed. Before that can be done, it will, however, be the duty of those who conduct the search for manuscripts to publish the list of the contents of the Bhaṇḍârs. The catalogue of the Saṁghavinâ Pâḍâno Bhaṇḍâr is at present being prepared for the press.

In purchasing original Sanskrit books for

Government, I have been even more fortunate than in my attempt to obtain catalogues. The whole number of my purchases amounts to 429 volumes, many of which contain more than one work. The number of separate works, great and small, surpasses five hundred. Seven of these books belong, however, not really to this year's collection, but to 1877 and 1878. All the other manuscripts have been actually collected during the year in the Government and Gaikwâḍî districts of Gujarât, in Cambay, Kâṭhiâwâḍ, and Southern Mârwâr. During my two years' absence in Europe, a great number of old Paṇḍits, who possessed good libraries, have died, owing to the scarcity and the epidemic fever which have deprived Western India of a considerable proportion of its population. Again a great number of Brahmanical families have been reduced to extreme distress by the high prices for the necessaries of life which prevailed for more than two years, and by the inability of their Yajamâns, or spiritual clients, to give them the customary support. These special circumstances, regrettable as they are in other respects, have enabled me to collect this year in 9 months, more Brahmanical manuscripts than I ever obtained before in Gujarât, and to obtain them at a cheaper rate than usual. If the delay which occurred repeatedly in the payment of the money advances had not impeded my operations, I should have been able to show even better results.

As regards the quality of books collected, I am happy to state that this year's collection contains much that is rare and important. Vedic literature is represented by 159 numbers. For the *Rigveda* there are, besides copies of the *Brâhmaṇa* and *Sûtras* of Śânkhâyana Śâkha, the very rare commentary of Durgâchârya on the *Nirukta*, and some rare treatises, among which I may name a *Galitapradîpa* and a *Padagâḍha*. The former is, I think, new. Among the works referring to the Mâdhyandina Śâkhâ two large pieces of the *Mantrabhâshya* by Uvaṭa, a complete copy of Mahidhara's *Vedadîpa*, and a collection of the *Pariśishṭas*, deserve to be mentioned. One of the manuscripts of the first-named book is the copy mentioned in my *Catalogue* of MSS. from Gujarât, I, No. 36. A special and very great interest attaches to a collection of 10 manuscripts of the Maitrayaṇîya Śâkhâ, containing the greater portion of the *Saṁhitâ*, a *Padapâṭha* of the Mantras, the *Mânavagrihyasûtra* partly with a commentary, and six treatises on the sacrificial and funeral rites of that Vedic school. All these manuscripts, among which the *Padapâṭha* of the Mantras is unique, come from Morvî and Lâṭhi in Kâṭhiâwâḍ. Many years ago, when I first began the search for Sanskṛit manuscripts, I heard through Râo Sâheb Gopâlji Sûrbhai Desâi of the existence of Maitrâyaṇîyas in Morvi. But I was informed later that they were extinct. As Dr. L. Von Schroeder undertook last year the edition of the sacred books of the Maitrâyaṇiyas, I resolved, at his request, to institute another careful search for them in Gujarât and Kâṭhiâwâḍ. I sent one of my assistants to Morvî and its neighbourhood, and he found there two families, in one of which the whole Śâkhâ is still recited annually. Not without some difficulty, he bought from them nine old manuscripts and procured a copy of the unique *Padapâṭha* of the Mantras. Encouraged by this result, I ordered a further search after Maitrâyaṇiyas to be made in the whole tract north of the Narmadâ, to which, according to the commentary on the *Charaṇavyûha* they originally were confined. In consequence a number of families adhering to the school were found in the northern districts belonging to the Gâikwâḍ, near Siddhapur and Vaḍanagar. They, however, possess no books. But in Ahmadâbâd two Śuklas or spiritual heads turned up, who still are able to recite the *saṁhitâ*. One of them has declared himself willing to part with his manuscripts, while the other will probably lend them for collation. I have not been able to include the Ahmadâbâd manuscripts among the purchases of 1879-80, as I had no money in my hands at the end of the year to pay for them. Upwards of fifty manuscripts refer to the *Sâmaveda*. They include, besides the *Saṁhitâ*, the *Gânas* and the chief *Brâhmaṇas*, some of the rarer *Sûtras* and *Pariśishṭas* attached to the third *Veda*. The most important among them are the *Riktantra* and *Sâmatantra Vyâkaraṇas*, the *Taṇḍâlakshaṇa*, *Panchavidha* and *Pushpasûtras*, as well as the *Amritâharaṇa*, *Somotpatti* and *Naigeya-Pariśishṭas*. The *Atharvaveda* is represented by more than twenty manuscripts. Some old, though incomplete manuscripts of the *Saṁhitâ*, a good manuscript of the *Kauśika Grihyasûtra*, a copy of the last thirty-seven *Pariśishṭas* and two *Prayogas* on domestic ceremonies appear to be valuable. In connexion with the works belonging to the *Atharvaveda* a discovery deserves to be noticed which throws some light on the history of the Paippalâdas, one of its ancient schools, the *Saṁhitâ* of which is hitherto known through a single Kaśmîr manuscript. All the Atharva manuscripts which I have collected or seen in Gujarât and Rajputânâ belong to the Śaunaka Śâkhâ. Yet the *Mahârṇava*, a work quoted in the commentary on the *Charaṇavyûha*, distinctly states that all Atharvavedis residing north of the Narmadâ are Paippalâdas, while those living to the south of the river are followers of Śaunaka. Partly with the hope

of finding somewhere a second Paippalâda *Saṁhitâ*, and partly with the intention of testing the assertion of the *Mahârṇava*, I instituted inquiries in the chief settlements of the Atharvavedîs as to the school to which they considered themselves to belong. In Kâthiâwâḍ as well as in Gujarât, I mostly received the same answer, "we belong to the Paippalâda school." Some Brahmans who are even able to recite their *Saṁhitâ*, asserted in addition that their manuscripts, which manifestly belong to the Śaunaka school, contained the Paippalâda recension. Others, *e. g.* a large colony near Siddhapur-Śrîsthala, who have become cultivators, knew nothing about their *Veda* beyond the name of the school, and their Guru or spiritual chief admitted that for the domestic sacrifices and rites he employed the ritual of the white *Yajurveda*. From these facts I conclude that at some period or other the Atharvavedîs of Gujarât must have given up the study of their *Veda*, and that, when later a revival of learning took place among them, they had lost their own books and procured new ones from the south, which, of course, belong to the southern recension of Śaunaka.

Among the poetical works collected this year, there are many books which will be useful for students of the kâvyas and dramas. But two only deserve special notice, viz., the *Jâmavijaya* of Vâṇînâtha and the *Mokshopâyasâra* of Abhinanda, the Gauḍa. The author of the former poem was a protégé of Jâm Sattarsâl (Jâma Śatruśalya), who ruled over Nawânagar in Kâthiâwâḍ from 1569 to 1608. He gives short notices of thirty-two ancestors of his patron and a rather distorted account of the adventures of the latter. The poem possesses, however, considerable interest for the history of Gujarât, which, for the period of the Musalman ascendancy, is known from Musalman sources only. The *Mokshopâyasâra* is a philosophical poem, extracted from Vâlmîki's *Râmayaṇa*. Its author is the same poet who wrote the *Kâdambarîkathâsâra* and the *Râmacharita*, and lived, as I have shown elsewhere, in the ninth century of our era.

The acquisitions under the heads grammar, lexicography and philosophy require no special remarks, though it may be noted that the books on Vedânta and especially the Vedânta of the Vallabhâchârîs are very numerous.

Under the head Alaṁkâra or poetics, there is a manuscript containing a portion of Bhoja's *Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa*, the first which has turned up in Gujarât, and a small novelty entitled *Kavikaṇṭhâbharaṇa* composed by the Kaśmîrian poet Kshemendra-Vyâsadâsa. The latter is particularly interesting for its quotations from contemporary literature and the author's own numerous compositions. In the collection of works on Dharma or sacred law, two rare commentaries on Manu's code by Govindarâja and by Nârâyaṇa deserve to be mentioned. The collection of works on astronomy and astrology contains several very rare books. The most important is a very old and tolerably correct copy of Varâhamihira's *Panchasiddhântikâ*, dated Saṁvat 1673 or 1616-17 A. D. The only other known copy of this work, which was discovered by me in 1875-76, is so incorrect as to be almost useless. The new one is very much better. It comes from Cambay. Next follows a complete manuscript of the *Vṛiddhagârgîya Saṁhitâ*, which includes also the famous *Yugapurâṇa*, a short prophetic account of the early history of India. There is further a very old, but somewhat damaged copy of Pṛithûdakasvâmin's commentary on the *Brahmasiddhânta*, dated Saṁvat 1595 or 1538 A. D. It is the first copy which has been obtained in Gujarât. Finally, I have obtained a good old copy of Bhoja's *Karaṇa*, the *Râjamṛigâṅka*, which hitherto was represented in the Government collection by a modern apograph only from Jêsalmîr, and a hitherto unknown *Saṁhitâ* by the same royal polyhistor. Its title is just as that of his *Yogaśâstra*, *Râjamârtaṇḍa*. The manuscript is dated Saṁvat 1655 or 1598 A. D.

The Jaina manuscripts collected during the past year are not very numerous. But I am glad to report that I have obtained some good, though incomplete, manuscripts of Hemachandra's Sanskṛit *Dvyâśrayakosha*, which is the standard authority for the Solaṅkî period of the history of Gujarât; the same author's hitherto unknown *Prâkṛita Dvyâśrayakosha*, of which I have already spoken above; and a new historical poem by Arisiṁha called *Sukṛitakîrtana*, which was composed for Vastupâla (A. D. 1220), and gives, besides an account of his charitable gifts and buildings, a complete review of the history of Gujarât, from the Châpotkatas to the Vâghelâs.

MISCELLANEA.

TAMIL AND MAORI.

In *New Zealand and its Inhabitants*, the Rev. R. Taylor mentions that the Maori roots *ka*, *ku*, *ta*, *va*, and their derivatives convey respectively the idea of 'heat,' 'crookedness,' 'striking,' 'carrying.' It is curious, as bearing out a somewhat prevalent notion that the Maori is related to the Dravidian languages, to find that the same roots retain the same meanings in Tamil.

If we take KA as representing 'heat,' 'pungency,'

'light,' we get kây, to burn; kâṅgei, heat; kâram, anything hot; kânal, mirage, heat; kâmam, love; kâthal, warm attachment; kâyam, a wound (that burns), pungency; kâḍi, vinegar; kâl, seed (which possesses the fire of life), to be pungent; kâḍu, a desert, a place for *burning* the dead; kâṭchi, sight, (we say "a glance full of *fire*"); kâri, blackness (burnt); kâvi, red ochre; kâvu, sacrifice; kâḷi, black woman; kâḷei, young bullock, young man (possessing the *fire* of youth); karuppu, black; kasa, to taste bitter; kasattei, astringency; kaḍu, to throb; katham, anger; kathir, ray of light; kattu, to cry harshly; kanthi, brimstone; kamaru, to be excessively heated; kayar, astringent matter; kari, to be scorched; karukku, to scorch; karei, to dissolve; kala, to flame; kani, to grow ripe, tender, melt; kanṛu, to be burnt by the sun.

From KU, signifying anything 'bent,' 'curved,' 'hollow,' 'round,' we get kuni, to stoop; kûnu to curve; kuḍei, umbrella; kûḍei, basket; kumiḷi, bubble; kuṇḍu, bullet; kuḍam, pot; kuḷam, tank; kuthi, heel; ku, the earth; kuhei, cave; kuḍakkiyan, a bent or crooked person; kuḍantham, rotundity; kuḍal, bowels; kuḍambei kûḍu, bird's nest; kuḍâ, cavity, bay; kuḍumi, hair tied in a knot; kuḍumbam, family circle; kuṇakku, crookedness; kuthei, bow, loop: kunthu, squat (to bend the legs); kuppei, a heap (of rubbish); kumal, a sickle; kumuṛu, to emit a hollow sound, bubble; kumbi, the paunch: kurangu, to bend, stoop; kuruppu, pimple; kuvaḍu, roundness, mound; kuvi, become conical; kuḷal, tube; kuḷi, hole; kuḷeichchu, bow, loop; kuṛaḍu, tongs, pincers; kuṛaṇḍu, to be crooked; kuṛâvu, to shrink, contract; kunṛu, a hill.

From TA, denoting the action of 'striking,' 'stroking,' we find taṭṭu, to tap; taḍi, a stick; tagar, fragment; taḍavu, stroke; taḍam, road; taḍaṅgal, taḍei, hindrance; taṇḍi, chastise; tattu, hop; tappu, a tom-tom (what is struck); tari, to stop, take (or *strike*) root; tavaḷei, frog; taḷambu, bruise from a *stroke*; taḷir, germinate, *strike*; taḷḷu, shove; taṛi, cut off; taṛei, to hammer; tâkku, beating; tâṅgu, ward off; tâṇḍu, leap; tâvu, to spring upon, attack.

From VA, with the idea of 'carrying,' we get vâ, to come (carry oneself near); vâḻu to live, flourish (as the French say "*se porter*," to *carry* oneself); vârei, a pole for carrying anything; vâr, to pour; vây, mouth (for carrying breath); vârttai, a word (to carry a single idea); vâkkiyam, a sentence (to carry an assemblage of ideas); vâl, a train or tail; vaṇḍi, a carriage; vaḻi, a road, way.

A. M. Ferguson, Jr.

Abbotsford Estate, Lindula, Ceylon.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS IN THE RÂWAL PINDÎ DISTRICT.

HINDUS.

Betrothal.—(*Sakh or Kurmai.*)

Among Hindûs betrothals are of three kinds, *viz.*:—

1.—*Pûnsakh*, where no valuable consideration is received whatever. 2.—*Dûdthî*, where an interchange of brides takes place between the two families. 3.—Where money is paid for the bride.

The last is a custom much reprobated, and does not usually prevail among very high-caste Hindûs.

The preliminaries having been settled privately between the two families, the parents or guardians of the girl send their *purohita* with some sugar, one rupee cash, two pice, two tolâs of saffron, and a Brahmanical thread (*janêo*) to the house of the parents or guardians of the boy. On his arrival the friends and relatives of the boy assemble with their *purohita*. A drum (*dhol*) is beaten, and it is publicly notified to the members of the assembly that such a person's son has been betrothed to such a person's daughter. The boy's *purohita* draws a figure with saffron or *sendûr* of Gaṇeśa in the vessel containing the *janêo*, &c., and offers up prayers to Gaṇeśa. The girl's *purohita* invests the boy with the Brahmanical thread, and affixes a *tîkâ* of saffron on his forehead. Some *batâshas* (sugardrops) or raisins are distributed to the friends assembled, and the *purohitas* are dismissed with a present. There is also for the next two days music and singing in the boy's house.

In some instances the above ceremonies are not observed. There is a simple announcement, when the girl's *purohita* is sent, that a betrothal has taken place between the parties, and in cases where there is relationship or confidence between the parties, there is no ceremony of any kind whatever, the parties are content with a private verbal engagement. The betrothal of a widower takes place without any ceremony.

Marriage.—(*Biyâh or Shâdî.*)

When a marriage is to be celebrated, two or three months before the event the friends of the bride, with the assistance of the family *purohita* or priest, fix upon the auspicious day, which is known as the *Sâhâ*. It is taken down in writing, and this document, which is called the *Parchâ shâdî*, is sent by the hand of the family *purohita* or barber to the parents of the bridegroom.

On receiving the notice, they dismiss the bearer with a present and commence to make preparations for the wedding.

Fifteen days before the marriage the bride is secluded, and is only approached by her female companions who stay near her, and sing bridal songs. This seclusion of the bride is known as *Máiyán*. Seven days before the marriage some food is distributed, and money given in charity, which is called *Buzurgán kí roti*.

On the day the marriage is to take place, a new earthen vessel (*kumbh*) containing water, and a lamp (*chirágh*) are placed before the bride, and before sunset of that day she is bathed and anointed with oil, and her maternal uncle or her father's elder brother encircles her right wrist with ivory *churá* or bracelets.

The friends of the bride are summoned, and her *purohita* announces the *sáhá*, and publishes her and the bridegroom's *gotrachár* or the names of their great grandfathers, grandfathers, and fathers. In the interim, while the above ceremonies are being enacted in the bride's house, others are taking place in the bridegroom's.

Four or five days before the marriage, a woollen chaplet (*gahna*) is tied round the wrist of the bridegroom. The Navagraha and Gaṇeśa are worshipped, and food and money are distributed to Brahmans and others: music and singing commence from this date.

A day before the marriage the bridegroom's clothes, as well as those of his relations, are coloured yellow with *kasumbhá*, and in the night his hands and feet are stained with henna. On the next day the friends of his family assemble and are fed, and a contribution of money called *Tamból neundrá*[1] is levied from them. Presents are made to the family *purohita*, barber, servants, and mendicants. The *janj* or marriage party then start from the house of the bridegroom, who is decorated with a head-dress called the *mor*. On approaching the bride's residence, the members of the party dress themselves, and saffron water is sprinkled over their clothes.

A little after dusk the bridegroom's party enter the village or town, and are met a short distance off by a deputation of the bride's father and friends, who salute them, and the bridegroom receives a small present from the bride's father. This is called *milní* or *peshkára*. On reaching the bride's residence, the bridegroom and his friends have sherbet served out to them, and the comfort of the guests is attended to.

If the omen is favourable for the performance of the ceremony, it takes place that very night. If not, it will take place on the following night.

When everything is ready, the bridegroom is taken into the house of the bride's father, and made to open the door of a room where the bride is seated with her companions. Here he receives another present from the bride's father. The bride's *purohita* now gives a paper to the bridegroom's *purohita*, in which are recorded the names of the bride's great grandfather, grandfather, and father, and he measures the bridegroom with a piece of raw cotton thread. Presents of ornaments and clothes are made to the bridegroom's father. Four posts are erected at the four angles of a square, over which is stretched a canopy of red cloth. Under this canopy the bridegroom seats himself on a basket turned upside down. To the right, and by the side of it, a similar seat is prepared for the bride, who sits on it, but is separated by a cloth screen from the bridegroom. The near relatives and the *purohita* approach the enclosure. The *gotrachár* or ancestral list is taken by the bride's *purohita* together with seven vessels of sweetmeats and placed before the bridegroom. An earthen vessel of water (*kumbh*) and a lamp (*chirágh*) are also deposited within the enclosure.

Figures of Gaṇeśa and other divinities are made of wheaten flour and placed in the enclosure, and prayers to Gaṇeśa and the Navagraha are offered up. The *purohita* then places the ancestral list, the *janéo*, and a rupee in the boy's lap, and gives a piece of sweetmeat from each of the seven pots to the bridegroom to eat. Some practical jokes, such as thumping and pinching by the younger female members of the bride's family, are usually carried on, and goodnaturedly submitted to by the bridegroom and his younger relatives up to this stage of the proceedings, but they cease now, and are no longer practised or attempted.

The ceremony of the *Kanyádána* now takes place. The bride's father places the right hand of the bride in the right hand of the bridegroom, and takes some water in the palm of the right hand, and putting it over their clasped hands, gives the girl away. The *purohita* repeating the words of the *sankalpa* as follows:—

On this day, at such an hour, I give my daughter, *Bágbharí*, whose great grandfather was *Sewak Rám*, whose grandfather was *Bálak Rám*, whose father is *Átmá Rám*, to *Bálmúkand*, whose great grandfather was *Nának Chand*, whose grandfather, &c., &c. The father of the bride responds *Soast*—Amen! and enquires from the bridegroom if he will nourish and cherish the woman. His reply is, "God will do so."

Then a corner of the bridegroom's *dopattá* or scarf is tied to a corner of the bride's sheet, and the bridegroom gets up, followed by the bride be-

[1] Neundrâ or Neundâ, a Punjâbi word, signifying a marriage contribution.

hind him, and in this manner they both perambulate seven times round the vessel of water (*kumbh*) and the lamp (*chirágh*). This is called *Lávánphere.* The marriage is now deemed complete and irrevocable.

The *purohitas* and others are then dismissed with presents. The contributions of the friends and relations of the bride are then made under the name of *Tamból* or *Neundrá* as in the house of the bridegroom. The dowry is given, and after a stay of two days, during which time there is feasting, singing, and music, the assembled guests depart. The servants, mendicants, and others receive presents as remuneration or as charity. On the third day the bride is carried home in a *dolá* or litter preceded by music, and followed by the bridegroom on horseback, and his friends. The bridegroom is shaded by a large round red umbrella called a *sirgasht*, which is usually carried by the *lilári*,[2] or dyer of his native town or village.

It should be noted here that the *Lávánphere* is essential to marriage, all other rites or ceremonies can, and are, on rare occasions, dispensed with, except the *Lávánphere*, but when parties are married by the *Lávánphere* only, the marriage is called *Chori-ká-Biyáh*, or stolen wedding.

Marriage of Widows.

Widows are not permitted to marry by law or custom, but among low caste men, such as Sonârs, Aroras, Chhimbis and Jats, an observance called *Chádar-ḍalna* commonly occurs. There is no particular ceremony: only a white *Chádar* or sheet is coloured yellow at the four corners with saffron, and the man throws it over the woman's head, and the rite is complete. Jat-Sikhs do this in a Dharamsâla, and also prepare *halva* (*kaṛhá*), which they distribute among the spectators.

MUHAMMADANS.

Betrothal.—(*Náta.*)

There are three kinds of betrothals among Muhammadans—1. '*Iwaz Mu'awaza*—where an interchange of brides takes place between the two families. 2. Where money is paid for the bride. 3. Among respectable and well-to-do people, where nothing is given or taken.

The boy's father goes to the girl's father, and asks for the girl for his son. If the father be agreeable, the boy's father sends *ghí*, sugar and rice for a feast, and on a day fixed for the occasion, the father of the boy, with some friends, his family barber and musician, proceed to the house of the girl, where the food is prepared and distributed. The barber and musician of the girl's family are also present.

The contract of betrothal is ratified by the boy's father calling out—"Oh God—vouchsafe thy mercies, and may all end well!" The girl's family barber brings a brass dish (*thál*), and places it before the assembly with *ghí* and sugar in it. The boy's people throw some jewellery, and the boy's father some clothes into the dish, which the barber and the musician carry to the girl's father, who takes as much as he thinks proper, and returns the rest. Some return all. The barber and musician get one or two rupees each out of it. Sherbet is served out to the boy's friends by the barber, or musician. If the boy's father be rich, he gives a present of a gold mohar to the girl's father. If he be poor, a rupee is usually given. This is called a *nishání* or token. After the betrothal, on some day not later than the eleventh, the females of the boy's family pay a visit with music and singing to the girl's house, and there get sprinkled with *haldí* water by the relations of the girl, and the parents of the boy receive as presents some clothes and a ring. The girl conceals herself now from the relations of the boy and from the boy himself, and afterwards at the occurrence of every grand festival, or until the marriage takes place clothes are sent for the use of the girl by the boy's father.

But sometimes simultaneously with the betrothal there is a rite performed which is as binding as the *nikáh* or marriage, and which indeed is the *nikáh* only that it is not followed by consummation. This ceremony, which is called the *shara' jawáb*, generally takes place when the boy's father does not implicitly rely on a verbal promise, and fears that a breach of contract is likely to take place hereafter. It is not attended with any festivities, and the bride is not taken away from her parent's home. She is allowed to remain with her parents until she is grown up, or until her husband has the means to bring a *janj* or *barát* with music, and after the usual festivities to take her away to his house according to ancient form and custom.

Marriage.—(*Nikáh or Shádí.*)

It should be observed at the outset that among all Muhammadans, except those of the strictest sort, a great many Hindû customs are followed on occasions of the *Shádí*. For instance, the bridegroom has the *gahná* tied round his waist. His clothes and those of his near relatives are coloured yellow with *tún* and *kasumba*, and the bridegroom's hands and feet are stained with henna. A feast is given by his parents, and the [illegible] is contributed by their friends. [illegible] secluded in *Máiyán*, and there [illegible] by the women accompanied [illegible]

[2] A Punjâbi term.

the *Domní* or wife of the family musician. But these are not essential to the validity of a Muhammadan marriage. Indeed they are dispensed with in families which follow the *Shara'* or Muhammadan law strictly.

The *Nikáh* is performed as follows:—The parents of the parties settle beforehand a date for the ceremony. If the date is eight days hence, they put eight knots on a piece of cotton thread which they circulate by the hand of the family barber among their friends and relatives. This is called *Gandí*.

On the day fixed, the bridegroom's father goes to the bride's father with a *janj* or *barát*. The bridegroom riding on horseback with a *sirgasht* or red umbrella carried over his head by the *lilári* or dyer, and on arrival on that same night, if a *Shara' jawáb* have not already taken place, the *Nikáh* is read, but if a *Shara' jawáb* has already been performed between the parties at time of the betrothal, there is no necessity for a second similar ceremony, but as a rule, and particularly if the girl have arrived at the age of womanhood since her betrothal, a second *Nikáh* is usually celebrated by the Qâzî of the village or Mullah when a *janj* or *barát* comes to fetch the bride. Indeed it is held by pious Muhammadans to be rather a meritorious act than otherwise if the ceremony of *Nikáh* btween man and wife be repeated regularly once a week, or on every Friday, and this is not to be wondered at when we consider that according to their creed there are numberless sins of omission and commission which are held to be sufficiently grave to weaken, if not to destroy, the marriage tie altogether.

The preliminaries having been arranged, and the provisions and money for the feast having been supplied by the bridegroom's father, if the bride's father be too poor to incur the expenses of a feast, food is cooked, and the guests having been fed, and the menials paid, the *Nikáh* is celebrated.

If the bride is not of age, she is not questioned, but her father or guardian says that he has, in the name of God, given her to this man. The bridegroom answers that he is willing to take her. Should the girl be full-grown, still the parents usually make the contract, but she has the option of refusing, when the *Nikáh* is not performed, but if she remain silent the ceremony proceeds.

If the woman cannot appear in public, her consent to marriage is taken by her vakîl and witnesses. The bridegroom, whose face is covered by the *sehrá* or veil, is made to repeat the *Istighfár*, the four *Quls*, the five *Kalimas*, the *Sifat-i-Imám*, and the *Du'á-i-Qanú'at*.

The dower is fixed according to the means of the parties, but if it is not fixed, or omitted, the marriage is still valid.

After the ceremony the bridegroom and all his people receive the congratulations of the assemblage, and the Qâzî, who officiates, gets a fee according to the position in life of the parties, but it is never less than a rupee.

Among Muhammadan Râjputs and other tribes of Hindû origin, a Brahman, before the *Nikáh*, performs the Hindû rite of *Láváuphere*, but this is now falling rapidly out of use owing to the protests and remonstrances of the Mullâhs; nevertheless even when the Brahman is not summoned, his fee is invariably sent to him on the occasion of every marriage. Music and festivities are only signs of marriage. They are in no wise essential to it and are often dispensed with.

After the *Nikáh* the girl is taken to the bridegroom's house in a *dolá* accompanied by the wife of the barber or musician, who gets a present on arrival of the bride at her husband's house.

MARRIAGE OF WIDOWS.

A widow is free to marry, but it is usual for them first to restrict their choice among the relatives of the deceased husband, failing this, a widow may marry whomever she likes, though it is not considered decorous for her to marry out of her tribe.[3]

THE ORIGIN OF THE GIPSIES.

It has been repeated until the remark has become a sort of truism that the gipsies are a mysterious race, and that nothing is known of their origin. And a few years ago this was true; but within those years so much has been discovered that at present there is really no more mystery attached to the beginning of these nomads than is peculiar to many other peoples. What these discoveries or grounds of belief are we shall proceed to give briefly, our limits not permitting the detailed citation of authorities. First, then, there appears to be every reason for believing with Captain Richard Burton that the Jâts of N.-W. India furnished so large a proportion of the emigrants or exiles who, from the tenth century, went out of India westward, that there is very little risk in assuming it as an hypothesis, at least, that they formed the *Hauptstamm* of the Gipsies of Europe. What other elements entered into these, with whom we are all familiar, will be considered presently. These gipsies came from India, where caste is established and callings are hereditary even among out-castes. It is not assuming too much to suppose that, as they evinced a marked aptitude for certain pursuits and an-

[3] From *The Roman-Urdû Journal*, Sept. 1879.

inveterate attachment to certain habits, their ancestors had in these respects resembled them for ages. These pursuits and habits were, that

They were tinkers, smiths, and farriers.

They dealt in horses, and were naturally familiar with them.

They were without religion.

They were unscrupulous thieves.

Their women were fortune-tellers, especially by chiromancy.

They ate without scruple animals which had died a natural death, being especially fond of the pig, which, when it has thus been "butchered by God," is still regarded, even by the most prosperous gipsies in England, as a delicacy.

They flayed animals, carried corpses, and showed such aptness for these and similar detested callings that in several European countries they long monopolized them.

They made and sold mats, baskets, and small articles of wood.

They have shown great skill as dancers, musicians, singers, acrobats; and it is a rule almost without exception that there is hardly a travelling company of such performers, or a theatre in Europe or America, in which there is not at least one person with some Romany blood.

Their hair remains black to advanced age, and they retain it longer than do Europeans or ordinary Orientals.

They speak an Aryan tongue, which agrees in the main with that of the Jâts, but which contains words gathered from other Indian sources.

Admitting these as the peculiar pursuits of the race, the next step should be to consider what are the principal nomadic tribes of gipsies in India and Persia, and how far their occupations agree with those of the Ṙ o m a n y of Europe. That the Jâts probably supplied the main stock has been admitted. This was a bold race of North Western India which at one time had such power as to obtain important victories over the Khalifs. They were broken and dispersed in the eleventh century by Mahmud, many thousands of them wandering to the West. They were without religion, "of the horse, horsey" and notorious thieves. In this they agree with the European gipsy. But they are not habitual eaters of *mullo bálor*, or "dead pork"; they do not devour everything like dogs. We cannot ascertain that the Jât is specially a musician, a dancer, a mat and basket-maker, a rope-dancer, a bear-leader, or a pedlar. We do not know whether they are peculiar in India among the Indians for keeping their hair unchanged to old age, as do pureblood English gipsies. All of these things are, however, markedly characteristic of certain different kinds of wanderers, or gipsies, in India. From this we conclude—hypothetically—that the Jât warriors were supplemented by other tribes; chief among these may have been the Doms.

The *Doms* are a race of gipsies found from Central India to the far Northern frontier, where a portion of their early ancestry appear as the Domar, and are supposed to be pre-Aryan. In *The People of India*, edited by J. Forbes Watson and J. W. Kaye (India Museum, 1868), we are told that the appearance and modes of life of the Doms indicate a marked difference from those who surround them (in Behar). The Hindûs admit their claim to antiquity. Their designation in the Śâstras is Sopâk,[1] meaning dog-eater. They are wanderers, they make baskets and mats, and are inveterate drinkers of spirits, spending all their earnings on it. They have almost a monopoly as to burning corpses and handling all dead bodies. They eat all animals which have died a natural death, and are particularly fond of pork of this description. "Notwithstanding profligate habits, many of them attain the age of eighty or ninety; and it is not till sixty or sixty-five that their hair begins to get white." The Domar are a mountain race, nomads, shepherds and robbers. Travellers speak of them as "gipsies." A specimen which we have of their language would, with the exception of one word, which is probably an error of the transcriber, be intelligble to any English gipsy, and be called pure Romany. Finally, the ordinary Dom calls himself a Dom, his wife a Domni, and the being a Dom, or the collective gipsydom, Domnipana. *D* in Hindustani is found as *r* in English gipsy speech—*e.g.* *doi*, a wooden spoon, is known in Europe as *roi*. Now in common Romany we have, even in London:—

Ṙom	A gipsy.
Romni ...	A gipsy wife
Romnipen ...	Gipsydom.

Of this word *rom* we shall have more to say. It may be observed that there are in the Indian *Dom* certain distinctly marked and degrading features, characteristic of the European gipsy, which are out of keeping with the habits of warriors, and of the daring Aryan race which withstood the Khalifs. Grubbing in filth as if by instinct, handling corpses, making baskets, eating carrion, living for drunkenness, does not agree with anything we can learn of the Jâts. Yet the European gipsies are all this, and at the same time "horsey" like the Jâts. Is it not extremely probable that during the "out-wandering" the Dom communicated his name and habits to his fellow-emigrants?

[1] Or Śvapâka, Manu, X, 38.—ED.

The marked musical talent characteristic of the Slavonian and other European gipsies appears to link them with the Luri of Persia. These are distinctly gipsies; that is to say, they are wanderers, thieves, fortune-tellers and minstrels. The *Shah-Nameh* of Firdusi tells us that about the year 420 A.D., Shankal, the Mahârâja of India, sent to Behram Gour, a ruler of the Sassanian dynasty in Persia, ten thousand minstrels, male and female, called Luri. Though lands were allotted to them, with corn and cattle, they became from the beginning irreclaimable vagabonds. Of their descendants, as they now exist, Sir Henry Pottinger says:—

"They bear a marked affinity to the gipsies of Europe.[2] They speak a dialect peculiar to themselves, have a king to each troup, and are notorious for kidnapping and pilfering. Their principal pastimes are drinking, dancing, and music. . . . They are invariably attended by half-a-dozen of bears and monkeys that are broke in to perform all manner of grotesque tricks. In each company there are always two or three members who profess. . . . modes of divining which procure them a ready admission into every society."

This account, especially with the mention of trained bears and monkeys, identifies them with the Ričinari, or bear-leading gipsies of Syria (also called Nuri), Turkey, and Roumania. A party of these lately came to England. We have seen these Syrian Ričinari in Egypt. They are unquestionably gipsies, and it is probable that many of them accompanied the early migration of Jâts and Doms.

The Nâts or Nats are Indian wanderers, who, as Dr. J. Forbes Watson declares, in *The People of India*, "correspond to the European gipsy tribes," and were in their origin probably identical with the Luri. They are musicians, dancers, conjurors, acrobats, fortune-tellers, blacksmiths, robbers, and dwellers in tents. They eat everything except garlic. There are also in India the Banjari, who are spoken of by travellers as "gipsies." They are travelling merchants or pedlars. Among all of these wanderers there is a current slang of the roads, as in England. This slang extends even into Persia. Each tribe has its own, but the general name for it is Rom.

It has never been pointed out, however, that there is in Northern and Central India a distinct tribe, which is regarded, even by the Nâts and Doms and Jâts themselves, as peculiarly and distinctly gipsy. We have met in London with a poor Muhammadan Hindû of Calcutta. This man had in his youth lived with these wanderers, and been, in fact, one of them. He had also, as is common with intelligent Muhammadans, written his autobiography, embodying in it a vocabulary of the Indian gipsy language. This MS. had unfortunately been burned by his English wife, who informed us that she had done so "because she was tired of seeing a book lying about which she could not understand." With the assistance of an eminent Oriental scholar who is perfectly familiar with both Hindustani and Romany, this man was carefully examined. He declared that these were the real gipsies of India, "like English gipsies here." "People in India called them Trablûs or Syrians, a misapplied word, derived from a town in Syria, which in turn bears the Arabic name for Tripoli. But they were, as he was certain, pure Hindûs, and not Syrian gipsies. They had a peculiar language, and called both this tongue and themselves Rom. In it bread was called *Manro.*" *Manro* is all over Europe the gipsy word for *bread.* In English Romany it is softened into *mâro* or *morro.* Captain Burton has since informed us that *manro* is the Afghan word for bread; but this our ex-gipsy did not know. He merely said that he did not know it in any Indian dialect except that of the Rom, and that Rom was the general slang of the road, derived, as he supposed, from the Trablûs.

These are, then, the very gipsies of gipsies in India. They are thieves, fortune-tellers, and vagrants. But whether they have or had any connexion with the migration to the West we cannot establish. Their language and their name would seem to indicate it; but then it must be borne in mind that the word Rom, like Dom, is one of wide dissemination, Dûm being a Syrian gipsy word for the race. And the very great majority of even English gipsy words are Hindi, with an admixture of Persian, and not belonging to a slang of any kind. As in India, *churi* is a knife, *nák* the nose, *balia* hairs, and so on, with others which would be among the first to be furnished with slang equivalents. And yet these very gipsies are *Rom,* and the wife is a *Romni,* and they use words which are not Hindu in common with European gipsies. It is therefore not improbable that in these Trablûs, so called through popular ignorance, as they are called Tartars in Egypt and Germany, we have a portion at least of the real stock. It is to be desired that some resident in India would investigate the Trablûs.

Next to the word *Rom* itself, the most interesting in Romany is *Zingan,* or *Tchenkan,* which is used in twenty or thirty different forms by the people of every country except England, to indicate the gipsy. An incredible amount of far-fetched erudition has been wasted in pursuing this philologi-

[2] *Travels in Beloochistan and Scinde,* p. 153.

hideous Bombay and Madras blackwood furniture, a little lacquered native table from Kashmir must not be overlooked. The construction of the legs and the whole decoration of the lower framework are Chinese. The forms of Chinese construction and art are very common in Eastern Hindustan, but it is startling to find them unmistakably naturalized so far to the westward. This is just one of the surprises, however, for which one must always be prepared in an Indian museum. India is always supposed to have remained comparatively isolated from the rest of the world; but the truth is that no country has been more overrun by the people of other countries, or more exposed to the influences of foreign invasions, conquests, commerce, arts, and probably religions. Among the Kashmir graven parcel-gilt silver-plate will be seen a strange-looking vessel lent by Mr. H. T. Jenkins. It resembles the Indian water-carrier's *massak*, formed by sewing up the hide of an ox, and leaving its four feet (as prescribed by the code of Manu, B.C. 900—300) intact; and the first thought at seeing it is that it has been designed from a *massak*. But the classical *uter-vini* was of the same shape, only made of a goatskin. In the classical *askos*, modelled from the *uter-vini*, the handle ends in a pair of couching goats. The handle in this Kashmir vessel ends in a pair of tigers, clearly proving that its designer had no idea of modelling from a *massack*, or he would have put two oxen at the end of the handle; and that he was really copying from a Greek or Roman *askos*, or a modern copy of one, simply substituting tigers for goats, as more familiar decorative forms in his art.

In the pottery room, among the Madura glazed pots, is a curious-looking object. It is formed of a series of vases united together round a central vase. It is identical with the Greek sepulchral vase known as the *kernos*.

Mr. Fergusson has said that if the description given by Josephus of the Temple of Jerusalem, as rebuilt by Herod, be read with the plan of a Hindu temple, such as that of Tinnevelly, it is impossible to escape the conviction that their coincidences are wholly accidental. But the really astounding fact is the obvious resemblance which the sanctuaries of some of these southern Indian temples bear to the Holy of Holies of the Temple of Jerusalem. In the great Temple of Chidambaram, the object of worship is *vacuum* (*sunydlaya*) itself, by which term the Hindus are in the habit also of designating the object of Muhammadan worship. There are numerous images of the gods and goddesses to be found in the subsidiary shrines; but the shrine of the temple is only empty space. It is enclosed by a superb structure of sandalwood, profusely decorated with gold and silver plates. A thick curtain screens the interior from all human sight, save that of the high priest, who is permitted to enter it but once in every year. When Wolf, the missionary, first came to Bombay, and was taken to witness the service at one of the Hindu temples there, he fell into a fit of passionate weeping at seeing, as he expressed it, the ritual of the Levites desecrated to the service of idols. It is, in short, vain to seek for the origin of the forms of art. Forms pass to and fro, and what alone remains with a people is the expression of their art. . . .

There is an obvious correlation between the mind and hand, and the more carefully the natural freshness of the mind is preserved, the stronger will be the impress of the individuality of any people on their art and the greater its vitality and assimilative power; and it is for the very reason that so much of their work is done instinctively by, as it were, the unconscious celebration of the hand, that the workmanship of the Hindus, from whencesoever they may borrow its designs, generally bears the indelible expression which distinguishes Indian art.

Beyond the furniture and pottery are the arms, above which hang the banners of the Hindu guardian deities of the eight quarters of the globe —viz., of Indra, guardian of the east, Agni of the south-east, Yama of the south, Sûrya of the south-west, Varuna of the west, Vayu of the north-west, Kuvera of the north, and Soma of the north-east. Nothing could be more simple, practical and picturesque than the arrangement of the arms, or more superb than the armourer's and jeweller's art shown in many of them, particularly in the many splendid specimens so graciously lent by the Queen. Real grandeur of effect has been attained in this room, and one feels it to be worthy of the Louvre itself. . . .

The catalogue of the old India Museum collection of arms, which has been prepared by the Hon. Wilbraham Egerton, M.P., and published by the India Office,[1] will prove a most interesting and invaluable guide to this section of the Museum. In the jewelry room beyond, the eye scarcely knows where to look, there are so many objects of engrossing attraction. In the centre cases are the specimens of jade, many of them unique examples of the best period of Mogul art in India. The collection was bought from the late Colonel S. Guthrie for about £6,000. There can be no manner of doubt that its intrinsic worth is not less than £70,000. The large bowl

[1] See vol. IX, p. 230.

with a cover has a very interesting history. It was purchased about 30 years ago by Colonel Guthrie without the cover, which had disappeared for generations. Some years ago it turned up at a sale in London, and was purchased by Mr. Arthur Wells, of Nottingham, who possesses the finest collection of Indian agates in existence; and he, on hearing of the transfer of the India Museum, at once offered the cover to the Science and Art Department for the price he gave for it, about £30. It takes a year or two years to bore a single hole, or cut the smallest portion of ornament in jade, and this bowl, with its cover, occupied three generations of one family of artists in the employment of the Moghul Emperors in its manufacture, and must have cost the Emperors Jahângîr, Shah Jahân, and Aurangzib, between them, not less than £6,000. It would at this moment fetch probably double that price in China or Japan. The weight, dimensions, and photographs of all the older pieces of the Moghul period of this collection of jade should be carefully taken and recorded. The whole gallery beyond, which brings us to the end of the Museum, is allotted to brass, copper, and other metalwork.—*The Times*, May 15, 1880.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

1. Proper Names.—In the *Indian Antiquary* vol. IX, page 229, a custom of giving certain names to children is referred to, which also prevails north of Madras among all castes of the Telugu-speaking people, with the exception of the Brahman and Razu castes.

The following names are given to children that are born after the death of their predecessors:—

1. Pulya (mas.), Pullamâ (fem.)—from *pulli akalu*, 'leaves' from which, used as plates, a meal has been eaten. These are thrown out on a heap, and when the infant is born, two or three are brought, and it is placed on them.

Another explanation is this: the word *pulli* means 'a hole': the dead child has left one, and the newborn one has filled it up.

2. Pentyâ (mas.), Pentamâ (fem.)—from *penta* dung—the same ceremony as at page 229.

3. Sanisi (mas.), Sanisiamâ (fem.) In the ceremony of bathing the child, ashes are brought from an ash heap, and sprinkled on the infant.

4. Vulaki (mas.), Vulakikunâ (fem.): the meaning of this word is 'nothing.' In a family where all the children have died after birth, and another is born, there is a great commotion in the house; the neighbours ask what is the matter, and they are answered 'Oh! it is nothing (*vulaka*), only another child born.'

5. Konia (mas.), Konemâ (fem.): should his predecessors have died shortly after birth, when the following ceremony is performed:—A hole (*koni*) is dug under the framework of the entrance door of the house where the birth has taken place; through this hole the newborn child is passed from the outside into the house, and the name is pronounced. The mother never changes her name.

These ceremonies are not customary among the Muhammadans now, but they say it is done south; they do not consider them orthodox, and do not intermarry with them.

After naming the child the right side of the nostril and by some the right ear also is pierced, and a gold wire with a round knob at the end inserted. This is customary with all, but the money to make the gold ornament must be begged for by rich and poor, as it is contrary to custom for the parents to make it from their own means.

There are many more names, mostly near the coast, but these I have not as yet been able to ascertain.

Among the Koyas a similar custom prevails, but the only two names used are Konia and Pul[illegible].

I cannot ascertain from inquiry what is the origin of this custom; can any of your readers?

T. V[illegible]

Dumagudem, 24th September 188[illegible].

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

Royal Asiatic Society.—At the meeting of the Society, 15th November 1880, Prof. Monier Williams, C.I.E., read a paper "On Indian Theistic Reformers," in which, after pointing out that Monotheism is not of recent growth in India, he traced the development of the modern form of Theism there from Rammohan Roy, who formulated a system which may be described as Unitarianism based on Brahmanism, through his successor, Debendranâth, who improved on Rammohan Roy's work by founding the [illegible] Samâj, to Keshab Chandra Sen, who threw off altogether both Brahmanism and caste and founded his new progressive Brahma Samâj in [illegible]. In his present eclectic form of theism drawn from Hinduism, Muhammadanism, and Christianity, he teaches a worship of God under the character of a Supreme Mother.

BOOK NOTICES.

Geography of India, comprising a descriptive outline of all India, and a detailed geographical, commercial, social and political account of each of its provinces, with historical notes. By Geo. Duncan. (10th ed. 18mo. pp. 182. Madras: Higginbotham & Co. 1880.)

This little book is intended for the use of schools, and is very neatly got up by the publishers, and illustrated with 17 woodcuts, of which the one on p. 155 given as "View, Jaipur," is not a view of Jaipur, though it may stand for some other place in that part of India. Considerable attention seems to have been devoted to the insertion of the transliterated vernacular spellings of names, but not always successfully, as in cases like 'Krishna' for Krishnâ, 'Bhima' for Bhîmâ, and like Mârâthî 'Chandarnagar,' 'Amraoti,' 'Daulagiri,' 'Mhau,' 'Bhroch,' 'Bilgâon,' 'Pandhâpur,' 'Jalandhâr,' &c. Nor is the information always correct: Girnar is more than 2,500 feet high; Nâsik was not anciently called Panchavatî, but the suburb opposite is Panchâvatî still; nor is Chopra one of the two largest towns in Khandesh. A similar little book is published by T. Nelson and Sons, London.

Report on the Amarâvati Tope, and Excavations on its site, 1877. By Robert Sewell, M.C.S. Printed by order of the Secretary of State for India in Council. London: 1880.

Mr. Sewell's official report on his excavations at the Amarâvati Tope in April–May 1877 has been published in Her Majesty's Printers' best style of type and super-royal 4to toned paper. Besides the report of his own operations and a full description of every stone he excavated, with speculations on the subjects of the various sculptures, occupying pages 31–55, the author has collected into this report long extracts (pp. 10–30) from the accounts, published and unpublished, of Col. C. Mackenzie, with descriptions of his excavations and those of Sir W. Elliot, &c.; a detailed description of the twenty-two Amarâvati marbles in the Library at Bejwâḍâ; and a facsimile, with transliteration and translation by Prof. Eggeling, of a fragment of a large inscription now in the British Museum.

Mr. Sewell's account of each of the 89 marbles obtained by him at Amarâvati, and of the 22 previously lodged at Bejwâḍâ, seems to be drawn up with great care: and it was most desirable they should be described by their finder as soon after they were unearthed as possible; but, since it was found impracticable to illustrate these descriptions so as to make them intelligible to those not otherwise familiar with them; and, moreover, since the whole mound has more recently been dug up by orders of the Duke of Buckingham, and photographs taken, both of the marbles first excavated by Mr. Sewell and of the others found since, it seems unnecessary to have combined with this report so much extraneous matter that would more appropriately have formed part of a complete account of both his own and the more recent excavations, with the illustrations necessary to make the descriptions practically useful.

Since the publication of Mr. Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, the Amarâvati Tope has become familiar to all interested in Indian antiquities. Col. Mackenzie, in 1816-17, had careful drawings made of 97 separate marble slabs, pillars, &c., and about 18 of the stones are now in England, while 7 others were sent to Calcutta, and some are at Madras and Masulipatam, but probably 60 or 70 of them were left on the spot and broken up or burnt into lime by the villagers. Sir Walter Elliot in 1845 excavated a second large series of slabs, now partly at Madras but the larger portion at the British Museum. Those in the Madras Museum were photographed by Col. Tripe, and those in England are produced in the second portion of *Tree and Serpent Worship*. The Duke of Buckingham has now dug out all that was left, and, as Mr. Fergusson's work is all but out of print, the new materials will naturally be available for a third edition of it, which we hope will be undertaken soon. Meanwhile the results of the later excavations will be anxiously waited for.

Nothing can be more praiseworthy than the effort made by Mr. Sewell to render an accurate account of the exact position in which he found each stone. His descriptions of the sculptures too are well written, though, like some other writers of strong imaginativeness, he is somewhat too fond of tracing resemblances and finding the origin of things where soberer workers would strongly deny any connection: thus he is not satisfied with an indigenous or even a Græco-Baktrian origin for the roll-ornament of leaves and flowers so frequent on architraves and friezes, but must trace it to the serpent symbols on the sarcophagus of Oimenepthah I of Egypt.

The fragment of an inscription given, with transliteration and translation by Prof. Eggeling, contains no historical information: it is the same as was given in the *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. VI. pp. 219ff and plate xi. Besides this plate, there are other two to illustrate his excavations; and one—a "Sketch" of Dîpâldinne by Col. Mackenzie, made in 1816. Why this latter should have been selected, which is manifestly a mere eye-sketch, incorrect in details as well as in scale, in preference to the surveyed plan published by Fergusson (plate xlvii) is by no means clear, and is apt to mislead.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C. S., M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from Vol. IX, p. 296.*)

No. LXXXI.

BÂDÂMI, the ancient V â t â p i or V â t â p î, is the chief town of the Tâlukâ of the same name in the Kalâdgi District, and is situated about four miles from the left bank of the Malâpahârî or Malaprabhâ river, in Lat. 15° 55′ N. and Long. 75° 45′ E. I have explained the origin of its name at Vol. VIII, p. 238.

In addition to possessing many architectural remains, which have been described by Mr. Burgess in the *First Archæological Report*, pp. 15 *et seqq.*, Bâdâmi is fairly rich in inscriptions. I have already published three of them in this Series;—the fragments of a Pallava and of a Western Chalukya inscription, No. LXXIII, at Vol. IX, p. 99, and a Western Châlukya tablet of Jagadêkamalla II,[1] dated Śaka 1061 (A. D. 1139-40), No. XXXIII, at Vol. VI, p. 139. I now give all the remaining inscriptions that are at present known to exist at this place, with lithograph facsimiles of the most interesting of them.

After the Pallava fragment mentioned above, the earliest, of known date, is the Sanskrit inscription of the Chalukya king Maṅgalarâja, Maṅgaliśa, or Maṅgalîśvara, on a pilaster in the verandah of the Vaishṇava Cave No. III. Dr. Eggeling's version of this inscription has been given at Vol. III, p. 305, and in the *First Archæol. Report*, p. 23; and my own version of it, at Vol. VI, p. 363, and in the *Second Archæol. Report*, p. 237, with some corrections notified in the *Third Archæol. Report*, p. 119.

The original facsimile, published with Dr. Eggeling's paper in this Journal and as Plate XXXII. of the *First Archæol. Report*, did not altogether do justice to the original. Accordingly a fresh lithograph,[2] from the original estampage made by Mr. Burgess, has been prepared under my personal superintendence, and is published herewith. The original covers a space of 3′ 7″ high by 2′ 1″ broad.

It is unnecessary to repeat my transcription and translation here. It is a C h a l k y a or C h a l u k y a inscription of M a ṅ g a l î ś v a r a, and is dated Śaka 500 (A. D. 578-9), in the twelfth year of his reign; and it records the construction, or rather the completion, of the Cave as a temple of the god Vishṇu, the installation of an image of Vishṇu in it, and the grant of the village of L a ñ j i ś v a r a. This inscription, therefore, fixes Śaka 489 as the commencement of the reign of Maṅgalîśvara. It is also of extreme interest as determining, with a precision not previously attained, the starting-point of the Śaka era. This era has been supposed to date "from the *birth* of Sâlivâhana, a mythological prince of the Dekkan, who opposed Vikramâditya, the *Râjâ* of Ujjayinî."[3] It is here said distinctly to date "from the anointment, or coronation, of the Śaka king."

In the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XIV, p. 23, among some remarks on the dates of the early Chalukyas, Professor Bhâṇḍârkar has interpreted the date of this inscription to be the twelfth year of the reign, not of Maṅgalîśvara, but of his elder brother Kîrttivarmâ I. I cannot agree with him in this. His chief object seems to be to explain the date,—"the twentieth year of the augmenting reign of victory, and the year five-hundred and thirty-two of the Śaka era,"—of the grant published by Mr. K. T. Têlaṅg at *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. X, p. 348, to be the twentieth year of the reign of Maṅgalîśvara; in which case, of course, it would follow that Śaka 500 cannot have been the twelfth year of his reign, and that Kîrttivarmâ I. must have died, and Maṅgalîśvara succeeded him, not in Śaka 489, but in Śaka 513. My own opinion as to Mr. K. T. Têlaṅg's grant is that it is a Chalukya grant, and is of the reign of Maṅgalîśvara; but that the "twentieth year of the augmenting reign of victory" refers, not to the reign of Maṅgalîśvara, but to the governorship of the local viceroy and grantor,[4] and is

[1] No. 44 of *Pâli, Sanskṛit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions.*

[2] No. 39 of *P., S., and O-C., Inscriptions.*

[3] Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, p. 154, in Thomas' edition of *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. II.

[4] *Rêvatîdvîpâvasthita* * * * * * *vishayamaṇḍala-chatushṭayâdhipati.* Mr. K. T. Têlaṅg reads his name as Satyâśraya-Dhruvarâja-Indravarmâ. He was inclined at first to read *yuvarâja*, instead of *dhruvarâja*; but, as pointed out by him, the letter, as engraved, is certainly not *yu*, and a further difficulty is raised by the epithet *âdima-hâbappûravaṅśakulatilaka*, for, if Indravarmâ was a Chalukya *Yuvarâja*, he could have been only of the Chalukya lineage. I cannot explain *bappûra*, any more

calculated from the date of the conquest of Rêvatîdvîpa by Maṅgalîśvara,[5] and not from the commencement of his reign.

Professor Bhâṇḍârkar's line of argument is, —1st, as an additional reason for holding that Kîrttivarmâ I. must have died in Śaka 513 and not in Śaka 489, that "since Pulikêśî II, his son, had two younger brothers, he must have been, when his father died, at least five years old, so that when Hiwen Thsang saw him, in about A. D. 639 (Śaka 560-1), he must" [if Kîrttivarmâ died in Śaka 489] "have been at least seventy-eight years old; and a man verging on eighty can hardly be a man of vigour, as Pulikêśi was when the Chinese pilgrim saw him."—And, with special regard to the interpretation of the date of the inscription under discussion, 2, that "the grantor of land is not necessarily in every case the reigning sovereign."—3, that "there is nothing in the inscription to show that Maṅgalîśvara was reigning *at the time*." —4, that "on the contrary, from the manner in which he resigns all the religious merit, arising from the act, in favour of his elder brother Kîrttivarmâ, it appears pretty clear that he was *not*, but that he was probably his brother's *general or lieutenant*, and thus characterises his act as a piece of obedient service."

I have to reply,—1, There are certainly some difficulties, still to be explained, in respect of the ages of the early Chalukyas; especially if we accept as genuine the date of Śaka 411 which is attributed to Pulikêśî I. But, as to this, I have said all that I have to say at present at Vol. VII, p. 210; except that, in Hiwen Thsang's account of Pulikêśi II, as given by Mr. Burgess at Vol. VII, p. 290, I can find nothing to indicate that he was a man of any remarkable physical vigour when Hiwen Thsang saw him, and nothing opposed to the supposition that he was then of extreme old age.—2, It is certainly true that the grantor of land, when he happens to belong to the royal family at all, is not in every case the reigning sovereign. But the inscriptions always make this point clear one way or the other; and the present inscription certainly does so. The instances selected by Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar in illustration of his remark on this point are not altogether happy ones. For, Nâgavardhana of the Nirpaṇ plates[6] did not belong to the direct line of the Western Chalukyas of Vâtâpi, and there is nothing in the wording of his grant to indicate that he was subordinate to them, and, on the contrary, it reads as if he had independent power of his own, though perhaps in an outlying part of dominions which were nominally theirs. And, taking the Nerûr[7] and Kochrê[8] plates of Vijayabhaṭṭârikâ both together, there can be no doubt that she did reign after her husband Chandrâditya's death,—probably as regent during the childhood of a son whose subsequent death led to the accession of Vikramâditya I. —3, So far from there being nothing in the present inscription to indicate that Maṅgalîśvara was reigning at the time, it reads specifically as if he was the reigning sovereign. The Haidarâbâd grant[9] of Pulikêśî II is dated *âtmanaḥ pravarddhamâna-râjyâbhishêka-saṁvatsarê tritîyê* 'in the third year of *Our own* augmenting installation in the sovereignty'; and the Nerûr grant of Vijayabhaṭṭârikâ is dated *svarâjya-pañchama-ssaṁ(saṁ)vatsarê*, 'in the fifth year of *her own* reign.' But, in all the other published dated grants of the Western Chalukyas of Vâtâpi, the expression recording the year of the reign is, though it may differ slightly in the choice of words, exactly analogous to the *pravarddhamâna-râjya-saṁvva(va)tsarê dvâdaśê* of the present inscription, and neither *âtman* nor *sva* is used. On the analogy of all those inscriptions, as well as by the ordinary rules of construction, —as there is nothing in the text to distinctly refer the twelfth year to the reign of any one else, it can only be referred to the reign of Maṅgalîśvara.—4, In the present inscription Maṅgalîśvara describes himself as being possessed of a desire to obey his elder brother Kîrttivarmâ I, and prays on this ground for a reward

than Mr. K. T. Têlaṅg can,—except that it is just possible that it represents *bappûru*, *i. e.* *Bappa+ûru*, 'the village of Bappa,' and that Bappa, Bappamahârâja or Bappabhaṭṭâraka, was some king or pontiff of very early times, whose authority was recognised universally in his own day and was afterwards preserved in the tradition of several distinct regal races, e.g., the Pallavas (Vol. V, p. 53; and Vol. VIII, p. 169), the Valabhî kings (Vol. VI, p. 16, and see also p. 9; and Vol. VII, p. 80); and the kings of Nêpâla (Vol. IX, p. 167, and 170 to 176). If this difficulty could be cleared away, I should think it not at all impossible that *dhruvarâja*, or rather *ddhruvarâja*, is a mistake by the engraver for *yuvarâja*, and that in Satyâśraya-Indravarmâ we have the name of the son of Maṅgalîśvara who is mentioned, but is not named, in l. 7 of the Aihoḷe Mêguṭi inscription (Vol. VIII, p. 241).

[5] See the Aihoḷe Mêguṭi inscription, l. 6; and the Miraj plates (Vol. VII, p. 13).

[6] Vol. IX, p. 123.

[7] Vol. VII, p. 163.

[8] Vol. VIII, p. 44.

[9] Vol. VI, p. 72

ON A PILASTER IN THE VERANDAH OF THE VAISHNAVA CAVE No. III., AT BADAMI.

FROM AN IMPRESSION BY J. F. FLEET, BO. C. S.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITHO, LONDON.

ON THE ROCK NEAR THE VAISHNAVA CAVE No. III, AT BÁDAMI.

FROM AN IMPRESSION BY J. BURGESS.

in respect of his actions. The reward desired is, of course, a religious reward. Where a grant is made otherwise than of the original motion of the person who actually makes it, it is always said to be made,—either *vijñâpanayâ*[10] or *binnapadiṁ*,[11] 'at the request' of such and such a one, where that person is inferior in authority to the person who makes the grant,—or *anujñayâ*,[12] *niyâmadiṁ*,[13] *besadiṁ*,[14] 'at the order,' or *nirûpadiṁ*,[15] 'by the appointment,' of such and such a one, when that person is superior in authority to the person who makes the grant. None of these expressions is used here, nor any other to indicate in any way that Maṅgalîśvara had to obtain the permission of Kîrttivarmâ before making the grant; and the text is simply *Śrî-Maṅgalîśvarô . . . mahâ-Vishṇu-gṛihaṁ . . . kṛitvâ . . . Lañjîśvâran=nâma grâmam . . . dattavân*, 'Śrî-Maṅgalîśvara, having made an abode of the great (*god*) Vishṇu, granted the village of Lañjîśvara.' Bearing this in mind, and also the fact that the Cave-temple must have taken many years to complete,—and comparing[16] with the expression of this grant the less emphatic but more usual expressions of *mâtâpitrôr=atmanaḥ puṇy=âvâptayê*, 'in order that (*Our*) parents may acquire Our own religious merit,' made use of by Pulikêśî II[17] at a time when *his* parents were certainly dead, and *mâtâpitrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśô-bhivṛiddhayê*, 'in order to increase the religious merit and the fame of (*Our*) parents and of Ourself,' made use of by Vijayarâja,[18] it is plain that, in allotting to Kîrttivarmâ all the religious merit of the completion of the Cave, the setting up of the image, and the grant of the village, and in reserving for himself only the religious reward due on account of obedience to Kîrttivarmâ, Maṅgalîśvara is claiming his reward for carrying out a project which was originated, and perhaps commenced, by Kîrttivarmâ, but which Kîrttivarmâ did not live to complete in person.

No. LXXXII.

On the rock, to the west of the cave, there are several short inscriptions,[19] such as *Śrî-Vimala*, *Śrî-Rûpaśêkharaḥ*, *Śrî-Guṇapâlan*, and *Śrî-Koṭṭalan*. And on the rock to the west of the neighbouring Jain Cave, No. IV, there are some similar inscriptions,[20] such as *Śrî-Vidhi(?)-mman*, *Śrî-Ru(?)dra(?)svâmi*, *Śrî-Dhana(?)dêva*, and *Śrî-Prasa(?pa)nnabuddhi*. They appear to be the names of visitors to the caves, and are in characters the age of which may vary from that of the large inscription, No. LXXXI, in Cave III, up to the end of the seventh century A. D.

But the only historical inscription among them is the following undated Old-Canarese inscription[21] of Maṅgalîśvara, here called Maṅgalîśa, in four lines of irregular length, on the rock a little to the west of the west end of the verandah of Cave III. The writing covers a space of 1′ 1½″ high, by 2′ 2½″ long in line 1 and 3′ 6½″ long in line 4.

The date of this inscription must be somewhat later than that of the large inscription inside the Cave. For it records a grant to the 'stone-house' of the glorious Maṅgalîśa, *i. e.* to the 'Cave-temple,' the completion of which is recorded in the inscription inside the Cave.

It is not stated what is granted; but it would seem to be flowers, to make garlands for the god. 'Lañjigêsara' is the Canarese corruption of a name of Vishṇu, as a shrine for whom the Cave was made, and to whom, as we are told in l. 13 of the inscription inside the Cave, the village of Lañjîśvara was allotted. 'Lañjîśvara' and 'Lañjigêsara' are one and the same name, and the village is named after the god. 'Lañjâ' is a name of Lakshmî, and *lañjikâ* must be a second form of *lañjâ* in this sense, as it is of *lañjâ* in the sense of 'an adulteress, a harlot'; hence we get 'Lañjîśvara,' which, however, should be Lañjêśvara, and 'Lañjigêsara,' for Lañjikêśvara, as names of Vishṇu.

[10] *e. g.*, Vol. VI, p. 32, l. 11, and p. 89, l. 27; and Vol. VII, p. 302, l. 26, and p 304, l. 25. Also No. 16 of *P.*, *S.*, *and O.-C.*, *Inscriptions*, l. 21. Also compare *vijñaptiṁ chakitaṁ nivêdya*, Vol. IV, p. 330, l. 14, and *tadvijñâpanasri-(sri)têna Śrî-Krishnabhûpêna*, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII, p. 44, l. 49.

[11] *e. g.*, Vol. VI, p. 141, l 28. Also compare *binnapaṁ-geydu*, Vol. IV, p. 209, l. 28.

[12] *e. g.*, Vol. VII, p. 304, l. 24.

[13] *e. g. Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. IX, p. 294, l. 5, and Vol. X, p. 268, l. 66.

[14] *e. g.*, Vol. II, p. 142, plate, l. 13.

[15] *e. g.*, Vol. V, p. 20, l. 13; and l. 6 of No. LXXXVII, p. 63 below.

[16] Not contrasting, as Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar would.

[17] Vol. VI, p. 73, l. 13. Perhaps we ought to correct the text and read *mâtâpitrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇy-âvâptayê*, 'in order to the acquisition of religious merit by (*Our*) parents and by Ourself.'

[18] Vol. VII, p. 243, l. 11.

[19] No. 40 of *P.*, *S.*, *and O.-C.*, *Inscriptions*; and *First Archæol. Report*, Pl. xxxiv, No. 18, and Pl. xxxv, Nos. 14 and 15.

[20] No. 41 of *P.*, *S.*, *and O.-C.*, *Inscriptions*.

[21] *No. 40 of P.*, *S.*, *and O.-C.*, *Inscriptions*.

Transcription.

[1] Svasti • Śrîmat pri(pṛi)thivivallabha Maṁga(li)sa(śa)nâ
[2] kal-manege ittodu Laṁ[22]jigêsaraṁ-dêvarke pûni-iṟuva
[3] mâla(lâ)kârargge arddha-visadi ittodân=aḻivon
[4] pañcha-mahâpâtakan=akuṁ[23](kkuṁ) êḻaneyâ narakadâ puḻu aku(kku)m [||*]

Translation.

Hail! May he incur the guilt of the five great sins and be buried[24] in the seventh hell,[25] who injures the gift that has been made at the rate of half a *visa*[26] to the garlandmakers who work[27] for the god Lañjigêsara, which is the gift to the stone house of the glorious Maṅgaliśa, the favourite of the world!

No. LXXXIII.

Inside the town there is an old temple, which has been converted into a dwelling-house, and is now called the 'Kallamaṭha,' or 'religious college built of stone.'

On the front face of a pillar on the left side as one enters the door of the house, inside the verandah, there is a short devotional inscription of four lines, of no importance either historical or linguistic; and there is another, of two lines, on the front pillar in the verandah on the same side.

And on the front face of the corresponding pillar on the right side of the same door, there is the following Western Chalukya Sanskṛit and Prâkṛit inscription. It consists altogether of fifteen full lines of writing, with the letters *hita* in line 16, just below the last four letters of line 15; and the whole inscription covers a space of 2′ 0¼″ broad in lines 1 to 5, 1′ 11¾″ broad in lines 6 to 15, and 2′ 1¼″ broad in line 16, by 2′ 8¾″ high. But the inscription has been so much damaged and abraded that hardly any of it can be read except the first ten lines; and no lithograph can be prepared even of them. This portion of the inscription is in Sanskṛit. In the Prâkṛit portion, the only words decipherable are *suṅka*, l. 10; *Bâdâvi*, l. 15; and *hita*, l. 16. The characters are those of the usual Western Chalukya alphabet of the period, but, owing in a great measure to the substance of the stone, they are very indifferently formed.

The inscription is of the time of Vijayâditya, and is dated Śaka 621 (A. D. 699-700), the third year of his reign. It records the installation of the gods Brahmâ and Vishṇu and Mahêśvara, at the capital of Vâtâpi. The illegible Prâkṛit portion probably recorded some grant.

Transcription.

[1] Svasti Chaturddaśa-vidy-ôpalasit-ânêka-sahasra-dvija-
[2] var-ôpaśôbhitê Satyâśraya-prabhṛitînâṁ mahârâ-
[3] jânâm=ati-bahu-mânyê Vâtâpy-adhishṭhânê Vija-
[4] yâdit[y]a-Satyâśraya-śrî-pṛithivîvallabha-mahâ-
[5] râj-âdhirâja-paramêśvara-paramabhaṭṭârakasya prava-
[6] rdha(rddha)mâna-vijaya-râjya-saṁvatsarê tṛitîyê va-
[7] rttamânê êka-viṁś-ôttara-shaṭ-chhatêshu Śaka-varshêshv=atî-
[8] têshu Jyê(jyai)shṭhyâṁ paurṇṇamâsyâṁ Brahmâ(hma)-Vishṇu-Mahêśvara-sthâ-
[9] panaṁ vijayavatyâṁ râjadhânyâṁ kṛitaṁ [||*] Ataḥ paraṁ Prâ-
[10] kṛita-bhâshayâ padyâny=êtâni dattâni [|*] Suṅka[28] . . . . li[29] . . . .

22 and 23 The *Anusvâra* in each place is distinct in the original but has not appeared in some copies of the lithograph.

24 *Puḻu* may be the old form of *hula, hulu*, 'insect.' But there is also a verb, *pulu, hulu*, 'bury,' and another, (*puḻu*), *huḻu, huḻiyu*, 'rot, decay.'

25 *i. e.*, 'the nethermost hell.'

26 In the Madras *Journal of Literature and Science, New Series*, Vol. XX, p. 56, Plate II, Sir Walter Elliot gives representations of two old iron weights. One is circular, and weighs exactly 3 lbs. 1 oz. 4 drs. It has, on the front, the figure of a boar (the Chalukya emblem,) and above it a sword, with the sun and moon; and, on the back, the words *Pramâdicha-saṁ vi* 1, *i.e.*, "one *visa*, (*stamped in*) the Pramâdicha *saṁvatsara*." The other is octagonal, and weighs 12 ozs. 2 drs. It has, on the front only, a sword, with the sun and moon, and, below them, the words *Pramâdicha-saṁ vi* ¼, *i.e.* "a quarter-*visa*, (*stamped in*) the Pramâdicha *saṁvatsara*." In the modern dialect, Sanderson gives *vîsa* as "one-sixteenth," and also *vîse* as "five seers, or the weight of 120 rupees," (3 lbs. 1 oz. 5·94 drs.). The word occurs again with the vowel of the first syllable short,—*visa*,—in l. 4 of No. LVIII, (Vol. VIII, p. 286). But in some of the later Old-Canarese inscriptions, it occurs with the vowel long,—*vîsa*,—*e. g.*, *Second Archæol. Report*, p. 117, l. 46-7.

27 *Pûnu, hûnu*, 'attempt, undertake, engage in.'

28 Either one letter has been quite effaced here, or there in a hole in the stone which was left blank.

29 One letter is effaced here, at the end of the line. The rest of the inscription is illegible, except the word *Bâdâvi* in l. 15, and the syllable *hita*, in l. 16, just below the last four letters of l. 15.

Translation.

Hail! At the city of Vâtâpi, which was adorned by many thousands of excellent twice-born[30] who were well versed in the fourteen sciences,[31] and which was worthy to be most highly esteemed by Satyâśrayа[32] and other great kings after him,—in the third year of the augmenting and victorious reign of Vijayâditya-Satyâśraya, the favourite of the world, the great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the most venerable one,—when six hundred and twenty-one of the Śaka years had elapsed,—on the day of the full-moon of (*the month*) Jyaishṭha,—there was made the establishment of (*the gods*) Brahmâ and Vishṇu and Mahêśvara at the victorious capital.

(L. 9.)—After that, these verses were given in the Prâkṛit language:—A tax . . . . [33]

No. LXXXIV.

The following inscription[34] is cut on the cliff, at a height of ten or twelve feet from the ground on the north-west of the hamlet of Taṭṭukôṭi, which is at the north-east corner of the tank; it is on the left hand going up from the tank by the rear or east ascent to the Bâvanbaṅde-kôṭi[35] or northern fort, and is about half-way up to the shrine of the god Taṭṭukôṭi-Mâruti mentioned in No. LXXXVII. below. The writing covers a space of 3′ 4½″ high by 2′ 10½″ broad. Below the inscription, and covering a space of about 3′ 7″ in height, there is cut a broad circular band, with a floral device, apparently a ten-leaved lotus, inside it, and with what seems to be a fillet, with a ribbon crossed in a double loop hanging from it, below it.

With the exception of lines 3 and 4, and the quotation in line 10, the language is Old-Canarese. The characters have more of the Pallava, than of the Western Chalukya, type about them; but whichever alphabet they belong to, they are undoubtedly early.

The inscription is not dated. The meaning of it is here and there not quite clear; but it appears to be a monumental record of some saint of local celebrity. Mr. Veṅkaṭ Raṅgô Kaṭṭi, to whom I applied in the hope of geting a better explanation of ll. 7 to 9 than I am able to offer, looks upon the whole inscription as a "*birudâvali*, or epitome of the titles and deeds of some great man," and upon these three lines in particular as "a riddle or pun upon words."

Transcription.

[1] Kappe-Arabhaṭṭan śishṭa-jana-priyan
[2] kashṭa-jana-varjitan Kaliyuga-viparîtan [||*]
[3] Varan=têjasvinô mṛittyu(tyu)r=na tu mân-âvakhaṇḍanam
[4] mṛittyu(tyu)s=tatkshaṇikô duḥkham=mâna-bhaṁgan=dinê-dinê [||*]
[5] Sâdhuge sâdhu mâdhû(dhu)ryyange(ṅge) mâdhû(dhu)ryyaṁ bâdhippa
[6] Kalige Kaliyuga-viparîtan=Mâdhavan=îtan=peṛan=alla [||*]
[7] Oḷḷitta keyvor=âr=ppolladum=adaṛante ballittu Kaḷige
[8] [v]iparîtâ purâ-kṛitam=illi sandhikkum=adu bandu
[9] kaṭṭida siṁghaman=keṭṭoḍ=ên=emag=endu biṭṭavol=Kalige vi-
[10] [pa]rîtaṁg=ahitarkkaḷ=keṭṭar=mmêṇ=sattar=avichâram [||*]

Translation.

Kappe-Arabhaṭṭa was beloved by excellent people and avoided by evil people, and was an exceptional man in the Kaliyuga. Better is a glorious death than the destruction of reputation: death is a pain that lasts only for an instant; but the destruction of reputation abides from day to-day. That which is good (*is appropriate*) to that which is good, and sweetness to sweetness, and he who is an exceptional man in the Kaliyuga to the distressful Kali (*age*);[36] he is (*a very*) Mâdhava,[37] and nothing less. Who are they that do what is good?; they cannot be likened (*to him*). Having recognised this, ...[38], let there be here effected a reconciliation with the Kali (*age*). And so, when the enemies of him who was an exceptional man in the Kali (*age*),

[30] *Dvija*; Brâhmaṇs, Kshatriyas, and Vaiśyas.

[31] The four Vêdas, the six Vêdâṅgas, the Purâṇas, the Mîmâṁsâ, the Nyâya, and Dharma or law.

[32] Pulikêśi II.

[33] See note 29 above.

[34] No. 42 of *P., S., and O.-C., Inscriptions.*

[35] Vol. V, p. 19.

[36] Mr. V. R. Kaṭṭi considers that a second meaning may be given to this passage by taking *kali* in the Canarese sense of 'a hero, a valiant man,' and by translating 'to the hero who distresses the ruler of Madhurâ.'

[37] Krishṇa or Vishṇu, who is not to be met with in the Kaliyuga.

[38] *Viparîtâ purâ-kṛitam.* This is evidently some liar quotation; but it is unintelligible, from the being wanting.

saying "What is this to us?", came to injure and destroy the eminence[39] that he had achieved, they were worsted, and then they died; as to this there can be no doubt.

No. LXXXV.

At the east end of the tank, which lies at the back of the town, there is the temple of the god Bhûtanâtha. There are some short inscriptions,[40] a good deal damaged and unintelligible to me, on one of the columns in the *maṇḍapa* or central hall of this temple. But the only one of any importance at this temple is the following,[41] which my servants found by scraping away a thick coating of whitewash on the outside of one of the stones in the north wall of the temple. The writing covers a space of 2′ 5″ broad by 1′ 0″ high. The language is Old-Canarese. The characters are of about the ninth or tenth century, A. D.

Transcription.

[1] Svasti Śrî-Paiṅgara Śrîdharabhûtêśvara-bhaṭâraṅge
[2] sadbhûta-bhûmiya keyya eṇṭu mattarân
[3] koṭṭo ad=arapatta(ttu) nandiy=aku(kku) dâṭon
[4] dêvasva-dôshadoḷ sirkkuvâr[42] [||*]

Translation.

Hail! They gave[43] eight *mattars* of culturable land, excellent soil, to the venerable Śrîdharabhûtêśvara of the lineage[44] of Śrî-Paiṅga. Let it be (*as sacred as the gift of*) sixty Nandîs.[45] Whosoever transgresses against it shall incur the guilt of an offence against the property of a god!

No. LXXXVI.

Near the inscription of Kappe-Arabhaṭṭa, No. LXXXIV. above, there is a passage through the rocks, leading by flights of steps directly up into the northern fort. The walls of this passage bear numerous short inscriptions, chiefly names of visitors or devotees, in characters ranging from the sixth or seventh century down to about the thirteenth century A. D. The longest, and one of the latest of them is the following, left unfinished, near a figure of the god Hanumanta, cut on the rock on the left hand a short way up the steps:—*Transcription*:—[1] Śubhakru(kṛi)ta(t-)[2]saṁ(-saṁ)vachsa(tsa)ra [3]Śrî-Kâlika(kâ)dêvî-Kama[4]ṭhêśvaradêvara divya-[5]śrîpadmapâd-ârâ[6]dhakar=âda Mudu-[7]galla. *Translation*:—"(*In*) the Śubhakṛit *saṁvatsara*, ... of (*the village of*) Mudugal, who was the worshipper of the holy feet, which are like lotuses, of the goddess Śrî-Kâlikâ and of the god Śrî-Kamaṭhêśvara, ..." Among them, I did not find any others of any importance, historical or linguistic or otherwise.

No. LXXXVII.

Leaving the above-mentioned passage on the left, and going round by the back of the hill up a footpath that leads on to the top of it near the northern fort, there is, on the left hand, about halfway up, an open shrine of the god Hanumanta. It is called 'Taṭṭukôṭi-Mâruti,' from the hamlet of Taṭṭukôṭi, which is just below it.

On the rock at the back of the shrine there are two inscriptions, of one line each, in Old-Canarese characters of the eighth or ninth century A. D. The letters are very shallow, but large and well formed. The upper inscription is *Śrî-vîtarâgan Siripati*, and the lower one, *Śrî-śatrukâḷâgni Goṭṭu*; they seem to record the names of visitors to the shrine.

On the rock a little to the south of the shrine there is the following Old-Canarese inscription, covering a space of about 2′ 10½″ high by 2′ 7″ broad. The characters, which are of much the same type as those of No. LXXXVIII. below, are very shallow, and the rock is rough and undulating, so that an impression could not be taken. A copy of this inscription is given in the Elliot *MS. Collection*, Vol. II, p. 657; but it is altogether incorrect, if it is really a copy of this one, and I could find no other of which it may be a copy.

The inscription is of the time of H a r i h a r a I, here called Hariyappavoḍeya, of V i j a y a n a-

---

[39] *Siṁgha*, l. 9, here seems to be a *Tadbhava* corruption of *śṛinga*, 'horn, top, summit, height, elevation, dignity,' rather than of *siṁha*, 'a lion.' The more usual form of the *Tadbhava* of both words is *siṅga*.
[40] *First Archæol. Report* Pl. xxxv, No. 17.
[41] No. 43 of *P., S., and O-C., Inscriptions*.
[42] The construction is wrong here; *daṭôn* is the nominative *singular*, while *sirkkuvâr* is the third person *plural*.
[43] I do not quite know what part of the verb *koṭṭo* is; probably we ought to correct it into *koṭṭor*. [44] Or, school.
[45] Nandî,—the sacred bull, the vehicle and emblem of Śiva.

ON THE CLIFF AT THE BACK OF THE NORTHERN FORT NEAR THE HAMLET OF TATTAKOTI, AT BADAMI.

FROM AN IMPRESSION BY J. F. FLEET, BO. C. S.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITHO, LONDON.

ON THE SIDE WALL OF THE TEMPLE OF BHUTANATHA, AT BADAMI.



FROM AN IMPRESSION BY J. F. FLEET, BO. C. S.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

gara, and is the only one of his reign at present known to me. It is dated Śaka 1261 (A. D. 1339-40), the Vikrama *saṁvatsara*.[46] It records the grant of the villages of Bâdâvi and Muṇḍanûr to the Two-thousand *Mahâjanas* of Bâdâvi, and the erection of the fort, presumably the northern fort, and the construction of its parapet wall by one of the *Nâyakas* of Harihara.

It is worthy of remark that Harihara I is styled only a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* in this inscription, just as his younger brother Bukka is in Nos. 149 and 150 of *Pâli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions*.

Transcription.

[1] Svasti Śrî-jay-âbhyudayaś=cha [||*] Śaka-
[2] varusha 1261neya Vikrama-saṁvatsarada Chaitra su(śu) 1 Gu[47]
[3] śrîma[n]-mahâmaṁḍalêsva(śva)raṁ ari-râyavi(?)[48] . . . . . .
[4] bhâse(she)ge tappuva râyara gaṁḍa pû-
[5] rvva-paśchima-samudr-âdhipati Śrî-vîra-
[6] Hariyappa-voḍeyara nirûpadiṁ
[7] mahânâyak-âchâriya gaṁḍa kasa(?)[49] . . . ni(?)-
[8] gaja-siṁha [50]. . . ḍiy-aṁka-bhîma śrîmatu-
[9] Châmeyanâyakaru śrîmatu-Bâdâviya
[10] it-sâsirvvarige Bâdâviyanu Muṁḍa-
[11] nûranu Śrî-Bhûtanâthana saṁnidhe(dhi)yalu
[12] dhârâ-pûrvvakaṁ sarvvamânyav-âgi koṭṭu
[13] a(â) Bâdâviya durggavanu mûḍaṇa pâ[51]ra-
[14] ṭavanu Châmarâja rachisidanâ maṁgaḷa-
[15] mahâ-śrî-śrî-śrî ||

Translation.

Hail! Victory and glory! On Thursday the first day of the bright fortnight of (*the month*) Chaitra of the Vikrama *saṁvatsara*, which was the 1261st year of the Śaka era,[52]—by the appointment of the lord, the brave Śrî-Hariyappa, the glorious *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, the . . . . of hostile kings, the punisher of kings who break their promises, the supreme lord of (*the country which is included between*) the eastern and the western oceans;—

(L. 7).—The glorious Châmeyanâyaka,—the *Mahânâyaka*, the *Âchârya*, the hero, he who was a very lion to the elephants . . . . , he who was terrible . . . . ,—in the presence of (*the god*) Śrî-Bhutanâtha, gave, with libations of water, and as a *sarvamânya* grant, (*the village of*) Bâdâvi and (*the village of*) Muṇḍanûr to the glorious Two-thousand of Bâdâvi; and—

(L. 13).—Châmarâja constructed the fort and the eastern parapet[53] of that same Bâdâvi. May there be auspicious and great good fortune!

No. LXXXVIII.

Standing on the flat top of a large rock, a short distance to the north-east of the *Dharmaśâlâ* which is on the north of the town, there is a small temple called 'Mâlegitti-Śivâlaya', *i.e.* 'the Śaiva shrine of the female garland-maker.'

On the right side of the door there is a short inscription[54] in characters of the eighth, or early in the ninth, century A. D. The transcription is:—[1]Śrî-Âryyamiñchi upâdhyâya [2]prasâda-nimitta. And the translation is:—"Śrî-Âryamiñchi, the spiritual teacher; for the sake of (*or, on account of*) the favour (*of the god of the temple.*)"

And on the east or front face of a pillar in the porch of the same temple there is the following Canarese inscription,[55] covering a space of about 2′ 1½″ broad by 1′ 2½″ high. It is an inscription of the time of the Vijayana-

[46] See note 52 below. [47] sc., Guruvâra.

[48] The *vi* is doubtful, and one or two letters more are quite effaced here.

[49] One letter seems to be effaced here.

[50] One letter is very doubtful here; it may be *ḍa*, *da*, or *pa*.

[51] This letter is doubtful, and might be *vâ*, or *shâ*, as much as *pâ*. I am inclined, however, to read *pâraṭa*, as a corruption of *parâṭe*, 'the coping of a wall.'

[52] Śaka 1261, however, was the Pramâdi *saṁvatsara*; and the Vikrama *saṁvatsara* was Śaka 1262.

[53] See note 51 above.

[54] *First Archæol. Report*, Pl. xxxv, No. 18.

[55] No. 45 of *P., S., and O.-C., Inscriptions*.

gara king Sadâśivarâya; and the Sôbhakṛit *saṁvatsara* referred to is Śaka 1465 (A.D. 1543-4). On the crest of the hill, facing the temple, and some twenty yards or so to the south, there is a large and strong bastion, which is probably the one spoken of in the inscription.

Transcription.

[1] Sôbhakru(kṛi)t-saṁvatsarada Âshâḍa(ḍha) śu 15-
[2] lû Sadâśivarâyara Haḍapada-
[3] ḻaṟa-Kru(kṛi)shṇappa-nâyakarû kaṭṭi-
[4] sida kottalake(kke) śubham=astu [||*] Śrî [||*]
[5] Komḍarâjagaḷa addika[56] [||*] Śrî [||*]

Translation.

May prosperity attend the bastion, which was caused to be built by Haḍapadaḻaṟa-[57]Krishṇappanâyaka, (*the Nâyaka*) of Sadâśivarâya, on the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of (*the month*) Âshâḍha of the Sôbhakṛit *saṁvatsara*! Śrî! The superintending officer of Koṇḍarâja. Śrî!

It is a Canarese inscription of the same date as the preceding, being one of Koṇḍarâja, who is mentioned in the preceding. A large bastion with flanking walls, of the Raṇamaṇḍala[59] or southern fort, on the crest of the hill, almost immediately above the cave, is probably the one spoken of in the inscription.

The vowel *o*, as attached to a consonant, is formed in two different ways in this inscription: in l. 3, as it is formed in the preceding inscription, No. LXXXVIII.; and in ll. 1 and 2, as it is formed in the present day.

No. LXXXIX.

To return to Cave III,—the following inscription,[58] covering a space of 2′ 2″ broad by 7½″ high, is on the north or front face of one of the pillars of the first row in the verandah.

Transcription.

[1] Sôbhakru(kṛi)tt*u*(*tu*)-saṁvatsarada Aśâḍa(Âshâḍha) su(śu) 15-
[2] l*u* Komḍarâja maha(hâ)-arasugaḷu ka-
[3] ṭi(ṭṭi)sida kota(tta)lakke śubham=asu(stu) [||*] Śrî [||*]

Translation.

May prosperity attend the bastion which was caused to be built by the great king Koṇḍarâja, on the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of (*the month*) Âshâḍha of the Sôbhakṛit *saṁvatsara*! Śrî!

No. XC.

On two other pillars in the same cave there are two inscriptions,[60]—one of eight lines, covering a space of 2′ 2″ broad by 1′ 9″ high; and one of six lines, covering a space of 2′ 2″ broad by 1′ 6″ high. They are either in Telugu, or in some dialect of Canarese which I do not know. The contents, therefore, are unknown to me, except that the first one of them is dated on the eleventh day of the dark fortnight of the month Âshâḍha of the Pramâdi[61] *saṁvatsara* which was the Śâlivâhana-Śaka year 1476 (A. D. 1554-5). The second one is not dated; but it is of about the same age.

No. XCI.

Inside the town there is a small temple of the god Veṅkaṭaramaṇa, now used as a house by one Dâdêsâb Hajâm. The following Canarese inscription is on a stone-tablet at this temple. The writing covers a space of 2′ 11½″ high by 1′ 3″ broad; the only emblems at the top of the stone are the sun and the moon. A copy of this inscription is given in the Elliot *MS. Collection*, Vol. II, p. 650.

It is another inscription of the time of the Vijayanagara king Sadâsivadêva, and is dated Śâlivâhana-Śaka 1469 (A. D. 1547-8), the Plavaṁga *saṁvatsara*. It records a grant to the guild of barbers.

Transcription.

[1] Śubham=astu [||*] Svasti Śrî-ja-
[2] y-âbhyudaya-Śâlivâha-

[56] *Sc.*, *adhyaksha.*

[57] This is his family-name or surname.

[58] No. 46 of *P.*, *S.*, *and O.-C.*, *Inscriptions.*

[59] See Vol. V, p. 19.

[60] Nos. 47 and 48 of *P.*, *S.*, *and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions.*

[61] This must be a mistake for Pramâdicha, Saka 1475. Śaka 1476 was the Ânanda *saṁvatsara*; and the Pramâdi *saṁvatsara* was Śaka 1441.

ON A PILLAR IN THE PORCH OF THE TEMPLE CALLED MALEGITTI-SIVALAYA, AT BADAMI.

FROM AN IMPRESSION BY J. F. FLEET, BO. C. S.

W. Griggs Photo lith, London.

ON THE ROCK AT THE SHRINE CALLED ARALIKATTE, AT BADAMI.

FROM AN IMPRESSION BY J. F. FLEET, BO. C. S.

W. Griggs Photo-lith., London.

[3] na-Śaka 1469neya Plavaṁga-saṁ-
[4] vatsarada A(â)śvayuja śu 15ya-
[5] lû śrîman-mahârâj-âdhirâja-
[6] râjaparamêśvara-Śrî-vî-
[7] rapratâpa-Sadâsi(śi)vadêva-
[8] mahârâyaru pra(pri)thvî-râjyaṁ-
[9] geü(vu)tt-iralu Bâdâviya Timmôja
[10] Koṁḍôja Bhadriy=ivaru mûvaru
[11] râyara mechi(chchi)si bêḍi-koṁḍa saṁmâṁ(baṁ)dha
[12] râyaru âḷuva siṁhvâ(hâ)sanakke saluva sî-
[13] mey-oḷage U(?)ḷabiya nâvidarige
[14] te(?)rage ma(mâ)nyav-âgi â Sadâśivarâyarû
[15] Śrîraṁgarâja Râmarâjayya Ere-
[16] marâjayya Veṁkaṭâdrirâjayya Śrî-
[17] [62]. . . . .

Translation.

May it be auspicious! On the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of (*the month*) Âśvayuja of the Plavaṁga *saṁvatsara*, which was the 1469th year of the victorious and glorious Śâlivâhana-Śaka,—while the great king, the brave and puissant Śrî-Sadâśivadêva, the glorious great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord of kings, was governing the world;—

(L. 9.)—These three men, Timmôja and Koṇḍôja and Bhadri of (*the town of*) Bâdâvi, having propitiated the king, that same (*king*) Sadâśivarâya, in connection with a request that they made, [*issued his commands to*][63] Śrîraṅgarâja and Râmarâjayya and Eremarâjayya and Veṅkaṭâdrirâjayya, ... , [*and allotted*] an impost, as a *mânya*-grant, to the barbers of (*the village of*) (?) Uḷabi, which is included in the boundaries (*of the demesnes*) that appertain to the throne over which the king presides, ...

No. XCII.

The last, and probably the latest, of the Bâdâmi inscriptions is the following,[64] at a small sacred place called Araḷikaṭṭi, about half a mile to the east of Bâdâmi, and a little to the right off the pathway over the hills to Mahâkûṭa. There is a pool with a spring; a small masonry cell; another cell, half of masonry, in front of a natural cavity in the rock; and a row of thirty or forty well executed images of Vishṇu and other principal gods, cut on the rock. The inscription is towards the east end of this row of images. It covers a space of 1′ 7″ high by 1′ 1¾″ broad. The characters are Nâgarî, and the language is Sanskṛit.

The inscription is not dated; but it is probably of the sixteenth or seventeenth century A.D. It purports to record the advent of the goddess Mahâlakshmî from Kollâpura, the modern Kôlhâpur, where there is a large temple dedicated to her and of great repute all over this part of the country.

And on the rock near this inscription there are the following three lines, in Canarese characters of much the same standard as those of No. LXXXVIII. above:—*Transcription*:—[1] Prabhava-saṁvatsarada Bhâdra śu 5 [2]Sôma. vâra Vardhamânadêvaru [3]muktar-âdaru *Translation*:—"On Monday the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the Prabhava *saṁvatsara*, Vardhamânadêva obtained liberation."

Transcription.

[1] Śrî-Kollâpura-var-êśva-
[2] ryai Śrî-Mahâlakshmyai namaḥ [||*]-
[3] Hârîta-kula-saṁbhûta-Ra-
[4] vidêva-tridaṁḍinaḥ tushṭâ
[5] Kollâpurâd=dêvî Mahâla-
[6] kshmîr=ih=âgatâ || Lakshmî-
[7] mâhâtmyaṁ maṁgalaṁ [||*]
[8] Mahâ-Śrî-Mahâlakshmyai namaḥ [||*]
[9] [65] . . . .

---

[62] This line is entire, but the letters are hopelessly indistinct. The rest of the inscription, eight more lines, is quite illegible.

[63] Sir W. Elliot's copy gives *appaneyanu koḍisi* in l. 17; the stone may have been a little more legible when his copy was made. His copyist, however, did not attempt the rest of the inscription.

[64] No. 40 of *P., S., and O.-C., Inscriptions*.

[65] The letters in this line are very cramped and quite unintelligible.

Translation.

Reverence to (*the goddess*) Śrî-Mahâlakshmî, the mistress of Śrî-Kollâpura, which is the best of cities.

(L. 3.)—Being pleased with Ravidêvá-tridaṇḍi,[66] who was born in the family of Hârita, the goddess Mahâlakshmî came here from Kollâpura. Auspicious is the greatness of (*the goddess*) Lakshmî! Reverence to the great (*goddess*) Śrî-Mahâlakshmi! . . . .

No. XCIII.

About three miles to the south-east of Bâdâmi is the village of Toḷachguḍ, in the lands of which there is a large temple of the goddess Banaśaṁkarî.

At the village itself, just outside the eastern gateway, there is a rough unshapely block of stone with an inscription on it of either Achyutarâya or Sadâśivadêva of Vijayanagara; but I only saw it when riding by, and could not note down the contents or make a copy of it.

In the courtyard of the temple of Banaśaṁkarî, in front of the temple, there lies a large *dhvaja-stambha* or *kîrtti-stambha*, with an Old-Canarese inscription of seventeen lines running round the base of it. The pillar, however, requires to be raised and cleaned before the inscription can be copied. The visible portions of the inscription do not contain either the date or the name of the dynasty and the king.

Two stone-tablets, with inscriptions on them, were found by me lying in the courtyard; and I placed them for the sake of safety in an open cell in the eastern wall. One of them, of which a copy is given in the Elliot *MS. Collection*, Vol. II., p. 639, has already been published by me, from the photograph,[67] at Vol. V., p. 19. It is a Vijayanagara inscription of Achyutarâya, and is dated Śâlivâhana-Śaka 1455 (A.D. 1533-4), the Nandana *saṁvatsara*.[68] It is an exception to the style of most of the inscriptions of that period, in that it is engraved in small and well formed letters on a smooth and polished black-stone tablet.

The present inscription, the second of the two just mentioned, is engraved in large and coarsely formed letters on an irregularly shaped red-sandstone tablet; and the lines have an upward slope to the right. The emblems at the top of the tablet, cut in outline only, are a *linga*, with the sun and moon above it. The writing covers a space of 2′ 9″ high; the stone is broadest from line 9 to line 16, being there 1′ 10″ broad; above line 9, and below line 16, it tapers away and is only nine or ten inches broad at the top and bottom. A copy of this inscription is given in the Elliot *MS. Collection*, Vol. II., p. 649. It is a Canarese inscription of the time of Sadâśivarâya of Vijayanagara, and is dated Śâlivâhana-Śaka 1466 (A.D. 1544-5), the Śôbhakṛit[69] *saṁvatsara*. And it records a grant by the *Nâyaka*, Haḍapaḍaḷaṛa-Kṛishṇappa, who is mentioned in No. LXXXVIII. above.

Transcription.

[1] Svasti Śrî-ja-
[2] y-âbhyudaya-Śâlivâ-
[3] hana-Śaka-varusha 1466-
[4] neya Śôbhakru(kṛi)t-saṁvatsara-
[5] da Â[śvija śu]dha(ddha) [70]. . . . [1]û śrîma-
[6] n-mahârâja-âdhirâja-râjapara-
[7] mêsva(śva)ra-Śrî-vîrapratâpa-Śrî-Sadâśiva-
[8] râyara Haḍapaḍaḷaṛa-Kru(kṛi)shṇa-
[9] ppanâyakarû śrîman-mahâ-chaturda-
[10] śa-bhuvan-âdhipati-Śrî-Vanapura-pati-
[11] Śrî-Banada-Mahaṁmâyi(ye)ya amru(mṛi)ta-pa-
[12] ḍi aṁgaraṁga-vaibhavake(kke) [biḍi]sida
[13] grâmavaṁnu Bâdâviya sîmege saluva
[14] Malâpahâri-tîrada Dâṇakasirivûrá-grâ-

[66] *Tridaṇḍi*, 'a wandering Brahman mendicant, who has resigned worldly pursuits and carries three long bamboo staves, tied together so as to form one staff, in his right hand.'

[67] No. 72, of *P., S., and O.-C., Inscriptions.*

[68] The Nandana *saṁvatsara*, however, was Śaka 1454; and Śaka 1455 was the Vijaya *saṁvatsara*.

[69] See note 74 below.

[70] One or two numerals or letters are effaced here.

[15] mava[ṁ*]nu dâ(dhâ)reyan=aredu koṭṭu yiddhêve [||*]
[16] Yî grâmake(kke) âr-oba(bba)rû aḷidava-
[17] rû tamma [71]. . . . .
[18] [72]. . . . . si[73] . . . .

Translation.

Hail! On the . . . . day of the bright fortnight of (*the month*) Âśvija of the Śôbhakṛit *saṁvatsara*, which was the 1466th year[74] of the victorious and glorious Sâlivâhana-Śaka, Haḍapadaḷara-Krishṇappanâyaka,—(*the Nâyaka*) of the brave and puissant Srî-Sadâśivarâya, the glorious great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord of kings,—[*thus declares*] :—

(L. 9.)—"We have given, with libations of water, the village of Dâṇakasirivûr,[75] on the bank of the (*river*) Malâpahârî and included within the boundaries (*of the village*) of Bâdâvi, the said village being set apart for the *amṛita-paḍi* and the *aṅgaraṅga* of (*the goddess*) Śrî-Banada-Mahammâye, who is the glorious great mistress of the fourteen worlds and the mistress of the city of Śrî-Vanapura.

(L. 16.)—Whosoever injures (*the grant of*) this village, ... !"

THE WAHHÂBIS.

BY FAZL LUTFULLAH.

The founder of the bold schism of the Wahhâbis was Abdul Wahhâb, the son of a petty Sheikh of the pastoral tribe of Temin in Nejd, and of the clan called Abdul Wahhâb in the province of Arabia called El Arîd, who was born in the year 1691 A.D.[1] He was the hereditary chief of his clan. The mummeries of the Turkish pilgrims, the profligacy that profaned the cities, and the abuses that had crept into the religion of even the conservative children of the Desert, his clansmen, attracted his attention.

The excited opposition with which the doctrines he preached were met on the part of the population and the government, ended in his expulsion from the place of his birth by the order of the Governor of El Hassa, and, escaping the death of a culprit and the poniard of the assassin, he fled and took refuge with the Sheikh of a neighbouring town—Deraiah, who was not unfriendly to him and his doctrines. It was there that, after the partial establishment of this power, he took the scimitar as the means of compulsory conviction. After a life full of peril and success he died at Deraiah in A.D. 1787, at the advanced age of ninety-five.

As a reformer he was eminently qualified for the task he had undertaken, possessing, as he did, all the elements essential for success in a country like Arabia and among a people like the Arabs: a warm and persuasive eloquence, an intrepidity equalled only by cool and undaunted courage, and a profound and keen insight into the Arab character.

The work begun by him was not relinquished or neglected by his son Muhammad, during whose tenure of the post of the leadership of the reformers the cause continued steadily to gain strength and flourish.

The first sectarian army that is heard of was commanded by Abdul Aziz, the son of Muhammad, who though repulsed at its head at the siege of Deraiah, achieved exploits with it that permanently strengthened the Wahhâbi cause. Among other brilliant advantages gained by this chief was the bringing into obedience the Sheikh Abu Arish and the Mekrâmi Sheikh of Negrân, who were the means of spreading the new doctrines from the coast of Bahrein to the confines of Mokha and 'Âden. As the new party grew more and more powerful, the raids into the country of the neighbouring tribes grew more frequent, and as forfeiture of cattle and flock was the penalty of the refractory, the conversions became more numerous and otherwise unforced, and numbers began to flock to the Wahhâbi standard. The clans, otherwise perpetually bickering with one another, having now between them a feeling of common interest

71 About eleven letters are effaced and illegible here.
72 One or two letters are effaced here.
73 About eight letters are effaced here.
74 The Śôbhakṛit *saṁvatsara*, however, was Śaka 1465; and Śaka 1466 was the Krôdhi *saṁvatsara*.
75 About two miles south of Toḷachguḍ.

1 This is disputed by some writers; if he were 95 years old according to the Arabic Lunar Calendar when he died in 1787, he could only have been born about 1695 A.D.—ED.

and brotherhood, what were previously hostile clanships became now amalgamated into a kingdom as peaceful internally as it was formidable to its neighbours. At the close of the eighteenth century the Wahhâbi power was established over the whole of the province of Nejd, and the Sherîf at the head of the government of the holy city of Makka not thinking it politic to withhold his amity from a people at once so disposed towards opposition and so powerful, granted the Wahhâbis permission to perform their pilgrimage to the temple of the Kaâba. This was the first time that the Wahhâbis were acknowledged politically as a nation.

Sherîf Ghâlib was the first that opposed the Wahhâbis. He carried on, with varying success, a sort of Badawi warfare with them. But finding that, alone and unassisted, he was not able to cope with a body of men that fought with a newly-infused religious fervour and zeal for their very existence, being opposed, on his side, as he knew, by men who, at the best, had no very large interests at stake, he gave up the unequal contest, and began to persuade the Porte to make common cause with him for the destruction of a power which ere long would grow too powerful to quail before the joint efforts of any two Eastern Governments.

These coupled with the unceasing complaints of the Turkish officers and Pashâs of territories bordering on the Wahhâbi frontier, against Wahhâbi encroachment and aggression, at last succeeded in drawing the attention of the Porte towards this new enemy. The officer then in charge of the Pashalic of Bagdâd—Sulimân Pâsha—in consequence of orders from the Porte to the effect, in 1797 despatched an army from Bagdâd consisting of 5,000 Turkish troops and twice that number of allied Arabs. But, instead of proceeding to Deraiah, the head-quarters of Wahhâbi power, they attacked the fortified citadel of El Hassa and laid siege to it for a month, which it was well prepared to resist. Saûd, the son of Abdul Aziz, however, coming to the rescue of the besieged party, compelled the beleaguering forces to retire, and, their motion being considerably retarded by Saûd having injured the water in the wells on their route by putting camel-loads of salt into them, they withdrew with great loss and privation. At length a truce for six years was concluded. It was, however, honoured by Saûd no longer than necessary. In 1801 Saûd at the head of 20,000 Wahhâbis attacked and captured the town and shrine of Kerbala, in which 5,000 persons were massacred. Rich in gold and jewels, the accumulated votive and devotional offerings of ages of Shiâh superstition, the shrine was stripped of everything that had even the semblance of preciousness. It proved no mean booty to Saûd and his rapacious hordes. The following year saw the Wahhâbis at Tâif, where the shrine of Abbâs, the uncle of the Prophet, received no more honour, though, perhaps, it yielded less booty than that of his grandson. On the 27th of April of the following year the Wahhâbi axes were operating as lustily on the walls of the Temple of Makka—the *qiblah*, or bowing point of the Muhammadan world.

The "thrill of horror that passed through the orthodox Musalmân world" was the parent of a feeling of intolerant hatred which was soon kindled in the breast of the surrounding Musalmân Powers, and the remaining portion of the life of Saûd was one of unremitting warfare, which, with the variety of chances peculiar to it, sometimes resembled the career of a victorious general and sometimes the struggles of a man hunted to death. On his death his son Abdullah faced the enemies of his father and his race with the same tenacity and courage, but in 1812 "the strong arm" of Muhammad Ali Pâsha of Egypt, helped by the stronger arm and energies of Britain, helped to complete his ruin and the fall of the Wahhâbi power. Abdullâh was led in captivity to Constantinople, where he was publicly beheaded in 1818 as a heretic and a rebel.

With their Chief no more at their head, and their resources utterly crippled, the Wahhâbis, from a flourishing and a powerful people, dwindled into a quiet and isolated community. They have gradually recovered from the blow that once prostrated them, and though curtailed in limits and shorn of many possessions, "the Wahhâbi Empire" has not been expunged from the map of Arabia,[1] with its seat of Government at Riâd.

The religion that Abdul-Wahhâb taught was in no way opposed or foreign to the spirit of Islâm: it was substantially identical with the creed of Muhammad. Belief in and absolute reliance on one God, a less extensive acknow-

[1] *Vide* Palgrave's *Arabia*, chaps. ix and xiii.

ledgment of mediation, the entire withdrawal of belief in Saints, the right of private interpretation of the Kurân, instead of accepting its meaning in no other manner than that in which it was construed by a learned few, the rejection of all vague forms and idle ceremonies engrafted by an unscrupulous priesthood on the original form of the religion, the return to the old practice of abstinence from everything bordering on luxury, and the obligation to wage religious war;—these were the doctrines which Abdul-Wahhâb taught. Especially among the Muhammadans of India—like the Roman Catholics—Saints were and still are numerous, each with his separate office, and, from the lower and less educated orders, they receive a reverence much approaching to that of gods. The example of the Wahhâbis—not to say their influence—has done much towards the decrease of this practice. The object of their reform was to bring back the religion to its first purity, which during its encounter with other and more material forms of faith, it had in a great measure lost. Mr. Bosworth Smith defines Wahhâbyism as the Puritanism of the Puritanism of Islâm, "hated, by the so-called orthodox Musalmâns, as the Lutherans were hated by Leo, and the Covenanters by Claverhouse." As known in India, Wahhâbyism consists in a rigid observance of the most difficult tenets of Islâm, not excluding even the obligation of waging religious war against infidels, and some of the most notorious leaders of the mutiny of 1857 were of this persuasion. This however is the only point of their religion in which, owing to the compactness of British power, rather than any want of religious frenzy or will on their part—the Indian Wahhâbis lack zeal, and their opinion is divided as to whether India under the British rule can so far be looked upon in the light of a (دارالحرب) *Dâru'l-Harb*, or a country of war, and to warrant their going to war with its rulers. This, however, is sufficient to render them politically dangerous subjects, and to draw upon them a sharp and unremitting surveillance from Government, to render impossible their ostensible existence as a body, and to oblige them, however reluctantly, to conceal their religion. In some cases even, a Wahhâbi finds his prolonged sojourn in one place impossible. To repudiate the observance of all holidays except the two great ones observed by and during the time of the Prophet, to regulate their dress, and to keep their persons in strict accordance with the austere warlike behests of the Prophet are parts of the religion of a Wahhâbi, and considering the indifference with which his example and his command are regarded in the devotional and other parts of the religion, this is a matter of surprise. On occasions of sorrow and joy only those forms are recognized that have the sanction of the Kurân and the most authentic of the vaticinal traditions. The authenticity, in fact, of most of the traditional sayings of the Prophet, forming, as they do, the greater part of the Muslim religious lore, is either totally denied, or only partially acknowledged, by the Wahhâbis. As the great bulk of this literature has been made subservient by the doctors of the orthodox faith in India, as elsewhere, to building up that vast fabric of superstition so irrational in a religion like Islâm, the Wahhâbis are more than justified in withholding their belief in it; more especially, as every now and then, a learned man, more enterprising than the rest, has been found to lay it aside even among the orthodox themselves. Though with the Muhammadans of the orthodox school—a submission to the traditions is not religiously a *sine quâ non*, the belief once voluntarily tendered is now exacted.

Neither inhabiting any particular district in British India, nor in any strength of numbers, the Wahhâbis are found thinly interspersed throughout the length and breadth of the land. The reform appeared in India in the year 1821 A.D., ten years after its being beaten down in Arabia, in the person of one Sayyid Aḥmad, an inhabitant of Central India. It secretly and gradually gained strength till the year 1857, when it made its *début* in the disorder and bloodshed that then everywhere reigned supreme. The Mutiny was the first time that Wahhâbyism became generally known, but though it got abroad with it, it was far from being of it. The Wahhâbis that joined the mutineers of 1857 had no feeling or fellowship in common with the herd of ruffians and assassins, whose one idea was revenge, and whose sole motive was gain. The motive that impelled them to take the sword in India was the same that actuated their brother reformers in Arabia—religion. The culpability in both cases

is not to be denied, though, if motives be taken into consideration in forming the standard of crime, it may be modified. There is no denying, however, their having joined the mutiny; and that it was the occasion on which the reform gained publicity in India. Except in some of the independent native states of Central India, the Wahhâbis cannot be talked of as a class existing by themselves. But the preaching and influence of these isolated units has in Southern Gujarat and among the class of cultivating Bohorâs called Biryâwi, brought about a complete revolution not only in their religious principles but in customs that, even under the press of royal authority, were secretly cherished. Under the Wahhâbi influence, the customs held most dear by the people, the music on occasions of joy, the celebration of most of these occasions, the dress of their women, the ceremonies performed during marriages, all these and many others have disappeared, and have been succeeded by a strict attention to all the details of the law in all the minutiæ of life. Being peaceful in all their other occupations, these Bohorâs have latterly shown a bold disregard to the concealment of their newly-adopted doctrines.

In the North some of the leading Sunni Bohorâs have come to look favourably upon this mode of belief, and discarding music at marriages, &c. have adopted both the principles and the practices of the Wahhâbis.

The Wahhâbis in Gujarât may be divided into two sections:—foreigners and those joining the reform from the local classes. The former element consists of Wahhâbi preachers with their followers from North, East, and Central India. It may be mentioned parenthetically that the foreigners are generally the priests under whose influence the local portions have entered the reform, and wherever, as in the Bohorâ villages of Gujârât, there is a number of local Wahhâbis, these are the acknowledged religious, and to some extent temporal heads of the body, held in reverence, and sometimes in affection, by the people.

Difference of manners, in cases of the above nature, between the foreigner and his congregation there certainly is. But the number of these being so small, it is too insignificant to deserve or call for special remark. His manners, his customs—the veriest details of the daily life of a Wahhâbi priest are all merged in his religion, and his followers are, so to speak, in a chrysalis state—progressing with his model before them from the observance of their half-Hindu, half-Musalman customs to a decidedly marked state of Musalmân character. With these circumstances in mind, to say that the Wahhâbis of Gujârât follow wholly the customs of their cultivating Bohorâ ancestors would be equally as incorrect as to assert the contrary. Their home-language, certainly, is Gujarâti, but the dress of their women is no longer the *sâri* and petticoats (the Hindu woman's costume) of ten years ago. There has also been no change in their houses and their occupations; these are the same as those of their unreformed brethren.

Their condition has undergone a change, and a change for the better—a change which they owe to their conversion. They do not, as Wahhâbis, give the same ruinous dinner parties, do not launch out into extravagant expenses at marriages and deaths, and pregnancies, and anniversaries. Thus where formerly there were insolvent tenants, there are now affluent landholders. Drinking of spirituous liquors or the fermented palm-juice, known as "toddy," were formerly vices not uncommon among the Sunni Bohorâs. They are never heard of now.

As a community—the reform party of the Sunni Bohorâs had no reason to detach themselves from their orthodox brethren—for, though the latter may not sympathise, they still do not meet them with the animosity that the other classes of Muhammadans show towards a Wahhâbi. Intermarriages between the old and the new parties have not ceased nor is there any chance of their ever ceasing, as the old party are not intelligent enough to quarrel for a difference of opinion as they think it. Headed as the new party is by some of the most influential of the Sunni Bohorâ population, the idea of a breach is a distant probability.

If elsewhere—in Central India, in the North Western Provinces, in Arabia and the Ottoman Levantine dominions—the prospects of Wahhabyism are bright and cheering, they are not the less so or less encouraging to the heads of that section in the south of Gujarât. The indifference shown by the orthodox party to the conversion of their people is, if taken into consideration, no small ground for self-gratulation to the Wahhâbi preachers, who have latterly begun

to look upon the whole Sunni Bohorâ population of the south of Gujarât as a rich field for their proselytizing labours. In the north of Gujarât there is no open Wahhâbi revolution at work, though perhaps its spirit may not be entirely absent among the trading Sunni Bohorâ classes. In the south of Gujarât the rude Gujarâti-speaking cultivating Bohorâ of former days has, under the course of Wahhâbi instruction and guidance, acquired even a taste for the religious literature of Islâm. In towns like Rândêr, colleges have been established where the Bohorâ youth acquire some proficiency in religious learning. In small villages the masjid serves the purpose of the village academy, where the Miyân Sâhib, the village priest, instructs the young men of the village. The town academy frequently forms the arena of discussion with the learned of the old sect, but the controversy is carried on with coolness and courtesy, never waxing warm enough to come to blows like the ill-regulated meetings of other sects. This is a state of things promising a great deal to the reform, certainly, but to the converts themselves no great advancement in worldly position. Learning English is regarded either as superfluous or decidedly irreligious. A Wahhâbi youth with these ideas, however high he may hope to look religiously, does not aim at any political distinction. As it is—the reform has done all it can to remove the people from gross ignorance, the grasp of superstition, and the hold of interested, designing spiritual leaders.

BOMBAY BEGGARS AND CRIERS.

BY K. RAGHUNATHJI.

(*Continued from Vol. IX, p. 280.*)

Inâmdârs.

Inâmdârs or High-fliers simulate broken-down gentlemen. These beggars come in pairs, of sometimes three or four together, men, women and children. The women cover themselves with a sheet from head to foot to show that they are ladies and their husbands gentlemen. The men put iron chains round their necks, hands, and feet, fastened by a padlock, and say that on account of debt due to the *Sarkâr* they have been reduced to this state and their lands, cattle, and jewelry confiscated, with everything else they were possessed of; also that they have been deprived of their children, and that in their present condition they are seeking the means to pay off their debts. They lay their grievance before the people in a song; and the women and children join them in the same. These beggars sometimes hold a half-open roll of paper in their hands written in Modi characters with a seal attached to it. Some have iron chains round their wrists only, with a padlock attached, the key of which, they say, lies with the Government (*Sarkâr*). They call themselves Deśmukhs and Deśpândes. Others tie a miniature plough to their necks, and say they were landholders or zamindârs; and thus they beg to be freed from their bondage. These beggars invoke ill-luck on those who do not give them charity.

Bahurupîs.

Bahurupîs, or men of many faces or characters. These actors are generally Marâṭhâs. They carry no clothes or other stage property; but one day come dressed as â god, the next as a milkmaid, and again as a Ṛishi. The last of the scenes is generally the Murlî or female-devotee, who comes provided with a vessel for collecting money. The number of these representations is not fixed, but they do not generally exceed fifteen. When these beggars have done with one part of the town, they commence representations in another. In about a fortnight they collect in this way, in well-to-do localities, from five to ten and twenty rupees, and receive old clothes also. These beggars are excellent dancers and singers. Some of them are eunuchs.

Pânguls.

The Pângul comes very early in the morning. His clothes consist of a piece of cloth round his loins, a *langoti* and a coarse black blanket over his head hanging downwards. Under his arm is a bag in which he stores his coin, and in his hand is a long bambu stick with an iron top to which is attached small rings which he stamps as he walks. He is the earliest beggar that appears, bawling out at the top of his voice something to the following effect:—'Oh give alms to a *pâvdâ* in the

early morning, the god Râma's time; in the name of your ancestors, give alms to a *pâvdâ*; in the name of your family gods, give alms to a *pâvdâ*; in the name of the goddesses Bhavânî of Kolhâpur and Tuljâpur, give alms to a *pâvdâ*.' In this way he names one after another about two dozen or more Bhavânîs and an equal number of Gaṇapatis, then Mahâdêvas, and so on. He is given a pie, and the name of the deceased male ancestor of the family told him, when he repeats aloud the name saying, *pavud pâvadâ* in Raghobâ's name, and invoking a blessing on the deceased ancestor, he cries in the same loud tone, 'the *pâvdâ* has visited the goddess Ambâbâi of Jogai, the goddess Mahâlakshmi of Kolhâpur, the goddess Bhavânî of Tuljâpur, Khandobâ of Jejuri, Vithobâ of Pandharpur, Narsoba of Wâdi, Ahilyâbâi of Indur, Tukoba of Dehu, Mhasobâ of Râjâpur, Satwâi of Châmbhârgâṅw, Dhopêśvar of Indâpur,' &c. &c. and is off. This person generally frequents the houses of Śûdras, and the idea of their ancestor's name being blessed by a *pâvdâ* and in the god Râma's time, gladdens their hearts. They also climb trees calling out the name of some deity and shouting for alms to passers by.

Nandibail.

This beggar, who is a Hindu Marâṭhâ by caste, goes about with a bullock (*Nandibail*) behind him, covered all over, not excepting the horns, with clothes of different kinds, shapes, and colours, with bells tinkling round his neck and feet, and an image of Gaṇapati or Mâruti fastened to the animal's forehead. The beggar has a drum hanging from his waist, which he keeps both rubbing and striking as he goes along the streets, and approaching a Hindu house commands the bullock to point out the charitably-disposed person in the crowd, which is done by the bullock going to some one on the verandah of the house and standing with his face towards him. The beggar then tells the animal to show the right hand with which charity is made, which the bullock does by raising his right forefoot. After this is done, the beggar offers his neck to the bullock, which the bullock holds in his mouth, and either walks a few paces or stands keeping it hanging therefrom. Last of all the man spreads a cloth on the ground, and lying down on his back tells the bullock to stand upon it, which the bullock does by placing his four feet on the man's stomach and dancing upon it for some minutes. This feat closes the beggar's exhibition, and the people throw the man some coin. A few pice satisfies him, and he then goes on beating his drum to the next house. If it happens that a female in the family at whose door he stops is pregnant, and wishes to know what the issue will be, whether male or female, they place before the animal a pound or so of rice in which they have already put a whole betelnut, and if after the animal has eaten the whole of the rice, including the nut, he throws down the nut unbroken, then this is deemed a sign that the issue will be a son, but if he drops it broken, then a daughter may be expected.

Wârekari.

The Wârekari is generally a Marâṭhâ by caste. He carries an ochre-coloured flag and a bag containing his goods. He wears a *tulsi* necklace round his neck and arms, and begs of the passers by to help him on his way to Pandharpur.

Avliâs.

These beggars go about on ponies or bullocks that are little better than skeletons, or get themselves taken about from door to door in a small hand-cart. They employ persons to drag them about from place to place, promising them from one to two annas per day.

Ventriloquists.

Ventriloquists are either Musalmans or Hindus. They imitate thunder, the sound of running water, roaring waves, the cries of beasts, the whistling of birds, and the speech of men. The other day one of these beggars put the inmates of a house into much alarm, where there was a woman near her confinement, by imitating the cries of a new-born child. These men make from six to eight annas a day by their profession, and are surrounded by a number both of children and grown-up persons.

Kaikâdis.

Kaikâdis are of two divisions, Gavrânis, who make baskets and other articles of 'tur' (*cajanus indicus*) stalks, and Kunchekâris, who make weavers' starch-brushes. They do not eat together nor intermarry, some are settled, others are wanderers and known to the police as thieves and vagabonds. They sing and beg, receiving remains of food and money. Their women generally go about

half-naked, winding a bit of cloth round their waist, and leaving their breasts bare.

JARIMARI.

Jarimari or Cholera beggars, are a class who take every pains to assume a hideous and uncouth appearance, and the more they succeed in this the more they are pleased. Their hair is all matted and tangled, and in this too the more the confusion the greater the approbation. They paint their foreheads with red-lead, and on their legs, waist and fingers they wear brass rings which jingle when they move. It is a characteristic of these beggars to wear a long coat and trousers, and to their waist and arms are tied clothes and pieces of cloth of different colours and shapes one over the other. As they go along they dance and twirl round, which expands the folds of these loose garments into a round flowing shape. They go about either singly or in groups of two and three, and are accompanied by servants. They make their presence known by a loud and prolonged cry. They take about with them a twisted hemp cord or rope three to four inches in diameter at one end, and terminating in a point, *korda*. When these beggars strike themselves with this cord, the crack or noise it makes is far from pleasant to hear. It is the belief however of many that although the blows they inflict on themselves are apparently severe, they yet have a knack of doing it so as not to harm themselves. But they assert that it is because the goddess Jarimari, who is in them, that it does not hurt them. They generally frequent places where low caste Hindus reside. They do not always go begging from house to house, but dance and yell in front of people's dwellings. They belong to the Mhâr, Mâng and other low castes. A few pice or a handful of uncooked rice satisfies them. If the rice be given in a winnowing fan, he dances with it, rolling the contents into another held beside it or holding the winnowing fan upside down without letting a single grain fall on the ground.

ŚANVÂRES.

These are Mâng and other low caste females, who beg only on Saturdays during the month of Śrâvan, crying out—*Sanavâr vâdhâ*. They carry baskets on their heads and earthen pots or glass bottles for oil. Hindus consider it meritorious to give alms to a Mângin on these days. The oil is given in a cocoanut shell, and it is first waved from the head downwards in the case of each person, and given to the woman, by which is meant that all the ills of the man are given to the Mângin, who only can bear up under them.

JOGNIS AND SANKHES.

The Navarâtras are nine nights sacred to Durgâ, the wife of Śiva, and the Dasara or tenth follows: during these days married women of the Vâdval or cartkeeper caste, with a hollow dried gourd wrapped in cloth hanging from their right arm, beg in Bhavânî's name from house to house. Each day they are given a handful of rice, and in one of the nine days an elderly married woman of each household worships the hollow gourd. A Vâdvalin and her husband are called, a quartz square traced, and the hollow gourd placed in it on a low wooden stool. The worshipper draws lines on the outside of the gourd with turmeric and red powder and a few grains of rice, fastens a spangle on it, and filling it with rice, waves a lighted lamp before it. The Jogin rubs her own hands with turmeric, and fastens on her brow red powder, and a spangle, and before her and her gourd the worshipper waves a lighted lamp. The Śankhyâ—called so from his carrying a conch shell with him—is given some rice and oil, and blessing the worshipper he blows the conch shell.

ŚÂKTAS.

Śâktas (from *śakti*, force or power) worship an invisible power or force represented by emblems. They are found among all classes; but can only be traced by keeping a strict watch over the movements of suspected Śâktas. If they are Vaishṇavas, their worship is offered to Lakshmî; if they are Śaivas, the worship is offered to Pârvatî, Jagadambâ, Bhavânî, Kâlî or Durgâ.

The Karâris, who are also Śâktas, inflict upon themselves bodily tortures, and pierce their flesh with hooks or spits, run sharp-pointed instruments through their tongues and cheeks, gash themselves with knives, or lie upon beds of sharp-pointed spikes. The Śâktas perform initiatory ceremonies on the admission of a new member, or as often as any one of the society succeeds in getting a female to act as a goddess for the worship. Preference, however, is given to a black-complexioned woman. Solitude and secrecy being strictly enjoined,

they perform the worship at midnight in most unfrequented and private places, and even in the burning grounds in honour of the goddess Bhavânî. A Brâhman is usually the chief mover, but sometimes Śûdras are the movers or accomplices, and are previously initiated in the mysteries. If the Śâkta who knows the formula belongs to the right hand party (*Dakshanâchâri*), he takes his own wife, but if of the left-hand party (*Vâmachâri*), the daughter of a Mâng or Muhammadan prostitute. He asks the other members to join him at the appointed place. The five *makârs* necessary for the worship are,—*mamsa*, flesh; *matiga*, fish; *madya*, liquor; *maithuna*, cohabitation or rather women; and *mudra*, certain mystical gesticulations. At the meeting place, lines are traced with quartz powder on the floor, on which a mat is spread. The Mâng woman or prostitute[1] is seated on the mat with her hair loose and the whole of her forehead daubed with red powder (*kunku*). Then, repeating verses, she is worshipped by all the members with flowers, the waving of lights in the manner they worship their family gods, and liquor sprinkled over her. Then, placing before her beef, liquor, fish, and sweetmeats, she is prayed to partake of the same. After she has eaten to satisfaction, the remains are collected and mixed with the remaining food and liquor, which are freely eaten and drunk by the members. If she should not drink liquor, however much pressed, she is seated naked on an earthen pot with her tongue stretched out, and the worshippers pour liquor over the tongue, so that it falls from her body into the pot on which she sits, and about a tea-spoon is drunk by the worshippers, and the rest mixed with the other liquor in the pot. Dubois says, in the meetings which they hold, all castes are invited, without excepting even the Parwâri. Not only are all distinctions abolished and the Parwâri is as welcome as the Brâhman, but they call themselves *vîrs*, heroes, and those that do not join them, *pashus*, beasts. This over, each one by turns takes and lies with the woman on the spot where she has been worshipped, and each collecting the seed that has dropped puts it in a human skull. When all have done this, the seed is sipped with the utmost joy by all the members. They hold the *pâtra*, skull, says Dr. Wilson, on the ends of the three fingers of the left hand, viz.:—the thumb, the little finger, and the one next to the thumb, closing the two other fingers. The woman is then liberally rewarded and dismissed.

The other ceremony performed on the admission of a new member is nearly the same. On the first night only the worship, by repeating verses in honour of Bhavâni, is performed, and the flesh, fish, and sweetmeats are eaten and liquor drunk. But on the second night, women corresponding to the number of members present on the previous night, are brought. These women may be of any caste, from the Brâhman down to the Mâng, Ḍheḍ, and Musalman. But it is necessary that one at least of them should be a Brâhman. These women are seated nude on a mat, within a quartz drawing, side by side, and opposite them the worshippers sit each with a cocoanut shell in his hand. The chief among them, who is always well versed in the incantations, offers the several goddesses beef, fish, sweetmeats, and liquor, and then collecting the remains of the food and mixing them with more, he offers the same to the worshippers. Then each worshipper pairs with the woman before whom he is seated on the spot, and collects the seed in his cup of cocoanut shell. He puts it in a human skull. The fluid is then well stirred, and each one, calling on the goddess Âi Bhavânî! takes a sip of it. Then the whole night is spent in debauchery, the men exchanging the women, and the women the men, and at the same time eating and drinking to excess. Dubois says "the least detestable of the sacrifices made to the Śâktas are those in which the votaries content themselves with eating and drinking of everything, without regard to the usage of the country; and where men and women, huddled promiscuously together, shamelessly violate the sacred laws of decency and modesty." Then, again, he adds, "In some varieties of these mysteries of iniquity, the conspicuous objects of the sacrifice to the Śâktis are a large vase filled with ârak and a young girl, quite naked, and placed in the most shameful attitude. He who sacrifices calls upon the Śâkti, who is supposed, by this avocation, to come and take up her residence in those two objects. After the offering has been made of

[1] Dr. Wilson says, they prefer for their worship a female devotee, a harlot, a washer-woman, a barber's wife, a Brâhmaṇî, a Śûdra, a flower-girl, a milkmaid, and a Chaṇḍâlin.

all that was prepared for the festival, Brâhmans, Śudras, Pariahs, men and women, swill the ârak which was the offering to the Śâktis, regardless of the same glass being used by them all, which, in ordinary cases, would excite abhorrence. Here it is a virtuous act to participate in the same morsel, and to receive from each other's mouths the half-gnawed flesh. The fanatical impulse drives them to excesses which modesty will not permit to be named. It cannot well be doubted that these enthusiasts endeavour, by their infamous sacrifices, to cover with the veil of religion the two ruling passions—lust and the love of intoxicating liquor. It is also certain that the Brâhmans, and particularly certain women of the caste, are the directors of these horrible mysteries of iniquity."[2]

LEPERS.

Some of these unfortunate sufferers were once trusted servants and good stewards in respectable Hindu and other families. They and other miserable creatures covered with loathsome diseases, whom one feels both pity and repugnance to look at, may be seen perambulating our streets in large numbers, especially in Khetwâdi, or standing at the doors of houses clamouring for alms. None of these beggars penetrate the native town, yet they are not prevented from loitering or wandering about in the public streets or lying down by the roadside.—(*To be continued.*)

ON THE JAINENDRA-VYÂKARAṆA.

BY DR. F. KIELHORN, DECCAN COLLEGE, PUṆA.

The Government collection of Sanskṛit MSS. deposited in the Library of the Deccan College contains the following works of the so-called *Jainendra-vyâkaraṇa*:

1. (*a*) A paper MS. consisting of 314 leaves, entitled *Jainendravyâkaraṇa-mahâvṛitti.*[1] It contains the text of the Sûtras from I, 1, 1 to IV, 3, 30 (ज्यः = P. VI, 1, 42) together with a full commentary by *Abhayanandi-muni.* The MS. *begins*:

देवदेवं जिनं नत्वा सर्वसत्त्वाभयप्रदम् ।
शब्दशास्त्रस्य सूत्राणां महावृत्तिर्विरच्यते ॥ १ ॥
यच्छब्दलक्षणमसुव्रजपारमन्यै-
रव्यक्तमुक्तमभिधानविधौ दरिद्रैः ।
तत्सर्वलोकहृदयप्रियचारुवाक्यै-
र्व्यक्तीकरोत्यभयनन्दिमुनिः समस्तम् ॥ २ ॥

शिष्टाचारपरिपालनार्थमादाविष्टदेवतानमस्कारलक्षणं मङ्गलमिदमाहाचार्यः ।

लक्ष्मीरात्यन्तिकी यस्य निरवद्यावभासते ।
देवनन्दितपूजेशे नमस्तस्मै स्वयंभुवे ॥ १ ॥

(*b*) A paper MS. consisting of 75 leaves, and containing the same work from IV, 4, 143 (नैकाषः = P. VI, 4, 163) to the end of the Jainendra-grammar, V, 4, 124. The MS. ends:

चतुष्टयं समन्तभद्रस्य ॥ १२४ ॥

झयो हः (see P. VIII, 4, 62) इत्यादि चतुष्टयं समन्तभद्राचार्यस्य मतेन भवति नान्येषाम् । तथा चैवोदाहृतम् ॥ इत्यभयनन्दिविरचितायां जैनेन्द्रव्याकरणमहावृत्तौ पञ्चमस्याध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः समाप्तः ॥ समाप्तश्चायं पञ्चमोऽध्यायः ॥

2. (*a*) A paper MS. consisting of 262 leaves, containing the text of the Sûtras complete, with a succinct commentary, entitled *Śabdârṇavachandrikâ*, and composed by *Somadeva-yati*, or *-munîśvara* (*Somâmara-vratipa*). The MS. begins:

श्रीपूज्यपादममलं गुणनन्दिदेवं
सोमामरव्रतिपपूजितपादयुग्मम् ।
सिद्धं समुन्नतपदं वृषभं जिनेन्द्रं
सच्छब्दलक्षणमहं विनमामि वीरम् ॥ १ ॥

and it ends:

इति जैनेन्द्रे व्याकरणे शब्दार्णवचान्द्रिकायां वृत्तौ पञ्चमोऽध्यायः ॥ ५ ॥

श्रीसोमदेवयतिनिर्मितमादधाति
या नौः प्रतीतगुणनन्दितशब्दवार्धौ ।
सेयं सताममलचेतसि विस्फुरन्ती [MS. न्ति]
वृत्तिः सदा नुतपदा परिवर्तिषीष्ट ॥ १ ॥

(*b*) An old palm-leaf MS. of the same work. Unfortunately this MS. has been so much injured that it will take some time to arrange the existing fragments of about 300 leaves in their proper order.

The paper MS. of the *Śabdârṇavachandrikâ* contains (after the last verse above quoted) a note, according to which the work was composed in A.D. 1205, in the reign of Bhojadeva (Bhoja II), at a Jinâlaya founded by Gaṇḍarâ-

---

[2] *Description of the People of India*, ed. 1817, pp. 171, 172. See also Ward's *Mythology*, vol. I, p. 247.

[1] A MS. of this work is at Berlin; from it an account of the Jainendra-grammar and of the commentary has been given by Dr. Zachariae (Beiträge z. kunde d. ig. sprachen, vol. V, pp. 296—311).

dityadeva at Âjurikâ (the modern आजरे?), in the country of Kollâpura[2] (see Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government, No. VIII. New Series; pp. 321, 326-329).

3. A paper MS. consisting of 138 leaves, entitled *Panchavastuka.* This is a short grammar arranged after the fashion of the Kaumudîs. It consists of five chapters, *Sandhi-vastu, Nâma-vastu, Savidhi-(i.e. Samâsavidhi-)vastu, Hṛidvidhi—(i.e. Taddhitavidhi-)vastu, Âkhyâta-vastu.* The Sûtras are taken from the text of the Jainendra-grammar given by Abhayanandin, and they are accompanied by a short commentary. Towards the end of the MS. the whole is stated to be the work of *Devanandy-âchârya* (कृतिरियं देवनन्द्याचार्यस्य परवादिमथनस्य). How much truth there is in this statement, I shall endeavour to show below; here it will suffice to note that in a verse which occurs on Fol. 8*a* the authorship of the Panchavastuka is distinctly assigned to *Śrutakîrti.* In the MS. before me the actual text of the Panchavastuka commences on Fol. 10*a*, and the first 9 leaves contain a commentary on the introductory portion of it. The work begins:

जगाच्त्रितयनाथाय नमो जन्मप्रमाथिने ।
नयप्रमाणवाग्रश्मिध्वस्तध्वान्ताय शान्तये ॥
अथ प्रत्याहारक्रमो ऽनुवर्ण्यते । तद्यथा । अ इ उण् । ...

After a discussion on the Pratyâhâra-Sûtras, in which it is stated that they are in every respect the same as those given in the works of former grammarians (meaning Pâṇini), and that the Ayogavâhas (Anusvâra, Visarjanîya, etc.) are not put down in them, the author goes on to say (Fol. 11*b*):

पञ्चवर्मा गतिमापन्नं पञ्चतत्त्वार्थदेशिनम् ।
प्रणम्य वचसां वक्ष्ये प्रपञ्चं पञ्चवस्तुकम् ॥

In now proceeding to give a short account of the contents of the Jainendra-grammar, I have first to state that the MSS. which have been described in the above, contain two different recensions of the text of the Sûtras, a shorter one which has been followed by Abhayanandin and in the Panchavastuka, and a longer one which is the basis of Somadeva's commentary. In both the text is divided into 5 Adhyâyas (पञ्चाध्यायाः परिमाणमस्य पञ्चकं जैनेन्द्रम् । पञ्चकं विदन्त्यधीयते वा पञ्चका जैनेन्द्राः), each Adhyâya consisting of 4 Pâdas; but whereas in the shorter recension the total number of Sûtras hardly amounts to 3000, Somadeva's text contains no less than 3,712 rules. There are also some slight differences in the formation of the Pratyâhâras, in the employment of technical terms, and in the arrangement and wording of the rules, but as all these differences do not materially affect the character of the work, it is possible to base an estimate of it mainly on the shorter and, I may add, original text.

And here I may remark that among the various grammars which have come under my notice, there is none more wanting in originality, none more worthless than the *Jainendram.* It was indeed difficult for later grammarians to add to the store of knowledge which had been collected by Pâṇini, Kâtyâyana, and Patanjali; nevertheless there has been no lack of scholars who have endeavoured to improve on the arrangement of the Ashṭâdhyâyî, and who, each in his way, have done useful work. The Jainendra-grammar, taken as a whole, is a copy of Pâṇini pure and simple, and the sole principle on which it was manufactured, appears to be that 'the saving of half a short vowel affords as much delight as the birth of a son.'

The Jainendra-grammar omits all those rules of Pâṇini's grammar, which treat of the Vedic idiom. Of the rules relating to the accents it retains only (in a somewhat altered form) the general rules which define the terms *Udâtta, Anudâtta* and *Svarita*, and the technical rule स्वरितेनाधिकारः. Pratyâhâra-Sûtras are not given, but the Pratyâhâras used are Pâṇini's. For the rest, both the order of the rules and the rules themselves are, generally speaking, the same as in Pâṇini's grammar, and the compiler's ingenuity is exclusively exerted in the endeavour to economize one or more syllables. To this end he transposes the words of a rule;[3] he omits the particle च (see Mahâbhâshya on P. I, 3,

[2] स्वस्ति श्रीकोल्लापुरदेशान्तर्वर्त्याजुरिकामहास्थानयुधिष्ठिरावतारमहामण्डलेश्वरगण्डरादित्यदेवनिर्मापितत्रिभुवनतिलकजिनालये श्रीमत्परमपरमेष्ठिश्रीनेमिनाथश्रीपादपद्माराधनबलेन वादीभवज्राङ्कुशश्रीविशालकीर्तिपण्डितदेववैयावृत्त्यतः श्रीम... [illegible] ...जः पुञ्जराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकपश्चिमचक्रवर्तिश्रीवीरभोजदेवविजयराज्ये शकवर्षैकसहस्रैकशतसप्तविंशतितमक्रोधनसंवत्सरे स्वस्तिसमस्तानवद्यविद्याचक्रचक्रवर्तिश्रीपूज्यपादपदानुरक्तचेतसा श्रीमत्सोमदेवमुनीश्वरेण विरचितेयं शब्दार्णवचन्द्रिका नाम वृत्तिरिति ॥

[3] भिसोऽत ऐस् = P. VII, 1, 9 अतो भिस ऐस्.

93); he uses words in आदि and compound words generally in the singular[4]; he employs वा instead of विभाषा or अन्यतरस्याम्;[5] and in general he substitutes shorter words for longer ones, इव for औपम्य (P. I, 4, 79), परे for परस्मिन् (वा परे = P. III, 3, 138, परस्मिन्विभाषा), भेद for विशेष (P. IV, 2, 4), नृ for मनुष्य, भ for नक्षत्र, रौति for व्याहरति (P. IV, 3, 51), सक्लेश for परिक्लिश्यमान (P. III, 4, 55) etc. But the most effective means which he employs to attain his object is the formation or, in some cases, the adoption, of a large number of short technical terms, which are collected in the following list:—

प्र = *hrasva*, दी = *dîrgha*, प = *pluta*[6]; घि = *laghu*, रु = *guru*; एप् = *guṇa*, ऐप् = *vṛiddhi*, इ = *vṛiddha*; दि = *pragṛihya*, ङ = *anunâsika*, स्व = *savârṇa*, स्फ = *saṁyoga*, जि = *samprasâraṇa*.

मृद् = *prâtipadika*, त्य = *pratyaya*, हृत् = *taddhita*, व्य = *kṛitya*, द्रि = *tadrâja*, त = *nishṭhâ*, गु = *anga*, ध = *sarvanâmasthâna*.

स = *samâsa*, ष = *tatpurusha*, य = *karmadhâraya*, र = *dvigu*, व = *bahuvrîhi*, ह = *avyayîbhâva*, यु = *uttarapada*, न्यच् = *upasarjana*.

धु *dhâtu*, धि = *akarmako dhâtuḥ*, ग = *sârvadhâtuka*, अग = *ârdhadhâtuka*, म = *parasmaipada*, द = *âtmanepada*, च = *abhyâsa*, थ = *abhyasta*, एक = *ekavachana*, द्वि = *dvivachana*, बहु = *bahuvachana*, अस्मद् = *uttama*, युष्मद् = *madhyama*, अन्य = *prathama*, डि = *bhâvakarman*.

झि = *avyaya*, नि = *nipâta*, गि = *upasarga*, ति = *gati*.

खं = *lopa*, उप् = *luk*, उच् = *ślu*, उश् = *lup*; खु = *saṁjñâ*, इलू = *shash*, मु = *nadî*, वाच् = *upapada*, म्रि = *âmreḍita*, नप् = *napuṁsaka*.

To obtain short names for the case-terminations the compiler ingeniously forms the term विभक्ति for 'termination' generally and tells us that we must add the vowel आ to the several consonants of this word, and the consonant प् to its vowels in order to arrive at वा = *prathamâ*, इप् = *dvitîyâ*, भा = *tritîyâ*, अप् = *chaturthî*; का = *panchamî*, ता = *shashṭhî*, ईप् = *saptamî*. To complete the list, he substitutes बोध्य for *âmantrita*, and कि for *sambuddhi*.

I have not considered it necessary to indicate the gender of the terms enumerated in this list, but not to deprive the author of any credit that may be due to him, I may state that in order to show the working of the difficult rule स्पर्धे परम् (= P. I, 4, 2 विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम्), he employs some terms in the masculine and others in the neuter, and lays down the rule that where two terms would seem to be simultaneously applicable, the neuter term must give way to one of different gender. रु: (*i.e. guru*) in this manner supersedes घि (*i.e. laghu*), भ: supersedes पदम्, द: (*i.e. âtmanepada*) supersedes मम् (*i.e. parasmaipada*), etc. By means of this device the author has been enabled to embody in the text of his Sûtras much of what we are taught in the Vârttikas on P. I, 4, 1. (See Mahâbhâshya, vol. I, p. 301.)

The Vârttikas are the source of another innovation which is of no mean importance to us because it will help us to settle the question of the authorship of the Jainendram. The 3rd Âhnika of Adhy. I, Pâda 2, of the Mahâbhâshya treats of the so-called *Ekaśesha*-rules of Pâṇini's grammar (I, 2, 64-73) and the main result of a long and sometimes difficult discussion is this that Pâṇini might have saved himself the trouble of giving his rules, because it lies in the nature of words that *e. g.* the one base राम should denote *two* or *more* Râmas just as it denotes *one* Râma (Mahâbh. vol. I, p. 242 अभिधानं......स्वाभाविकम्). This doctrine the author of the Jainendram accepts; he omits all the rules on Ekaśesha, and to defend the course he has adopted he lays down the maxim—

I, 1, 99 स्वाभाविकत्वादभिधानस्यैकशेषानारम्भः

'(The rules on) Ekaśesha I do *not* give, because it is the nature (of words) to denote (two or more objects as well as one).'

Hence it is that the Jainendra-grammar is the अनेकशेषं व्याकरणम् just as Pâṇini's grammar is the अकालकं व्याकरणम्.[7]

The names of the grammatical authorities mentioned by Pâṇini are invariably omitted in the Jainendram, the rule for which an authority is quoted by Pâṇini being simply made optional.[8] To make up for this, the compiler quotes six[9] authorities of his own, Śrîdatta, Yaśobhadra, Bhûtibali, Prabhâchandra, Siddhasena, and

[4] सर्वादिः सर्वनाम = P. I, 1, 27 सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि.

[5] वा गौ = P. II, 3, 59 विभाषोपसर्गे.

[6] आकालो ऽच्प्रदीपः

[7] See *e.g.* Kâśikâ-vṛitti on P. II, 4, 21 पाणिन्युपज्ञमकालकं व्याकरणम्, and Padamanjarî पूर्वाणि व्याकरणान्यद्यतनादिकालपरिभाषायुक्तानि, तद्रहितं व्याकरणम्. See P. I, 2, 57.

[8] *e.g.* कौ वेतौ = P. I, 1, 16 संबुद्धौ शाकल्यस्येतावनार्षे.

[9] The longer recension omits Yaśobhadra, but adds *Eke*, *Kechit*, and *Anyeshâm*.

Samantabhadra; but as all these are mentioned in such rules as are optional with *Pâṇini*[10] the process adopted in the case of Pâṇini's authorities appears here simply to have been inverted. A commentary on the Dvyâśrayamahâkâvya of Hemachandra tells us that Siddhasena was *not* a grammarian, and the same we may believe of the rest until their grammars have been discovered.

On the longer recension of the work which has been commented on by Somadeva, little need be said here. Though many rules have been added in it from the Vârttikas, rules of the other recension have, where it appeared possible, here been made even shorter,[11] or have been altogether omitted.[12] The number of Prâtyâhâra-sûtras has been reduced to 13, and a place has been given in them to the Ayogavâhas. The rules defining *Udâtta*, etc., are omitted, and so are the terms *anudâttet* and *svaritet* of the shorter recension. For *Sarvanâman* and *Saṁkhyâ* we find स्नि and स्पि; on the other hand there is no *Samprasâraṇa*, nor any equivalent for it. And though in the commentary the work is still called the *anekaśesham vyâkaraṇam*, all the Ekaśesha-rules have been reintroduced from Pâṇini.

The existence of the Jainendra-grammar first became known through Vopadeva's Dhâtupâṭha, in the introductory lines of which a *grammarian Jainendra* is enumerated with Śâkaṭâyana, Pâṇini, and other grammarians.

इन्द्रश्चन्द्रः काशकृत्स्नापिशली शाकटायनः ।
पाणिन्यमरजैनेन्द्रा जयन्त्यष्टादिशाब्दिकाः ॥

Some European scholars have, I do not know on what authority, transformed the name Jainendra into *Jinendra*, and they have discussed the question whether this Jinendra is the same as Jinendrabuddhi, the author of a gloss on the Kâśikâ-vṛitti. The commentators on the Jainendra-grammar frequently speak of their grammar as the जैनेन्द्रम् and call its followers जैनेन्द्राः, but they nowhere mention a *grammarian* Jinendra or Jainendra as the author of it, and I fear that the grammarian Jainendra is nothing but a fiction of Vopadeva's.

On the last page of the palm-leaf MS. of the Śabdârṇavachandrikâ, which I have mentioned above, there occurs a verse which, owing to the fragmentary state of the leaf, is incomplete, but of which luckily enough remains to show that the personage referred to in Vopadeva's verse was designated *Pûjyapâda*.

इंद्रश्चंद्रश्शाकटतनयः पाणिनिः पूज्यपादो
यत्प्रोवाचापिशलिरमरः काशकृत्स्नि ....
....
.... शब्दपारायणे ऽस्ति ॥

Somadeva mentions this *Pûjyapâda* also in the body of his commentary. For a rule which corresponds to P. I, 4, 86, he gives the instance अनु पूज्यपादं वैयाकरणाः; for another rule corresponding to P. II, 1, 6, he instances इतिपूज्यपादम्; and finally, when for the rule which corresponds to P. IV, 3, 115, he instances पौज्यपादमनेकशेषव्याकरणम्, he thereby clearly tells us that the *Aneka-śesha*—*i.e.* the Jainendra-grammar is the work of *Pûjyapâda*.

That this Pûjyapâda was not an ordinary grammarian, but is the *Pûjyapâda* κατ' ἐξοχήν, Mahâvîra, the last of the Jinas, to whom the title *Jinendra* is applied not infrequently,[13] we learn from the tradition of the Jainas regarding the origin of the Jainendra-grammar.

When Mahâvîra—so the story goes, and it is with slight variations repeated over and over again—was about eight years old, his parents thought it time that he should learn to read and write. With great pomp they accordingly took him to school and introduced him to the Guru. Then Indra, by the shaking of his throne advised of what was going on here below, came down from heaven, assumed the form of an old Brâhmin, and asked the child to solve the grammatical difficulties by which the mind of the Guru had long been disturbed, and which nobody had been able to explain before. Mahâvîra not only answered all the questions put to him, but he also propounded the various kinds of grammatical rules, and his utterances became the Jainendra-grammar. The Guru, delighted with what he had heard, made Mahâ-

[10] P. II, 3, 25; III, 1, 113, 120; V, 1, 86; VI, 3, 72; VII, 1, 7; and VIII, 4, 62.

[11] *E.g.* P. II, 3, 5 कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे; Short Rec. कालाध्वन्याविच्छेदे; Longer Rec. कालाध्वन्यभेदे.

[12] *E.g.* P. II, 3, 1 अनभिहिते; Shorter Rec. अनुक्ते; Longer Rec. *om.*

[13] *E.g.* in the first verse of the *Moharâjaparâjaya*, an allegorical play composed by Yaśaḥpâla in honour of king Kumârapâla. In the beginning of the Panchavastuka it is stated that the proper *Mangala* for the commencement of a work is जिनेन्द्रगुणस्तोत्रम्, and the term जिनेन्द्र is explained जिनानामिन्द्रो जिनेन्द्रः. जिनेन्द्र *then is equivalent to* जिनेश्वर, जिनवर, जिनोत्तम, and so the word is used, *e. g.* in a commentary on the Upadeśamâlâ, at the commencement of a MS. of the Gauḍavadha and elsewhere.

vira a Guru too, and saluted by Indra, the child returned home with his parents.

In *Samayasundarasûri's* commentary on the Kalpasûtra the Sanskrit text of the main part of this legend is as follows: अथ भगवतो लेखशालाकरणं कथ्यते । तस्य विस्तारस्त्वयम् ।........ उपाध्यायशालाद्वारं भगवानानीतः । ...... अत्रान्तर इन्द्रस्यासनं चलाचलं जातम् । ... तत इन्द्र ... आगत्य प्रभोः गुरः प्राह । अहो अहो मातादीनां मोहः । भगवन्तो हि विनाप्यध्ययनं विद्वांसो भवन्ति । ...... परं भवन्तु मातापित्रोर्मनोरथाः पूर्णाः । तत इन्द्रो वृद्धब्राह्मणरूपं कृत्वा भगवन्तमुच्चैर्योग्यासन उपवेश्योपाध्यायमनोगतान्संदेहान्भगवन्तं पृच्छति स्म । भगवांश्च तेषामुत्तराणि दत्तवान् । उपाध्यायश्च भगवता कथ्यमानान्युत्तराणि शृण्वन्नेवमचिन्तयत् । अहो एते व्याकरणसंदेहा मम बाल्यावस्थात आरभ्याभूवन्परं न केनापि पण्डितेन भग्ना अनेन बालेनापि भग्नाः । अहो एतस्य बालस्य ज्ञानम् । इत्याश्चर्ये क्रियमाण इन्द्र उपाध्यायपण्डितं प्राह । भो एनं बालमात्रं मा जानीहि । अयं त्रिभुवनस्वामी ज्ञानत्रयसहितः सर्वज्ञप्रायो महावीरदेवः । इन्द्रेण दशधा सूत्राणि पृष्टानि संज्ञासूत्रं परिभाषासूत्रं विधिसूत्रं नियमसूत्रं प्रतिषेधसूत्रमधिकारसूत्रमतिदेशसूत्रमनुवादसूत्रं विभाषासूत्रं निपातनसूत्रम् । भगवता चैतेषां दशानां व्याकरणसूत्राणां प्रत्युत्तराणि दत्तानि । तदा तत्र स्थाने जैनेन्द्रव्याकरणं जातम् । तत उपाध्यायविप्रेणापि भगवान्महावीरदेवो गुरुः कृतः । ततो विप्रस्य बहुदानादिना संतोषं कृत्वा भगवांस्तथैव पित्रादिभिः गृहे गतः । इन्द्रोऽपि भगवन्तं प्रणम्य स्वस्थानं गतः ॥

In another commentary on the Kalpasûtra, entitled Kalpadrumakalikâ, and composed by *Lakshmîvallabha*, we are told that the rules of grammar were propounded by Mahâvîra, and furnished with a gloss and illustrations by Indra.

तदा दशाङ्गं व्याकरणं कृतम् । जिनेन सूत्राणि प्रतिपादितानीन्द्रेण वृत्तिरुदाहरणानि दर्शितानि । तल्लोके जैनेन्द्रं व्याकरणं जातम् ॥

Again, in the Upadeśamâlâ-karṇikâ, by *Udayaprabhadevasûri*, Vardhamâna Mahâvira, the *Jinendra*, is made to reveal 'the science of words' to Indra, and the Guru is reported to have published those revelations under the title of *Aindra* grammar.

उपोपाध्यायमानीते पित्राथ त्रिजगद्गुरौ ।
हरेः पीठमनोचित्याचरणेनेव कम्पितम् ॥
मत्वावधेरतमवधि गत्वा नत्वा च जिष्णुना ।
पृष्टोऽध्यास्य गुरोः पीठं शब्दविद्यां जगौ प्रभुः ॥
इन्द्रायेदं जिनेन्द्रेणोपदिष्टमिति विष्टपे ।
ऐन्द्राख्यं तदुपाध्यायोऽख्यापयच्छब्दशासनम् ॥

These quotations, to which I might add others, will suffice to prove that the Jainas themselves generally ascribe the composition of their grammar to the *Jinendra* Mahâvira, and that for this reason they term it the *Jainendram*. We must look for an ordinary human author of the work, and we shall, I trust, have little difficulty in discovering him.

I have shown that the Jainendram, to distinguish it from other grammars, is called the *Anekaśesham vyâkaraṇam*, the grammar in which there are no rules on Ekaśesha, and I may now state that the author of that grammar can be no other than *Devanandin*, a grammarian who is mentioned in the Gaṇaratnamahodadhi and elsewhere. My proofs are these:

1. For the rule उपज्ञाते of the Jainendram (= P. IV, 3, 115) the commentator Abhayanandin gives the illustration देवनन्दिनमनेकशेषं व्याकरणम् 'the Anekaśesha grammar composed by *Devanandin*.'

2. On the rule उपज्ञोपक्रमं तदाद्युक्तौ (= P. II, 4, 21) both Abhayanandin and Somadeva quote the instance देवोपज्ञमनेकशेषव्याकरणम् 'the Anekaśesha grammar first propounded by *Deva* (*i.e.* Devanandin.)'

3. On a rule which corresponds to P. I, 1, 69 and 70, and which in the shorter recension is worded 'अणुदित्स्वस्यात्मनाभाव्योऽतपरः' and in the longer recension 'स्वस्याभाव्योऽत्परोऽणुदित्,' the commentator Somadeva quotes the following verse:

आदेशः प्रत्ययश्चैव कटमेतौ हि लक्ष्मणि ।
भाव्यशब्देन पञ्चैते कथ्यन्ते देवनन्दिभिः ॥

'By the word भाव्य in this rule *Devanandin* denotes the following five, viz. a substitute, an affix, that which has क्, that which has ट्, and that which has म् for its Anubandha.' (See Mahâbhâshya, vol. I, page 177.)

4. The MS. of the Panchavastuka ends with the remark that 'this is the work of the Âchârya *Devanandin*.' But as the explanatory part of the Panchavastuka is in the body of the MS. stated to belong to *Srutakîrti*, I take the truth of that remark to be that *Devanandin* was the author of the *rules* rearranged and commented on in the Panchavastuka.

5. Finally, I believe that the author of the Jainendram himself has suggested to us his name in the very first lines of his work, which have been quoted already, and which run thus:

लक्ष्मीरात्यन्तिकी यस्य निरवद्यावभासते ।
देवनन्दितपूजेशे नमस्तस्मै स्वयंभुवे ॥

FOLKLORE IN THE PANJAB.

COLLECTED BY Mrs. F. A. STEEL. WITH NOTES BY LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

(*Continued from p. 43.*)

No. 7.—Folk-Tale.

Princess Pepperina.[1]

A bulbul[2] and its mate lived in a forest and sang all day. At last the bulbul said "Oh husband, I should like some green chillis." The obedient lover flew off at once to find some. He flew and he flew, and he flew: still not in one single garden could he find a single green chilli.[3] There was either no fruit at all on the bushes, or it was red.[4] At last in a desolate place he came to a magnificent garden; the tall mango trees shaded it, and innumerable flowers and fruits were to be seen, but not a single sign of life: no birds, no beasts, no insects. The bulbul flew down into the middle of the garden, and lo! there grew a single pepper plant, and on it hung one single large green chilli that shone like an emerald. So the bulbul flew home to his mate, and said, "Come with me, dear wife, and I will show you the most beautiful green chilli you ever saw."

Now the Jinn[5] to whom the garden belonged was asleep in a summer-house; he generally slept for twelve years at a time, and then remained awake for twelve years. So he knew nothing about it when the bulbul and his wife arrived in the garden and began to eat his beautiful green chilli. It so happened, however, that the time for his awakening was drawing near, so he was restless and had bad dreams while the bulbul's wife was eating the chilli. At the end of that time she laid one green glittering egg on the ground beneath the pepper plant, and then she and her mate flew away.

Just then the Jinn woke, and, as usual, went at once to see how his pet pepper plant was getting on. He found it pecked to pieces. Great was his sorrow and dismay; he wondered what had done the damage, knowing well that neither bird, beast or insect lived in the garden. "Some horrid creeping thing from the world outside must have stolen in while I was asleep," said he to himself, "I will search for it and kill it." So he began to search and found nothing but the shining glittering green egg. He took it to the summer-house, wrapped it up in cotton wool, and laid it in a niche in the wall.

Every day he looked at it, and sighed to think of his lost chilli; but one morning when he went to the niche, lo and behold! the egg had disappeared, and in its place sat the loveliest little maiden. She was dressed from head to foot in emerald green, and round her throat hung a single large emerald, shaped just like a green chilli. The Jinn, who was good-hearted and fond of children, was delighted, and made it the business of his life to tend the Princess Pepperina, for that she told him was her name.

Now when the Princess Pepperina was about twelve years old, it became time for the Jinn to go to sleep again, and he puzzled his brains, what was to become of the princess meanwhile. It so happened that a king and his minister were hunting in the forest, and came upon the garden. Curious to see what was inside, they climbed over the wall, and found the beautiful Princess Pepperina seated by the pepper plant. The young king fell in love with her at once, saying, "Come and be my bride."

"Not so," said the Princess modestly. "The Jinn who owns this garden is as my father, and you must ask him; unfortunately he has a habit of eating men sometimes." But when she looked at the young king her heart softened; she had never seen any one so handsome and beautiful; so she said "Hide yourselves in the garden, and when the Jinn returns I will question him."

No sooner had the Jinn entered the summer-

---

1 شاهزادي مرچا *Shâhzâdî mirchâ*: the word is properly مرچ *mirch*, which also assumes the forms मरिच *marich*, Panj. मिच *michch*, and मिरचा *mirchâ*, etc. The proper Persian expression for Princess Pepperina would be فلفل شاهزادي *Filfil shâhzâdî*. The smoke of pepper, مرچ *mirch* (*Capsicum Frutescens*), is supposed to drive out evil spirits from those possessed, generally women, if applied to the nose; whence the proverb— مرچون كي دهوني دو آپ بهاگ جائيگا. *Mirchoṅ kî dhonî do âp bhâg jâegâ.* Give it pepper-smoke and it will go of itself.

The story was told by an old Muhammadan woman from Kasûr, and is probably of Afghân or Persian origin.—R.C.T.

2 بلبل *Bulbul*; Arabic, nightingale, now a naturalized word all over India.—R. C. T.

3 هري مرچ *Harî mirch*—*i. e.* green pepper or green chilli.—R. C. T.

4 لال مرچ *Lâl mirch*—red chilli or pepper.—R. C. T.

5 جن *Jinn*, Arabic, Lat. genius—a spirit.—R. C. T.

house than he called out "*Hô, hô, hô, manush-gandh! manushgandh!*[6]"

Then the Princess said: "Dear Jinn, eat me if you will, for there is no man here, only me." But the Jinn kissed her, and caressed her, saying "Dear life! I would sooner eat bricks and mortar." After that the princess asked him what would happen to her when he fell asleep, and the good Jinn became sad and troubled at the thought of her loneliness. At last he said: "If I could only marry you to some young man, but there are none hereabouts: besides your husband must be as beautiful as you are, and it will be a hard task to find such an one." Then the Princess Pepperina was rejoiced, and said: "Do you promise to marry me to anyone, provided he is as beautiful as I am?" The Jinn promised faithfully; then the princess clapped her hands, and out of a thicket came the young king.

When he stood beside the princess holding her hand, even the Jinn was obliged to confess that never was such a handsome couple seen. So the marriage was performed hurriedly, for already the Jinn began to yawn; but when he said goodbye to the princess, he wept so that it kept him awake, and he followed them in his thoughts till he longed to see her face once more. Then he changed himself into a dove, and flew after her, and fluttered above her head. When he had had a good look at her, and saw she was happy, he flew back again to his garden, and yawned; but the green mantle of Princess Pepperina floated before his eyes and kept him awake. So he changed himself into a hawk, and flew after her circling round her head. When he had assured himself of her welfare, he flew back to his garden and tried to sleep. But the soft eyes of the Princess seemed to look into his, so that he could not close them. At last he changed himself into an eagle, and soared far up into the sky, till with his bright piercing eyes he saw the princess away on the horizon entering a king's palace. Then he was satisfied, yawned, and went to sleep.

Now the young king continued passionately in love with his new wife, but the other women were jealous, especially after she gave birth to the most lovely young prince that ever was seen; so they thought and thought how they might kill her or lay a snare for her. Every night they came to the door of the Queen's room and whispered to see if she was awake, saying—"The Princess Pepperina is awake, but all the world is fast asleep." Now the emerald which the Princess wore round her neck, was a talisman,[7] and always told the truth. So it answered at once, "Not so! The Princess is asleep; it is the world that wakes." Then the wicked women shrunk away, for they knew they had no power to harm the Princess so long as the talisman was round her neck.

At last, one day when the Princess was bathing she took off the talisman, and left it by mistake in the bathing place. That night when the wicked women came and whispered—"The Princess Pepperina is awake, but all the world is fast asleep," the truthful talisman called out from the bathing place: "Not so! the Princess is asleep, it is the world that wakes." Then knowing by the direction whence the voice came, that the talisman was not in its usual place, they stole into the room softly, killed the young prince who was sleeping in his crib, cut him into little bits, then laid them in his mother's bed, and gently stained her lips with his blood. Then they called the king, and said—"See, your beautiful wife is an ogre.[8] She has killed her child in order to eat his flesh." Then the king was very wroth, and ordered her to be first whipped out of his dominions, and then killed.

So the beautiful Princess Pepperina was scourged out of the kingdom and slain; but when she died her body became a high white wall, her eyes turned into liquid pools of water, her green mantle into stretches of soft grass, her long twining hair into creepers and tendrils, while her scarlet mouth and white teeth changed to a bed of roses and narcissus.[9] Then

[6] ही, ही, ही, मानुषगन्ध. Sansk. *mânushgandh*. Lit.: smell of a man. I smell a man. This is a common expression put into the mouth of Jinns, etc. in stories, and is the counterpart apparently of the English "Fee, fa, fum, I smell the blood of an Englishman."—R. C. T.

[7] The English word is from the Arabic طلسم *tilism*—plural طلسمات *tilismât* = Byzantine Greek τελεσμα, incantation, charm, enchantment. The old Greek word τελεσμα from τελεω meant a toll or taxes, and had no derivation in common with the later word, with which it seems to have been confounded.—R. C. T.

[8] بهوتنی *Bhûtnî*, a female بهوت *bhût*. See note to Sir Bumble.—R. C. T.

[9] The same idea occurs in the Princess Aubergine and many other similar stories.—R. C. T.

her soul took the form of a chakwâ and a chakwî, and floating on the liquid pools mourned her sad fate all day long.[10]

Now after many days, the king, who was full of distress for the loss of his young wife, went out hunting, and found no sport anywhere.

By chance he came to the high white wall, and being curious to see what it encircled, he climbed over it, and saw the green grass, and twining tendrils, the roses and narcissus, and the liquid pools with the chakwâ and chakwî floating on them, singing sorrowfully. The king was hot and tired, so he lay down to rest on the grass and listened to the cry of the birds. Then the chakwâ told his mate the whole story of the wicked women's treachery, and the king listened with a beating heart.

The chakwî wept, saying—"Can she never become alive again?"

"If any one will catch us and hold us close together," answered the chakwâ, "with heart to heart, and then sever our heads from our bodies at one blow, so that neither of us shall die before the other, the Princess Pepperina will take her own form again." The king, delighted at the prospect of seeing his love again, called the chakwâ and chakwî to him: they came quite readily, and stood heart to heart, while he cut off their heads with one blow of his sword. No sooner were their heads off than there stood the Princess Pepperina smiling and beautiful as ever: but strange to say, the liquid pools and grass, the roses and narcissus remained as they were.

Then said the king—"Come home, I will never mistrust you again, and I will kill the wicked traitors who belied you."

But the Princess said "Not so. Let me live here always."

Just then the Jinn woke and yawned. He knew at once by his art where the Princess was, so he flew to her, saying "Just so! and here I will live also."

So he built them a magnificent palace, and there the Princess remained and was happy ever after.

KWAN-YIN.

BY REV. S. BEAL.

It is first of all plain from the explanation given in the Encyclopædia *Yi-tsi-king-yin-i* (vi/91), that when the palm-leaf manuscripts were first introduced into China from India, that the name of this Deity was written A v a l ô k i t-ê ś w a r a, where the second member of the title is *Íśwara*—but the notice proceeds: "When other *Sûtras* were introduced (at a later period) from the Snowy Mountains (*i.e.*, probably from Nepâl), then the word *íśwara* was found changed into *svara*, and hence was translated into the Chinese as *yin*, or voice." Now, this is an important statement, as it agrees with the criticism of Klaproth and Stan. Julien that *íśwara* was actually corrupted into *svara* in the compound word Avalôkitêśwara—but granting this, it remains to inquire whether this corruption was accidental or designed. The writer of this article has elsewhere given reasons which induce him to think that the change was not accidental (*Catena*, p. 383); and it seems abundantly evident that it originated in the northern veneration paid to the published Scriptures of the Prajñâ-Pâramitâ class. Mr. Hodgson, in his *Essays*, tells us that these works are known generally as *Raksha Bhagavati*, *i.e.*, the goddess who *delivers*—which is an especial attribute of K w a n-y i n, and as a singular corroboration of this the short

[10] چکوا and چکوي *chakwâ* and *chakwî*—The ruddy goose or sheldrake, the Brâhmanî duck: *Anas casarca* or *casarca rutila*. It had several names in Sansk. चक्र *chakra*, *chakravâka* = *chakrasâhvaya* = *chakrâhva* = *chakrâhvaya*. Dr. Fallon, *New Hind. Dict.*, says of this bird:—"It is found all over India in the winter. It breeds on rocks on the borders of the great Himâlayan lakes. The bird extends all over central Europe and the greater part of Asia and Northern Afr[illegible] have a legend that two lovers for[illegible] ولفل شاه *Filfil* s[illegible]d into Brâhmanî ducks, and مرچ *mirch* (*Capsicum Frute*[illegible]rt from each other on the out evil spirits from those posse[illegible]ht long each asks the applied to the nose; whence the p[illegible]ate, and the answer is [illegible] come? No, Chakwî.
ي دهوني دوآپ بهاگ جائيگا

The words supposed in the Panjab to be used by the birds are—

چکوا مین آوان ;—نا چکوی
چکوی مین آوان ;—نا چکوا

Chakwâ—*main âwân? Nâ, Chakwî.* Chakwî—*main âwân? Nâ, Chakwâ.* مین آوان *main âwân* is the Panjabi form of مین آون *main âûn*—may I come? shall I come?

The chakwâ and chakwî are considered sacred by the multitude, but on what ground it is not clear. There seems to be no distinct story attached to them, but I have heard of songs about them which I have not succeeded in procuring. They are of course the emblem of constancy, like the English turtle-dove. The English term Brâhmanî Duck is a curious one, of which I have no satisfactory derivation to offer.—R. C. T.

work which introduces the voluminous *Prajñâ-Pâramitâ-Sûtra* in the Chinese version, is drawn up in the shape of a *Mantra* with Sariputra as the Rishi, and Avalôkitêśwara as the Devata, but in M. Burnouf's *Commentary on the Yaçna* we are told that the word *mantra* is equivalent to the Zend *mâthra*, and that *tanu-mathrahe*, which occurs so frequently in the Vendidad, is only a form signifying "the embodied word or speech,"—we will give the passage: "Il faut reconnaitre que cet adjectif est un composé possessif, et traduire: 'celui qui a la parole pour corps,' 'celui dont la parole est le corps;' et (peut-être par extension) 'parole faite corps, incarnée.' Cette interprétation ne saurait être douteuse; car le sens de *tanu* est bien fixé en Zend, c'est le Sanscrit *tanu*, et le Persian *tan* (تن corps); et celui de *mâthra* n'est pas moins certain puisque ce mot Zend ne diffère de Sanskrit *mantra* que par l'adoption de l'*â* qui aime à précéder *th* et par l'aspiration du *t*, laquelle résulte de la rencontre de la dentale et de la liquide *r*."[1] It seems plain then that the alteration of *îswara* into *svara* in the compound we are alluding to, resulted from a designed assignation of the office of Avalôkitêśwara (*the manifested Deity*) to the *mantra* which forms the introduction of the *Prajñâ Pâramitâ Sûtra*, and afterwards to all the *Sûtras* of this class. This *mantra* having the virtue of Bhagavati, became the type of the "manifested word" or "embodied speech," and hence assumed the character *Vâch* as known and adored in the *Vedas*—or of *tanu mâthrahe* (embodied speech) as named in the *Yaçna*.

In general, then, and as sufficient explanation for most purposes, we may regard Kwan-yin as the manifestation of the mind of Buddha (or the Jñâna Buddha Amitâbha) in the character of *Prajñâ* or sublime wisdom, embodied in the scriptures bearing that name. The reason why this Deity was first regarded as a male and afterwards a female, is to be found in the title *Îswara*, masculine, and *Vâch* a feminine noun.[2]

M. SENART ON THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

BY M. EMILE SENART.

(*Continued from Vol. IX, p. 287.*)

Fourth Edict.[1]

(1) Atikâtaṁ[1] aṁtaraṁ[2] bahûni vâsasatâni vaḍhito[2] eva prâṇâraṁbho vihiṁsâ cha bhûtânaṁ ñâtisu

(2) asaṁpratipati bâmhaṇasramaṇânaṁ[2] asaṁpratîpatî[2] [.] ta aja devânaṁpriyasa[2] priyadasino râño

(3) dhaṁmacharaṇena bherighoso aho dhaṁmaghoso vimânadasaṇâ cha hastidasaṇâ cha

(4) agikhaṁdhâni cha añâni cha divyâni[2] rûpâni dasayitpâ[2] janaṁ[.] yârise[2] bahûhi vâsasatehi[2]

(5) na bhûtapuve târise aja vaḍhite[2] devânaṁpriyasa priyadasino râño dhaṁmânusasṭiyâ anâraṁ

(6) bho prâṇânaṁ avihîsâ[2] bhûtânaṁ ñâtînaṁ saṁpaṭipatî bamhaṇasamaṇânaṁ saṁpaṭipati mâtari pitari

(7) susrusâ[2] thairasusrusâ[2][.] esa añe cha bahuvidhe dhaṁmacharaṇe vaḍhite vaḍhayisati cheva devânaṁpriyo[2]

(8) priyadasi[3] râjâ dhaṁmacharaṇaṁ[2] idaṁ[.] putrâ cha potrâ cha prapotrâ cha[2] devânaṁpriyasa priyadasino râño

(9) vadhayisaṁti[2] idaṁ dhaṁmacharaṇaṁ[2] âva savaṭakapâ dhaṁmamhi sîlamhi tisṭaṁto dhaṁmaṁ anusâsisaṁti[.]

(10) esa hi seste kaṁme ya dhaṁmânusâsanaṁ dhaṁmacharaṇe pi na bhavati asîlasa[.] va imamhi athamhi

(11) .dhî cha ahînî cha sâdhu[.] etâya athâya idaṁ[2] lekhâpitaṁ imasa athasa vadhi yujaṁtu[2] hîni châ

(12) .lochetavyâ[2][.] dvâdasavâsâbhisitena devânâṁ-priyena[2] priyadasinâ râñâ idaṁ lekhâpitaṁ (.)

---

[1] Conf. *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. III, (1834), p. 454; or Prinsep's *Essays*, (Ed. Thomas), vol. I, p. 135.

[2] From *The Oriental*, November 6, 1875.

[1] From *Journal Asiatique*, VII. ser. tom. XIV, pp. 215ff. Conf. Prinsep, *Jour. A. S. Beng.* vol. VII (1838), p. 250ff.; Wilson, *J. R. As. Soc.* vol. XII, p. 174ff.; Kern, *Jaartell. d. zuidel. Buddh.* p. 45ff.; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* Bd. II, (1st ed.) p. 226, n. 2, 3; p. 227, n. 1, 2, 4. It should be stated that these transcriptions of the different edicts represent the readings of the facsimiles in Burgess' *Archæological Survey of Kâṭhiâwâḍ and Kachh*,—the author's corrections, given in his comments, are not reproduced here.

[2] These readings differ from those represented in plate V of Cunningham's *Corp. Inscriptionum*.

[3] The *pri°* is indistinct in the facsimile B.

Translation.

In the past there has prevailed for many ages the destruction of living things, violence towards the creatures, want of regard for relations, want of regard for Brâhmaṇs and Śramaṇas. But now king Piyadasi, dear to the gods, being faithful in the practice of religion, has made the noise of drums to resound [*in such a way that it is*] as the [*very*] sound of religion, pointing out to the people the processions of reliquaries, elephants, torches, and other heavenly spectacles.[4] Thanks to the instruction in religion spread by king Piyadasi, dear to the gods, there now prevails, as it has not for many ages, respect for living creatures, gentleness towards beings, respect for relatives, respect for Brâhmaṇs and Śramaṇs, obedience to father and mother, obedience to seniors [" obedience to seniors" *wanting in the* Khâlsi *copy*]. In this matter, as in many others, the practice of religion prevails, and king Piyadasi, dear to the gods, will continue to make it prevail [Kapurdigiri: 'and this practice of religion, which king Piyadasi, dear to the gods, observes, shall continue to prevail].' The sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of king Piyadasi, dear to the gods, shall make this practice of religion to prevail even to the end of the world; established [K.: living] in religion and virtue, they shall teach religion. For the teaching of religion is the most virtuous work, and there is no [*real*] practice of religion without virtue. Now the development, the success of that [*religious*] concern is good. It is for this purpose that it has been engraved, in order that they may apply to the greatest good of this concern, and that they may not see in it [G: that there may not be seen in it] any decay [K: and that decay may not arise in it], king Piyadasi, dear to the gods, has caused this to be engraved in the thirteenth year of his consecration.

Fifth Edict.[5]

(1) Devânampriyo[6] piyadasi râja evaṁ âha[6] [.] kalâṇaṁ[6] dukaraṁ ye a . . . [7] kalâṇesa so dukaraṁ karoti [.]

(2) ta mayâ[6] bahu kalâṇaṁ kataṁ[.] ta mama putâ cha potâ cha paraṁ cha tena ye[6] me apachaṁ[6] âva[6] saṁvaṭakapâ[6] anuvatisare tathâ

(3) so sukataṁ kâsati yo tu eta desaṁ pihâpesati[6] so dukataṁ kâsati[.] sukaraṁ hi pâpaṁ[6] [.] atikâtaṁ aṁtaraṁ

(4) na bhûtapurvaṁ[6] dhâṁmamahâmâtâ nâma[.] ta mayâ todasavâsâbhisitena[6] dhaṁmamahâmâtâ katâ[.] te savapâsaṁdesu vyâpatâ dhâmadhisṭânâya[6]

(5) . . . . [8]dhaṁmayutasa cha yonakaṁbojagaṁdhârânaṁ risṭikapotenikânaṁ[6] ye vâpi aṁñe âparâtâ bhatamayesu va

(6) . . . . [9]sukhâya[6] dhaṁmayutânaṁ aparâgodhâya[6] vyâpatâ te baṁdhanabadhasa paṭividhânâya[6]

(7) . . . . . [10]jâ katâbhikâresu vâ thairesu vâ vyâpatâ[6] te[6] pâṭalipute cha bâhiresu[6] cha[6]

(8) . . . . [11]ne vâpi ma[6] añe ñâtikâ savatâ vyâpatâ te yo ayaṁ dhaṁmanisrito tî[6] va

(9) . . . . [12]dhaṁmamahâmâtâ[6][.] etâya athâya ayaṁ[6] dhaṁmalipî likhitâ[.]

Translation.

Thus saith Piyadasi, the king dear to the gods: [*The practice of*] virtue is difficult; he who [*deviates not*] from virtue does something difficult. Now I have myself done many virtuous actions. Also those of my sons, of my grandsons, and afterwards those of my descendants, who, till the end of the kalpa, shall

[4] More freely—" Now, says Piyadasi, that I practise the true law, my drum is indeed the drum of the law, for I make it resound in the holy solemnities where I show to my people elephants, sacred cars, the splendour of torch illuminations, spectacles quite divine" (p. 225).

[5] Prinsep, *u. s.* p. 252ff.; Wilson, *u. s.* p. 182ff.; Lassen, *u. s.* p. 237, n. 1, 3; p. 239, n. 3.

[6] The readings in these places differ from those shown in plate V. of *Corpus Inscrip.*

[7] Khâlsi reads—*kayâne dukale* e adi *kayânâsâ*, &c.

[8] Dhauli reads here,—*dhaṁmavaḍhiye hitasukhâye cha* dhaṁmayutasâ [illegible] ikapitenikesu, &c. Khâlsi, [illegible] *vi* dhamâyutasa taṁ [illegible]nam, &c.; and Kapurdigiri [illegible] *ya cha* dharmayathasa [illegible] pitinikanaṁ, &c.

[9] Dhauli reads here,—*baṁbhanibhisâsu anâthesu mahalokesu cha hita*sukhâye, &c.; Jaugada has only -*bhanibhi*. Khâlsi has,—*baṁbhanithisu aṁnathesu vadhasu hida*sukhâye, &c.; and Kapardigiri,—*brahmanibheshu anaṭhesu vaṭashu heta*sukhaye.

[10] Here D. has,—*apalibodhaye mokhâye cha iyaṁ anubaṁdha pajâ. i. .* kaṭâbhikale ti va maholaketi vâ viyâpaṭâ *se hida* cha bâhilesu, &c.; Kh,—*apalibodhâye mokhâye châ eyaṁ anubaṁdha pajâvati vi* (pajâti vapi) kaṭabhikale *ti vâ mahâlâke* ti vâ viyâpaṭâ *te hida* bâhilesu châ, &c.; and K,—*apaṇabodhaye mochava dravaya . . . pajati kiṭa*bhikari *va mahalaka* va viyopaṭa ti *eha* bahireshu, &c.

[11] Here D. has,—*nagalesu savesu savesu olodhanesu e vâpi bhâtânaṁ va bhaginînaṁ* va amnesu va natita, &c.; Kh,—*nagalesu savesu holodhanesu bhâtâna cha neṁ bhaginiya* [bhaginînaṁ] e vapi aṁna nâtike [kâ] &c.; and K,—*nagareshu sarveshu orodhaneshu bhrtuna cha me pasuna cha ye vapi* añe ñatika, &c.

[12] D.—vaṁ *dhaṁmâdhithâne ti va dânasayute va savapaṭhaviyaṁ dhaṁmayutasi viyâpaṭâ ime* dhaṁmamahâmâtâ[.]; Kh.—vâ *danasayute ti vâ sovatâ majatachha mama dhaṁmayutasi viyâpaṭâ te* dhaṁmamahâmâtâ; and K.—va *vivava dharmadhiṭane ti va danasayuta va athi? nati mata dharmayutasi . vaṇa viyapatā u* dharmamahamatra.

thus follow my example, these shall do well;[15] those who shall abandon that path they shall do evil. In reality evil is easy (K. evil is in human nature; Dh. Kh.: let us strive then against evil!).

It is thus that in the past there were no Inspectors of Religion. But I have in the fourteenth year of my consecration created Inspectors of Religion. They are concerned with the adherents of all sects, with respect to the establishment of religion, the progress of religion, the use and the honour of the faithful of the (*true*) religion; they are concerned with the Yavanas, the Kambojas, the Gandhâras, the inhabitants of Surâshtra, and the Petenikas (*the two last names are omitted at* Kh.), and with the other frontier populations, with warriors, with Brâhmans, and with rich and poor, with the aged, in order to procure their welfare and happiness, to remove all obstacles before the faithful of the [*true*] religion; they are concerned to comfort him who is in chains, to remove obstacles for him, to deliver him because he is burdened with a family, because he has been the victim of craft, because he is old; at Pâtaliputa (Dh. Kh. K.: here) and in other towns, they concern themselves with the private life of all my brothers and sisters and of my other relations; over all the land (K. Kh.: in all my empire) the Inspectors of Religion are concerned with the faithful of the (*true*) religion, with those who are diligent in religion, who are established in (the excellent *adds* K.) religion, who are given to alms. It is for this end that this edict has been engraved. (Dh. Kh. and K.: May it long endure, and may people thus follow my example!)

A SUMMARY VIEW OF THE CASTES OF THE TAMIL NATION.

By the late Rev. Philip DeMelho, on the Ceylon Establishment of the Hon'ble the Dutch East India Company.[1]

Communicated by Mr. Mat. P. J. Ondaatje.[2]

In the ancient manuscripts left behind by the Tamils, it is recorded that that nation is divided into four castes, viz., Brâhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śûdras;[3] and to show their quality and rank, it is said in the aforesaid MSS. that the Brâhmans proceeded from the head of Brahmâ, which they understood to be the element earth; the Kshattriyas from his breast, the Vaiśyas out of his thighs, and the Śûdras out of his feet; by these emblematical expressions, they represent the distinctions of their castes. The Brâhmans are priests, and may be considered similar to the Levites among the Jews, as they exercise themselves only in their Law or Religion, and explain it to the people. These are sub-divided into three classes, viz.:—1st. The race of F i r e, adoring fire as their idol. 2nd. The race of K a s i b a r, a prophet among them; they worship Śiva; and 3rd. The race of P a r a t o e w a s e r,[4] who was also a prophet among them; they worship the idol Vishṇu.

The Kshattriyas are kings, who in former times enjoyed thrones. They are also divided

---

[15] The construction in the Kapurdigiri version differs slightly—"My sons . . . and the descendants which I shall have till the end of the world [*those of them*] who shall follow my example . . . ."

[1] This paper, which was found among the MSS. left by De Melho at his lamented death in 1790, is a translation from the Dutch, in which it was originally written. De Melho, who was by birth a Tamil gentleman, is remarkable as the first native of Ceylon who was ordained a Christian Minister. A brief memoir of him is published in *The Tamil Plutarch*, by Simon Casie Chitty, C.C.S., author of the *Ceylon Gazetteer*; and the following extract from Beeton's *Dictionary of Universal Information, Geography, History, Biography, and Chronology*, shows what manner of man he was:—"Melho, (Philip De), an eminent Divine, Biblical translator, and poet, was the first native of Ceylon who was admitted into the Christian Ministry. His learning and labours earned him the title of 'Rabbi De Melho,' and 'the great labourer.' After education in the only seminary in his native town, and an examination in Hebrew, Greek, and Theology, he was licensed to preach before he attained the age of 21. He was ordained in the island, as an exception to the Dutch rule, which rendered an university education a *sine quâ non* for the ministry. He officiated in Dutch, Portuguese, and Tamul, and was eloquent in the pulpit. His principal works are Tamul versions of the New Testament from the Greek, the Dutch liturgy and some of the Psalms of David, &c. in metre; a work against Popery, entitled *The Triumph of Truth*, a Catechism in Portuguese, and a version of the Pentateuch from the Hebrew, published in 1790, also additions to the *Tamul Classical Lexicon*, and other philological works. At his death, he left translations of the books of Joshua, Judges and Ruth in MS. He also wrote many poems of great merit. Born at Colombo, 1723. Died at Jaffna, North Ceylon, 1790."

[2] By whom the footnotes have been added.

[3] The ancient Romans had also four divisions; the *Flamen*, corresponding with the Brâhman; the Knight corresponding with the Kshatrya; the Patrician corresponding with the Vaiśya; and the Plebeian corresponding with the Śûdra. The castes are also described by their *virna* or colour,—Brâhmans, *white*; Kshattriyas, *red*; Vaiśyas, *yellow*; and Śudras *black*. Caste is a word of Portuguese origin, meaning breed or descent.

[4] Baradwaja.

into three classes; 1st, the race of fire, whose kings were called by the common appellation of Śeran. They reigned over the kingdom of Maleywar, which was corrupted by the Portuguese into Malabar, signifying the mountain; and according to this name of that kingdom, their language Tamiḻ is called Malavy, *i.e.*, Malabar, as also Malen Tamiḻ, *i.e.* Malabar Tamiḻ. 2nd, the race of the sun, whose kings were called by the common appellation of Śolen (Chôḻan). They governed the kingdom of Śolamaṇḍalam, which was also corrupted by the Portuguese into Coromandel, signifying the kingdom of Śoḻen, and their language is the Telugu, which is also called V a ḍ a g u (Northern). 3rd, the race of the moon, whose kings are called by the common appellation of Pâṇḍiyan. They governed the kingdom of Madura, and their language is the pure and elegant Tamiḻ, which is also commonly called, though improperly, Malabar.

The Vaiśyas are noblemen, and divide themselves also into three classes,[5] viz. :—

1st: the race of Ko-vaiśyas or Iḍaiyar, *i.e.* pastors, who earn their livelihood by keeping cattle. 2nd: that of Tâna-vaiśyas, or Cheṭṭis, *i.e.* merchants, who support themselves by trade and merchandise. 3rd, that of Pû-vaiśyas or Veḷḷâḷar, *i.e.* husbandmen, whose work is husbandry.

The Śûdras are servants of the three classes of Vaiśyas aforesaid, and are divided into two castes, viz. :—

1, House servants, named Kuḍimakal, and 2, out-door servants. The house servants are eighteen in number, viz. :—

1st. Nawidar, (Nâviyar). *i.e.* barbers.

2nd. Oacher (? Vâchar) who announce the weddings and deaths of the Vaiśyas.

3rd. Taṭṭâr, *i.e.* goldsmiths. 4th. Kollar, *i.e.* blacksmiths. 5th. Tachchar, *i.e.* carpenters. 6th. Kannâr, *i.e.* brass founders. 7th. Katsipper, *i.e.* bricklayers or masons. These five castes are known by the common appellation of Kamâḷar, *i.e.* craftsmen.

8th. Valaiyar, *i.e.* deer and hare catchers with nets.

9th. Pannar, *i.e.* tailors.

10th. Eṇṇai-vâṇiyar, *i.e.* oil-mill workers.

11th. Śuṇṇambu-vâṇiyar (Cuṇṇambu-kârar,) *i.e.* limeburners.

12th. Uppu-vâṇiyar (Uppu-kârar,) *i.e.* salt makers.

13th. Pûmâlai-kârar, *i.e.* flower sellers (and garland makers).

14th. Illewaleyr, *i.e.* watchmen of the fortresses.

15th. Veṭṭiyar, *i.e.* Paṟaiyar, tom-tom beaters, who likewise are weavers, and bear the corpses of the dead, (and grave-diggers).

16th. Kossevar (Kuśavar), potters.

17th. Vîraka-diyâr, *i. e.* chank blowers at weddings and deaths.

18th. Vaṇṇâr, *i. e.* washermen.

The out-door servants among others are—

1st. Kômaṭṭiyar, a low sort of traders.

2nd. Salapar, also a low sort of traders.

3rd. Âgambâdiyar, a low sort of husbandmen.

4th. Parawar, 5th. Karaiyâr, 6th. Tamiḻar, 7th. Mukkuvar, 8th. Pattenewar, 9th. Sampadewar, 10th. Pallewallar: Fishermen of different kinds.

11th. Sandar, (Śâṇâr), 12th. Paḷḷar, 13th. Nallavar: Toddy-drawers of different kinds.

14th. Tannekanar, 15th. Mâvuttar, ("Mahouts"), 16th. Parambar: Elephant-keepers.

17th. Kaykular, 18th. Śêṇiyar, 19th. Châlliar: (Śaliyar), Weavers of different kinds.

20th. Eḻutta-kârar, *i. e.* painters.

21st. Sayekârar, *i. e.* dyers.

22nd. Eleyvâṇiyar, *i. e.* betel vendors.

23rd. Maṟawar, 24th. Kuṟawar, 25th. Vêḍar: Inhabitants of the forest, of different kinds.

26th. Śemmâr, 27th. Śakkiliyar: Shoemakers of different kinds.

28th. Turumbar, *i. e.* washermen of the lowest caste.

All the above castes have special *virudu*, (banner), *i. e.* arms and rights, different one from another. Those among the Śûdras, who of old by the Kshattriyas, or Vaiśyas, on account of some reasons and merits were entitled to and favoured with new arms and states above their own, are called Valankaiyar, *i. e.* those of the right hand; but all the other Śûdras, Iḍankaiyar, *i. e.* those of the left hand.

Besides the above castes, there are, in the province of Jaffnapatam, three regular sorts of castes, viz. :—

1st. Madapalle, who are the offspring of the natural children of former kings of Jaffna-

[5] Some of the names in the list, we have ventured to modify the spelling of, in order to represent them in their usual forms: others have been left as in the MS.—ED.

patam by their concubines, and who are called by the common name of Madapallis, which word signifies 'a kitchen,' as the work of the said concubines was to attend the kitchen, and to serve at the table. The said kings were the offspring of a Brâhmaṇ from Manravey in Râmanâdhapuram, and thus of the race of Aryar.

2nd. Malayâlar, a kind of Veḷḷâḷar, who arrived from the kingdom of Malabar.

3rd. Paredeśar, who are partly strangers and partly emancipated, of which castes nothing can be said with certainty.

In ancient times when the Island of Ceylon lay waste and uninhabited, there came a certain prince named Sinhakumâran, a son of Śoḷan, king of Śoḷamaṇḍalam (Coromandel) of the race of the sun, accompanied with princes and officers in vessels from the said Solomandalam. He being delighted with the beauty, fertility, and salubrity of the climate, and desiring to settle himself here and to establish a kingdom, gave information thereof by a letter to the king of Madura, or Pâṇḍiyamaṇḍalam, of the race of the moon, requesting him to send from his kingdom different families of all sorts of castes to colonize the island, soliciting at the same time the princess his daughter as a bride; which the said king having voluntarily agreed to, sent his daughter the princess with a great train, together with their families, as requested; and the Prince and Princess were solemnly married and crowned as king and queen of the land; from this it is that the emperors of Ceylon, who are of the race of the sun, cause the princesses aforesaid of Madura, being of the race of the moon, to be brought from thence for their brides.

The Island then having been peopled in ancient times aforesaid, it happened that from the mixture of Telungu or (Telinga,) the mother tongue of the said first prince, and his train, with Tamiḻ, the language of the abovementioned princess, and of all her train, and that of the families of all kinds of castes, a third language was produced; and as the marriage united a Telungu and a Tamiḻ nation, another kind of people there arose called after the name of the aforesaid prince Singakumâran, Singalî; and thence arose also the worship of Buddha, which was at that time prevailing in Madura or Pâṇḍiyamaṇḍalam; and to this the said princess and her attendants adhered, and introduced it into the Island.

This short and concise relation of the arrival of the first prince Singakumaran, who was afterwards crowned as Emperor of the Island of Ceylon, of the peopling thereof, the origin of the Singhalese language and nation, the introduction of the worship of Buddha into the Island; is tediously written in the Singalî books, *Râjaratnakari*, *Râjaniti*, *Râjawali*, and many others, although with many superstitious and fabulous stories.

Philip De Melho.

Jaffna, 25th July, 1788.

THE CHONG-LUN OR PRANYAMÛLA-ŚÂSTRA-TIKA OF NÂGÂRJUNA.

BY Rev. S. BEAL, M.A., RECTOR OF WARK.

I shall here give a translation of the 25th section of the *Chong-Lun Sûtra* or *Pranyamûla-śâstra-tika*, by Nâgârjuna, on *Nirvâṇa*.

(1) If all things are unreal,
Then how is it possible to remove
From that which does not exist
Something, which, being removed, leaves
Nirvâṇa?

This section argues that if all things are alike empty and unreal, then there is no such thing as Birth and Death; consequently there can be no removal from sorrow, and the destruction of the five elements of existence (limited existence), by removal of which we arrive at Nirvâṇa (what is called Nirvâṇa).

(2) But if all things are real,
Then how can we remove
Birth and Death, real existence,
And so arrive at *Nirvâṇa*?

This section argues that we cannot destroy that which has in itself real existence, and therefore, if all things have this real being, we cannot remove Birth and Death, and so arrive at *Nirvâṇa*; therefore, neither by the theory of *Bhava*, nor by the theory of *Sunyata* (emptiness), can we arrive at the just idea of *Nirvâṇa*.

(3) That which is not [illegible] for or "obtained,"
That which is n[illegible]ne" or "e[illegible]l,"
That which is [illegible]r dies,
This is that [illegible] *Nirvâ*[illegible]

"Not to be striven for," that is, in the way of religious action (*achârya*), and its result (*fruit*).

"Not obtained" (or "arrived at"), that is, because there is no place or point at which to arrive.

"Not for a time" (or not by way of interruption) [*per saltum*] for the five skandhas having been from the time of complete enlightenment proved to be unreal, and not part of true existence, then on entering final *Nirvâṇa* (*anupadiśesha Nirvâṇa*).—What is there that breaks or interrupts the character of previous existence?

"Not for ever," or "everlasting," for if there were something to be obtained that admitted of distinctions whilst in the possession of it, then we might speak of an *eternal nirvâṇa*, but as in the condition of silent extinction (*Nirvâṇa*) there can be no properties to distinguish, how can we speak of it as "everlasting?"

And so with reference to Birth and Death.

Now that which is so characterised is what we call *Nirvâṇa*.

Again, there is a *Sûtra* which says, "*Nirvâṇa* is the opposite of 'Being' and 'not Being'; it is the opposite of these two combined, it is the opposite of the absence of 'Being', and the absence of 'not Being'.

So, in short, that which admits of no conditions such as are attached to limited existence; that is *Nirvâṇa*.

(4) *Nirvâṇa* cannot be called *Bhava*;
For if so, then it admits of old age and death,
In fact both "being" and "not being" are phenomena,
And therefore are capable of being deprived of characteristics (*lakshanam*).

This means that as all things which the eye beholds are seen to begin and to end, and this is what the Ślôka calls "Life" and "Death" (or birth and death). Now if *Nirvâṇa* is like this, then it would be possible to speak of removing these things and so arriving at something fixed—but here is a plain contradiction of terms—for Nirvâna is supposed to be that which is fixed and unchangeable.

(5) If *Nirvâṇa* is *Bhava* (existent),
Then it is *personal*;
But, in fact, that which cannot be individualized
Is spoken of as not "personal."

This means that as all phenomenal existence comes from cause and consequent production, therefore all such things are rightly called "personal."

(6) If *Nirvâṇa* be *Bhava*,
Then it cannot be called "without sensation" (*anuvedana*);
For non-Being comes not from sensation,
And by this obtains its distinct name.

This means that as the *Sûtras* describe *Nirvâṇa* as being "without sensation" (*anuvedana*), it cannot be *Bhava*; for then *Abhava* would come from sensation. But now it will be asked, if *Nirvâṇa* is not *Bhava*, then that which is "not *Bhava*" (*abhava*), surely then is *Nirvâṇa*. To this we reply—

(7) If *Nirvâṇa* be not *Bhava*,
Much less is it nothing (*abhava*);
For if there be no room for "Being,"
What place can there be for "not Being."

This means that "not Being" is the opposite of "Being." If, then, "Being" is not admissible, how can we speak of "Not Being"? (its opposite).

(8) If again *Nirvâṇa* is nothing,
How is it called without "sensation?" (*anuvedana*),
For it would be wonderful indeed if everything not capable of sensation,
Were forthwith spoken of as nothing.

If then *Nirvâṇa* be neither "Being," nor "non-Being," what is it?

(9) By participation in cause and effect
Comes the wheel of continual existence,
By non-participation in cause and effect
Comes *Nirvâṇa*.

As by knowing a thing to be straight we also know that which is crooked, so by the knowledge of the elements of finite existence comes the knowledge of continual life and death. Do away with those, and you do away also with the other.

(10) As Buddha says in the *Sûtra*,—
Separate "Being," separate "not Being,"
This is *Nirvâṇa*,
The opposite of "Being," the opposite of "not Being."

"Being" here alludes to the three worlds of finite existence. The absence of these three worlds is "Not Being." Get rid of both these ideas, this is Nirvâṇa. But it may now be asked, if Nirvâṇa is not "Being," and if it is not "Absence of Being," then perhaps it is the intermixture of the two.

(11) If it is said that "Being" and "Not Being,"
By union, produces *Nirvâṇa*,
The two are then one;
But this is impossible.

Two unlike things cannot be joined so as to produce one different from either.

(12) If it is said "Being" and "Not Being"
United make *Nirvâṇa*,
Then *Nirvâṇa* is not "without sensation;"
For these two things involve sensation.

(13) If it is said that "Being" and "Not Being,"
United, produce *Nirvâṇa*,

Then *Nirváṇa* is not Impersonal;
For these two things are personal.
(14) "Being" and "Not Being," joined in one,
How can this be *Nirváṇa*?
These two things have nothing in common,
Can Darkness and Light be joined?
(15) If the opposites of "Being" and "Not Being,"
Is *Nirváṇa*,
These opposites—
How are they distinguished?
(16) If they are distinguished,
And so, by union, become *Nirváṇa*,
Then that which completes the idea of "Being" and "Not Being"
Also completes the idea of the opposite of both.
(17) Tathâgata, after his departure,
Says nothing of "Being" and "Not Being."
He says not that his "Being" is not, or the opposite of this.

Tathâgata says nothing of these things or their opposites. The conclusion of the whole matter is, that *Nirváṇa* is identical with the nature of Tathâgata, without bound, and without place or time.[1]

[1] *The Oriental*, October 9, 1875.

MISCELLANEA.

AN AMERICAN PUZZLE.

About seven months ago, the *Pioneer*, in a letter headed "From All About," proposes a problem, called the "American Puzzle," the attempted solution of which is said to have driven several people nearly mad. The problem is to arrange the sixteen consecutive numbers from 1 to 16, in four rows of four each in such a way that the total of every line and group of four will amount to exactly thirty-four. The puzzle admits of several answers, and one is—

1	8	10	15
12	13	3	6
7	2	16	9
14	11	5	4

In the above group every line of four, every possible group of four forming a square, and the sum of the four corner numbers amounts to 34.

The problem is, however, by no means a modern one, dating, as it does, far back into the history of Indian Astrology. To prove what I say, I append the following extract from the *Jyotistattwa*:—

पंचरेखाः समुल्लिख्य तिर्यगूर्द्धक्रमेण हि ।
पदानि षोडशापाद्य त्वेकमादौ मुनौ त्रयं ॥
नवमे सप्त दद्यात्तु वाणं पंचदशे तथा ।
द्वितीये ऽष्टावष्टमे षट् दिशि द्वौ षोडशे श्रुतिः ॥
एकादिना समं ज्ञेयमिच्छांकार्द्धं त्रिकोणके ।
तदा द्वात्रिंशदादिः स्याच्चतुष्कोष्ठेषु सर्वतः ॥[2]

The above instructions are briefly as follows:—Draw five lines perpendicularly, and five lines crossing them horizontally. These will form a large square enclosing sixteen smaller squares in four rows of four each. In the first of these squares write 1, in the seventh 3, in the ninth 7, and in the fifteenth 5. Now, to the right of each of these write whatever number is sufficient to make the total of each of these pairs up to nine. We thus get:

1	8		
		3	6
7	2		
		5	4

Now take any even number, which we may call A, and fill up the remaining squares by writing the difference between half A, and the number in the next square but one in a diagonal direction from the square to be filled up. Thus, supposing A = 34,—then, under 3 we must write $\frac{34}{2} - 1$ (which is the number in the next square but one in a diagonal direction upwards and to the left from the square below 3); $\frac{34}{2} - 1 = 17 - 1 = 16$; and we must therefore write 16 under 3. Again, to fill up the vacant square under 2, we first note that the number in the next square but one in a diagonal direction upwards and to the right from the square below 2, is 6. ∴ 17 — 6 = 11, which number must be written under 2. Or, as another example, to fill up the square immediately above 6, we must subtract, from 17, 2, which is the number in the next square but one in a diagonal direction downwards and to the left from the square to be filled up, we must therefore write 17 — 2 = 15. It must be observed that, as there are only four

[2] Raghunandana's *Jyotistattwa Prakaranam Garbhádhánam*, p. 47, Asiatic Society of Bengal's MS.

squares to a row, there can never be more than one, and there always is one, square which will fulfil the condition of being next but one in a diagonal direction from any given square. This direction may be either upwards or downwards, or right or left, as the case may be. In a similar way we can fill up the remaining squares, and we finally get:

1	8	10	15
12	13	3	6
7	2	16	9
14	11	5	4

It will be observed that the *Jyotistattwa* does not calculate upon only making up a total of 34. By altering the value of A to any figure desired, the total of every line and group of four will always equal A. In each case, however, the numbers used for filling up the half of the squares last filled up will differ: and 34 is the only value of A which uses up the sixteen digits from 1 to 16 and no others.

These squares are recommended by the *Jyotistattwa* as charms to be gazed upon and carried about. According to the value of A, the charms are of various efficacy. Thus:

When A = 32, the charm is useful to a woman in childbirth.

When A = 34, it is to be used when setting out on a journey.

When A = 50, it is to be used for casting out devils.

When A = 100, it is for women whose children have died.

When A = 72, it is for a barren woman.

When A = 64, it is to be used in the tumult of battle.

When A = 20, it is to be used in cases of poisoning.

When A = 28, it is to be used when paddy is attacked by insects.

And when A = 84, it is recommended for hushing children when they are crying.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON,
Madhubanî, Darbhanga.

NOTE ON SOME COIN LEGENDS.

As reading the legend on a coin so often depends on a knowledge of what the usually almost illegible letters ought to represent, I send the following note (found in a local vernacular work) on the legends of some coins formerly current in India, as it may prove of some interest and perhaps valuable.

I. Coin of Jehângir current in Akbarnaggar (? Âgra) in H. 1014 = A. D. 1605—

Legend obv. روئي زررا ساخت نوراني برنگ مهر وماه

rev. شاه نور الدين جهانگير ابن اكبر بادشاه

II. Coin of Jehângîr current in Âgra—

Leg. obv. سكه زد باآگره شاهي بزر در مهر وماه

rev. شاه نور الدين جهانگير ابن اكبر بادشاه

III. Coin of Jehângîr current in Lahor in H. 1018 = A.D. 1609—

Leg. obv. بدهر باد روان تا فلک بود در دور

rev. بنام شاه جهانگير سكهٔ لاهور

IV. Coin of Jehângîr current in Aḥmadâbâd—

Leg. obv. سكه زد در احمد آباد از عنايات اله

rev. شاه نور الدين جهانگير ابن اكبر بادشاه

V. Coin of Jehângîr current in Burhânpûr—

Leg. obv. سكه زد در شهر برهان پور شاه دين پناه

rev. شاه نور الدين جهانگير ابن اكبر بادشاه

VI. Coin of Jehângîr issued in the name of Nûr Jahân Bêgam—

Leg. obv. بحكم شاه جهانگير يافت صد زيور

rev. بنام نور جهان بادشاه بيگم زر

VII. Coin of Nâdir Shâh—

Leg. obv. نادرم در ملک ايران قادرم بر هر ديار

rev. لافتي الا علي لاسيف الا ذوالفقار

VIII. Coin of Shâh Âlam—

Leg. obv. سكه زد بر هفت كشور سايهٔ فضل اله

rev. حامي دين محمد شاه عالم بادشاه

IX. Legend on a coin of Jehângîr current in Burhânpûr—

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

R. C. TEMPLE,
Firôzpûr.

METRICAL TRANSLATIONS FROM THE *MAHÂBHÂRATA*.

BY JOHN MUIR, D.C.L., LLD., C.I.E.

(*Continued from vol. IX, p. 142.*)

PROPER TREATMENT OF MEN AND WOMEN.

Mahâbhârata, v. 1407.

To others never malice bear,
But kindly for their welfare care;
Nor only by thine acts be friend,
But ne'er by angry words offend.

Thy spouse with care and kindness treat,
With honied accents always greet.
But whilst thou soothest women, ne'er
Permit them o'er thee rule to bear.

"Let a man be free from malice, and guard his wife; let him speak kindly and pleasantly: and use sweet words to women, but never become subject to them."

EULOGY OF WOMEN.

Mahâbhârata, v. 1408.

All honour to those women bright,
Whose presence fills the house with light,
Who, noble, virtuous, loving, pure,
The fortunes of their homes assure.
Their lords should love and guard such wives
The joy and solace of their lives.

"Those pure and virtuous women who are the lights of the house, who are called the goddesses of fortune, should be honoured and specially guarded."

Passages to the same effect occur elsewhere, of which I give prose versions:—

Manu, v. 26. "In men's houses there is no difference whatever between women who are blest with progeny, worthy of honour, and the lights of their homes—between such women—and goddesses of fortune" (*Śriyah*).

Mahâbhârata, xiii., 2498. "Those goddesses of fortune called women should be kindly treated by him who seeks to prosper. A woman who is cherished and controlled is a goddess of fortune."

From the occurrence of the word "controlled" in the last passage, it would seem to result that the word "guard," also in the first passage, is to be understood as intimating that women, how highly soever esteemed, were regarded by the writer as requiring supervision on the part of their husbands.

A GOOD KING, ACCORDING TO THE MAHÂBHÂRATA.

[In lines xii. 3346ff, the writer gives us a lofty idea of what a king ought to be. Unless the desire of his subjects' approbation, and the love of renown, recommended to him in vv. 3349f, be considered to lower the ideal conception of disinterested virtue,—he seeks to place a philosopher, a Titus who mourns that he had lost a day, or a Marcus Aurelius, on the throne.]

Mahâbhârata xii. 3346ff; 2079f.

That king rules well whose arm defends,
His friends from aliens, these from friends,
Whose sway o'er every class extends;
O'er all whose realm his subjects roam,—
Like sons within a father's home,—
Securely, whether weak or strong,
And insult never dread, nor wrong,
Nor ever need their wealth to hide,
But, undisturbed, in peace abide.

The wise declare this self the root
From which all human actions shoot.
This self a prince should, therefore, guard,
Lest haply it should e'er be marred
By unobserved and veiled assaults
Of passion, breeding active faults;
Himself should ever strictly ask—
'Do I fulfil my kingly task?
'Do vices in my nature lurk,
'Whose power obstructs my noble work?
'Do all the men my acts who know
'Of these their admiration show?
'And does my virtue's fame extend
'O'er all my realm, from end to end?'

I add a prose version of the lines:—

Mahâbh. xii. 2079f. "He is the best of kings in whose dominions men can move about like sons in their fathers' houses, and whose subjects, dwelling in his country, do not conceal their wealth and understand what is wise and unwise action." xii. 3346 ff. "Protecting strangers from those within his palace, and these again from strangers, strangers from strangers, and your own from your own, preserve men continually. 3347. The king who in every respect guards himself, can be the guardian of the earth. This entire world has its root in [is dependent upon] the soul or self. So the wise declare. 3348. Let the king constantly consider what flaw is there in me, what attachment (? *anushañgah*?) What is there that I have not overcome (*avinipâtitam*)? From what quarter can blame attach to me? 3349. He should cause enquiry to be made all over the earth by secret approved emissaries into this? 'Do men applaud or not my action of the past day? 3350. If they know it, do they applaud it or not? Shall my renown shine in all parts of the country?' "

ANCIENT INDIAN IDEAS ABOUT WAR.

(1.) CONQUERORS SHOULD KINDLY TREAT THE VANQUISHED.

Mahâbhârata xii. 3487 ff.

He who a foe has seized in fight—
A foe whose deeds were fair and right—
That foe with due respect should greet,
And ne'er through hatred harshly treat.
Who acts not thus is hard in heart,
And fails to play a Kshatriya's part.
He who in war has gained success
Should seek to soothe his foe's distress;
Should on him kindly, blandly smile,
And thus his downfall's pain beguile.
When thou hast caused another woe,
Thou should'st him more thy kindness show,

Though hated now, if thou begin
By friendly acts his heart to win,
Ye shall not long remain estranged;
The foes shall soon to friends be changed.

(2.) KSHATRIYAS (RAJPUTS) SHOULD FIGHT FAIRLY, AND SPARE THE VANQUISHED, &c.

Mahâbh. xii., 3541 ff., 3557 ff., 3569 *b*, 3675 ff.

A Kshatriya fairly ought to fight,
And ne'er disabled foemen smite;
His foes on equal terms should meet;
Men worse equipped should scorn to beat.
Whoe'er unfairly victory wins
Destroys himself—he basely sins.
'Tis better far to lose thy life,
When waging honourable strife,
Than live and overcome thy foe
By artifices mean and low.
A beaten foe who takes to flight,
Unfit again to turn and fight,
Disheartened, hopeless, faint, oppressed,
Should never be too hardly pressed.
A warrior brave should hate to slay
The man who throws his arms away,
And humbly cries, "Great victor, save
From death thy vanquished, prostrate slave."
Thyself a wounded foeman tend,
Or to his home for succour send.
Ne'er ask a captive maid to wed,
Before a year its course has sped.

(3.) NEEDLESS WARFARE CONDEMNED.

Mahâbh. xii., 2618, 3522, 3581, 3768.

A Kshatriya's function is the worst
Of all men's tasks—the most accurst.
For whether warriors fight or fly,
The fate of many is to die;
And so a battle-loving king
On men must direful misery bring.
Hate, prince, thy hands with blood to stain;
Seek other means thine ends to gain.
Ne'er risk the chance of battle fell—
Of which the issue none can tell—
Nor e'er, till gentler measures[1] fail,
Thyself of arms and force avail.
By offers fair, in accents smooth,
Thine angry enemy seek to soothe;
And so adjust the cause of strife,
Which else would waste full many a life.

Of a quite different and immoral tendency are the following lines, which are enthusiastic in praise of fighting, and promise to warriors slain in battle the forgiveness of all their sins, and the low delights of a sensual paradise.

(4.) PRAISE OF A WARRIOR'S LIFE.

Mahâbh. xii., 3503, 3603, 3657.

A king who lists to duty's call
In fight should ever seek to fall;
Should on a sickbed scorn to lie,
And, moaning, slowly pine and die.
The men their lives who bravely yield
To death upon the battle-field,
Their fleeting pangs and sufferings o'er,
All straight to heavenly mansions soar.
There nymphs divine these heroes meet,
With witching smiles and accents sweet,
Run up and cry in emulous strife,
"Make me," "nay, me," "nay, me," "thy wife."

The following prose versions of the passages which the preceding metrical translations freely reproduce should be consulted by those who wish fully to know all the sentiments of the originals; some of them have already appeared in the *Ind. Antiquary*, and need only be referred to:—

For xii. 3487ff. see *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 239.

For xii. 3541ff.; 3557ff.; 3677, see *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. pp. 339, 340. A passage to a similar effect is found in Manu, vii. 90—93.

For xii. 3580, see *Ind. Ant.*, as above p. 240.

Ibid. x. 187.—"Men do not rightfully approve the slaughter of those who are asleep, or have cast away their weapons, or who have lost their chariots and horses, or those who cry 'I am thine,' or who take refuge with you, or whose hair is loose, or whose chariots are lost" (*vimukta*).

v. 1038.—"Do not abandon, even in time of danger, a man attached to thee, one who flees to thee, and one who cries 'I am thine' when they take refuge with thee."

For xii. 3557, vide *ante* vol. III. p. 340.

3564.—"If two armies are in conflict, and a Brâhman comes between them, and seeks to quell strife on both sides, then the battle must not be continued."

xii. 3659.—"Old men, children, and women are not to be slain; nor is any one to be smitten from behind, nor is any one to be slain whose mouth is filled with grass,[2] or who cries 'I am thine.'"

xii. 3675.—"Let not routed enemies be too far pursued . . . . 3677. for heroes do not like to smite the flying very much."

For xii. 3581, see *ut sup.* p. 340.

In the following lines conciliation, or artifice or a show of force is recommended.

xii. 2618.—"A wise man who desires royal power should always avoid warfare. Vṛihaspati declares that the end desired should be attained by three methods. A wise man should be content

[1] The measures or devices recommended with the view of avoiding war, not all of them honourable, are *śântva* or *śâman* (conciliation), *dâna* or *pradâna* (giving gifts), and *bheda*, (seeking to excite treachery among the enemy's adherents), *Mahâbh.* i. 5566, xii. 2619, and *Manu*, vii. 198. A show of force is also recommended; or a combination of pacific and terrifying measures; xii. 3775—3779.

[2] This is not explained by the commentator.

with the success which he can gain, by conciliation, by gifts, and by causing dissensions."

xii. 3522.—"A king should extend his conquests without fighting, victory gained by fighting is declared to be the worst." See also xii. 3581, 3768ff., 3775ff.

On the other hand, we find such passages as the following :—

v. 1426.—"An enemy who has fallen into your power and is exposed to death, is not to be let go. Let him, lowly bending, serve, or let him who deserves to be slain be smitten. For, unless he be slain, he soon becomes a source of apprehension."

x. 53.—"The host of an enemy is to be smitten when it is fatigued or torn asunder, or at a meal (?) . . . . or when it is asleep, at midnight, or when it has lost its leader," &c. &c.

i. 5564.—"An enemy is not to be let go, though he speaks much that is piteous : no mercy is to be shewed to him; let the wrong-doer be smitten." This is repeated in substance in xii. 5298*bf*.

The following passages pronounce encomiums on those who die in battle :—

2283.—"The ancients do not praise the act of that Kshatriya who returns from battle with his body free from wounds."

xii. 3600.—"Be not the father of those base men who abandon their comrades in battle, and go home in safety. The gods headed by Indra work him evil who by forsaking his comrades seeks to save his life. Every such Kshatriya should be slain by staves or clods, or burnt in a fire of dry grass, or slaughtered like a beast." 3603.—"That Kshatriya acts contrary to his duty who dies in bed discharging phlegm and urine, and moaning piteously. The ancients do not approve the conduct of a Kshatriya who dies with his body free from wounds. The death of a Kshatriya at home is not commended. It is a poor and timid violation of duty for proud heroes. Such a man groans, 'This is suffering, this is great pain, and most miserable,' with dejected look, fetid, lamenting his kinsmen, he envies those who are free from disease, and again and again longs for death. A proud haughty hero ought not to die such a death. A Kshatriya ought to die after fighting in battle surrounded by his relations, and wounded by sharp weapons. For a hero, impelled by desire and anger, fights fiercely and never feels that his limbs are smitten by his foes."

Similarly in xii. 2909, A king mentions it as a merit that there is no space of two fingers in his body which has not been pierced by weapons while he fought from duty.

xii. 2946.—"Reverence and blessing be their lot who sacrifice their bodies, when restraining the enemies of the Brâhmaṇs . . . . Manu declared that those heroes attain to heaven and conquer (*for themselves*) the world of Brahma."

xii. 3503.—"Let a king who is devoted to his duty die in battle."

xii. 3591.—"The celestials do not behold on earth anything superior to him who, fearless, scatters his enemies, and receives their arrows. He attains to as many undecaying worlds, yielding all objects of enjoyment, as his body is pierced by weapons in combat, with the blood which flows from his body in battle: and occasions suffering, he is delivered from all his sins."

xii. 3655.—"Do not lament a hero slain in battle, for he enjoys blessedness in heaven. They do not seek to supply the slain man with (?) food, or water or bathing, or (*regard him as?*) impure : hear of what kind are the realms to which he attains. Thousands of fair Apsarasas run up to the hero slain in battle, crying 'be my husband.'"

xii. 3666.—"The great Janaka, the king of Mithila, who knew all truths, showed his warriors heaven and hell. 'Behold, these are the shining worlds of the fearless, filled with the maidens of the Gandharvas, yielding all enjoyments, and undecaying. These are the hells which await those who flee (*in battle*),'" &c. &c.

The preceding passages, as will have been seen, abound in chivalrous sentiments in regard to the treatment of vanquished and captive enemies, though some written in a different spirit have been cited. This difference may be due both to the fact that these opposite sentiments are ascribed to different characters, and also to their proceeding from authors of different ages, and different feelings, who contributed the portions of the great epic poem in which they occur, a work which must have been repeatedly interpolated with new additions from the pens of successive writers.

J. Muir.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

2. Guggâ or Gurû Guggâ, said to have been a disciple of Gorakhnâth, and apparently a saint of the Chauhâṇ Râjputs, the principal pîr or saint of the Chûṛhâ (Mehtar, sweeper) castes in the Panjâb. Any notice of him in vernacular works or information about him is solicited.

3. Notices in vernacular or other works of the saint Shêkh Farîdâ, Farîd, Farîd Shakar Ganj, Bâwâ Farîd or Shekh Farîdu'd-dîn as he is variously called, are solicited. In the Panjâb the State of Farîdkôṭ is named after him, and there is a tomb and fair in his honour at Pâk Paṭṭan. I believe there also is a tomb of him somewhere in Central India. He appears to be popular in Central India and N. W. Provinces as well as in the Panjâb.

4. Bâṅsâ Rânî, Queen of the Fairies, is commonly believed in in the Panjâb: she is said to be worshiped in the Kângrâ district as a goddess. She is apparently a forest or jungle goddess, and the name may represent the Sanskrit form Vanâ-râjñî. Information required.

5. Any information from officers in the Panjâb that may throw light on the following points will be most thankfully received:—Origin, history and habits of the Chammârs, Bâwariâs, Gaṇḍhelas or Gandhîlas, Sâṅsîs, Hârnîs and Mêûṅs. Extracts from any District or Settlement Reports which may contain information relating to these castes and tribes, will be most useful, excepting from the Firozpûr District Settlement Report, which I know. R. C. TEMPLE, Firozpûr.

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. XIII, part i. (Jan. 1881). The first paper in this part is Prof. Monier Williams's on 'Indian Theistic Reformers,' already noticed (*ante* p. 55). The second is 'Notes on the Kawi Language and Literature,' by Dr. H. N. van der Tunk, of Bali,—a paper communicated by Dr. Rost from letters received in 1878 and 1879. The Kawi or Old Javanese manuscripts having been transcribed by Balinese to whom Javanese is a foreign language, are disfigured by numerous misspellings. The language contains both Indian and Malayan words. Among the works in the language is a *Tantri*, which must be derived from some Indian collection of fables, but the greater part of the stories are unlike those in the *Panchatantra* or the *Hitopadeśa*. The names of jackals and dogs occurring in the poem are partly Sanskrit, partly Malayan. Of the *Tantri* there are three recensions,—one in prose called *Kamandaka*, which is the least complete of the three, and two in verse. It is hardly possible yet to say whether many Prâkṛit words have found their way into Kawi. The *Brahmâṇḍa-purâna* introduces at the commencement a king Daśamakrĕshṇa or Diśimakrĕshṇa; and the two bhagawâns Romaharshaṇa and Nemisheya, who are interrogated by him about the Manubaṅśakrama. Then follows a tedious account of Brahma's creation of four Rĕshis, who would not marry; then he created the gods; next the nine divine Rĕshis were born; and then Brahma created Śiva. Of the eighteen *parvas* of the *Mahâbhârata* only eight have been preserved, viz., *Âdiparva, Virâṭap., Udyogap., Bhîshmaparva*, and the last four. Among the most important poems of the Kiḍung class are the *Malat*, the *Wasiṅ*, and the *Waṅbaṅ Wideya*—three voluminous compositions on the exploits of the Prince of Koripan after his loss of the Princess of Daha. Another popular poem is the *Bhîmâswarga* relating the liberation of Paṇḍu from hell (Kawah) by Bhîma. *Nawaruchi* relates the treachery of Droṇa towards Bhîma. One of the Buddhist kĕkawin class of poems is the *Arjunawijaya* which mentions Amitâbha, Amoghasiddha, Wairochana, Akshobbya, and Ratnasambhawa. Some of these names are also found in the *Sutasoma*, and also in invocations or charms where they are called *bhaṭâra* (*bhaṭṭâra*).

A few Tamil and Persian words are found even in the earliest Kawi: thus, *páne* or *paney* a kind of jar to grow the lotus in, is undoubtedly Tamil; *joṅ* جنگ, taraju ترازو, and *gulú* (Javan. *julú*, throat) گلو, are Persian.

The third paper is by the Rev. Dr. Edkins of Peking on 'The Nirvâṇa of the Northern Buddhists.' The *Nirvâṇa* of the Indian Buddhists is a doctrine of death suited to a monkish system which declares all the joy of life to be deception, and looks with philosophical pity on the grandeur of kings and the glory of heroes. All things are born but to suffer and to die. Even death does not, without the aid of Buddha's wisdom, extricate them from the wheel of successive births and deaths in the wider world of which this world forms a part. From this evil destiny the *Nirvâṇa* sets them free for ever. The Tibetans and Mongols exchanged their old religion for Buddhism with its hope of the Western Paradise Amitâbha and its *Nirvâṇa*. The Lamas accept the Buddhist denial of the reality of the world, and receive the *Nirvâṇa*. The inferior Lamas and the common Tibetans and Mongols believe in the metempsychosis and in the souls of faithful worshippers being conveyed to the Paradise of Amitâbha; and this doctrine tends very much to keep the *Nirvâṇa* out of sight. The same is true of the Ghorkhas. In China, Buddhism has been much kept in check by Confucianism; in Corea, Confucianism is strong and Buddhism is despised by the educated; in Japan, Buddhism is stronger because it was favoured by the Sioguns, in the time of whose rule the Paradise of the Western Heaven was much thought of,—and this once accepted the belief in *Nirvâṇa* has become dim. The use of animal food in China and Japan has acted against the belief of the soul ever transmigrating into an animal body. In Cochin-China, Buddhism is an offshoot from that of China. The three Southern Buddhist nations in Birma, Siam, and Ceylon have the doctrines of transmigration and *Nirvâṇa* as articles of faith and universal education. These southern peoples are more readily

Mr. Maxwell then cites the Ain Akbari, K. Forbes, and Wilkes[2] relative to the position of the Bhâts in Gujarât and elsewhere. Crawford and Leyden were inclined to think that people from Telinga or Kalinga, the 'Klings' of the Malays, had introduced Hinduism into the Malay peninsula, but there are very few Tamiḷ or Telugu words in Malay, and no tradition or other notice of connection. In the *Sajara Malayu*, the earliest incident is the conquest of the Peninsula by Râja Suran of Amdan Nagura, which seems to refer to Gujarat,[3] and Javanese tradition says a large colony went from Gujarat to Java in Ś. 525 (A.D. 603-4), under a chief called Sawêla Châla. They were soon joined by others from the parent country, and "from this time Java was known and celebrated as a kingdom; an extensive commerce was carried on with Gûj'rat and other countries,"[4] &c. The author points out that the story of the founding of Aṇahilapaṭṭana,[5] bears a remarkable likeness to that of the founding of Malaka by Iskandar Shâh; and notes the similarity of the alphabet of the Valabhi plates and Kawi.[6] The subject deserves further investigation.

The 5th article is on 'The Invention of the Indian Alphabet' by Mr. Dowson. It combats the theories of Weber, Burnell, and Thomas on the Semitic derivation of the Devanagari alphabet, and argues that it is not of Dravidian origin. The Aryan-Pâli came in across the Indus, and it is not to be believed that the Indian-Pâli also entered by the same route: it "probably had its origin near the central course of the Ganges, from whence it worked upwards and overwhelmed its rival." Mr. Dowson believes "the Indian alphabet was a Hindu invention," and he concisely offers his reasons for so doing.

BOOK NOTICE.

MATHURÂ, A DISTRICT MEMOIR. By F. S. Growse, B.C.S., M.A. Oxon., C.I.E., *Fellow of the Calcutta University.* Second Edition. Illustrated, revised and enlarged, 1880. Printed at the North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press.

Some years ago the Government of the North-Western Provinces resolved to publish a series of local memoirs of the various districts constituting that Province. The *Memoir* under review is one of that series; and it is unquestionably the fullest and most valuable of all that have been hitherto published. Its value is sufficiently shown by the fact, that this is already the second edition after the short interval of six years; the first edition having been published in 1874. Good as the latter was, the value of the second edition has been much increased by the addition of new and important matter. The best of these additions undoubtedly is the last chapter of the first part, which treats of "The Etymology of Local Names in Northern India, as exemplified in the district of Mathurâ." Mr. Growse has certainly succeeded in proving his general position that "local names in Upper India are, as a rule, of no very remote antiquity, and are *primâ facie* referable to Sanskrit and Hindi rather than to any other language," though some of his derivations perhaps will not meet with general acceptance. Another valuable new chapter is the fourth, which gives probably the fullest extant description of the Holi festival of the Hindus; and the eighth, which gives a very detailed account of some of the most important Viashnava reformers. Of the older portions of the *Memoir*, the most interesting are the two historical and archæological chapters; one of which narrates the fortunes of Mathurâ during the period of Muhammadan supremacy, while the other relates what is known of the history of that city and its famous monasteries and stûpas in the early centuries of our era, when it was almost wholly given up to Buddhism. The extremely interesting remains of this period, the discovery and preservation of which are mainly due to the indefatigable exertions of the author of the *Memoir*, are carefully and minutely described. The whole work is divided into two parts, and the second is wholly devoted to statistical information, which, though unreadable to the general public, will, of course, be extremely useful to Government officials. The requirements of the former are liberally consulted by the first and much the larger part, which contains separate chapters on probably everything of interest connected with Mathurâ. This may be seen from the following list of subjects: the conformation, extent and divisions of the district at different periods; the character of the people and their language; the history under the Muhammadans; the story of Krishṇa; the Holi festival; the Buddhist antiquities; the Hindu city; the European institutions; the Vaishṇava reformers; the temples of Brindâban, Mahâban, Gokul, and Baladeva; Gobardhân, Barsâna and Nandgâṅw; the Etymology of Local Names. Not the least of the merits of the book consists in the many beautiful photographic and other illustrations of the most notable persons, buildings and antiquities of Mathurâ. Altogether it is a model of what a District Memoir may be made, and the author is to be congratulated on the success which he has achieved.

R. H.

[2] Gladwin's *Ayeen Akbery*, vol. II, p. 85; Forbes, *Rás mâlâ*, vol. II, p. 262: Wilkes' *Historical Sketches*, vol. I, p. 20.

[3] Conf. *Asiat. Res.* vol. XX, p. 1.

[4] Raffles's *Java* (2nd ed.), vol. II, p. 87.

[5] Gladwin's *Ayeen Akbery*, vol. II, pp. 89, 90.

[6] *Jour. A. S. Beng.* vol. IV, p. 479; Burnell's *S. Ind. Palæog.*, p. 132.

OLD SLAB-STONE MONUMENTS IN MADRAS AND MAISÛR.

BY LIEUT.-COL. B. R. BRANFILL.

THE accompanying plan and sketches shew a peculiar kind of slab-stone monument found in the districts of Madras and Maisûr bordering on the Eastern Ghâṭs, where disused cemeteries of rude stone circles, with and without enclosed slab-stone *kistvaens* or cubical vault-tombs, abound, frequently accompanied by jar and sarcophagus interments with old pottery. The peculiarity of these consists in having several circles of erect thin stone slabs alternately round,—and flat-topped, arranged in concentric rings close round the enclosed *kist* or cubical chamber, as shewn in the plan, section, and view accompanying, of some at Îralabaṇḍa near Palmanêri, N. Arcot (Ârkâṭ). The usual form is for the central chamber to have four round-headed slabs set up parallel to its four sides at a distance of 2 to 4 feet, or the amount by which the roof-slab or capstone projects beyond the walls of the *kist*, and sometimes so as to fit together neatly. These four erect slabs vary in height from 10 to 15 feet, in width from 7 to 10 feet, and from 3 to 6 inches in thickness. The capstone is thicker, but seldom exceeds 8 or 9 inches. The four corners are closed by flat-headed slabs chipped to fit the vacant intervals between the four great round-heads, up to the spring of their semicircular tops.

The second row is a more regular ring of some 16 slabs, alternately round-headed and flat-headed, the former 5 or 6 feet high, and the latter only as high as the commencement of the rounded portion of their fellows. The third and outer tier or ring consists of some 24 small erect slabs about 3 feet wide, half of them with semicircular heads and nearly 3 feet high, with low flat-topped slabs between them, forming a circle nearly 30 feet in diameter.

The spaces between the three rings of slabs are about a yard wide, and roughly packed with loose pieces of stone to a height of from 2 to 4 feet, the highest in the inner space; most of the monuments have fallen from the settlement of this packing, but some of them have little or no packing above the ground level, and have become ruined for want of support.[1]

The *kistvaen* or sepulchral chamber is constructed of six slabs of stone; a flag-stone the size of the chamber floor, surrounded by four erect slabs successively, each abutting on the one next behind it, and projecting beyond the rear edge of the next in front of it, in the order North, West, South, East. Thus, the north side slab has its east edge at the N. E. corner of the vault, but its west end projects considerably beyond the north end of the west slab, which in like manner has its south end projecting beyond the south slab, which again projects to the east beyond the east or front slab, and this last projects to the north beyond the north side stone.

This plan of successive projection seems to be invariably used for these and for all the old *kistvaens*, whether buried, half-buried, or free standing above ground, which I have met in the Madras Presidency. But those described by Colonel Meadows Taylor, found further north, in Shorâpur, and figured in Fergusson's *Rude Stone Monuments* (pp. 468-9,) are not constructed in this way, nor are the numerous little dolmen monuments, clustered about the temples of the Kurubar (or Kurumbars), common in Maisûr.

The sixth slab is the roof or capstone, often very large and projecting two or three feet or more beyond the sides of the chamber, and sometimes completely and exactly filling up the space within the inner ring of erect stones.

The entrance to the vault is a small roundish hole in the middle of the east end slab, varying from one to two feet in diameter. The tall erect slab immediately in front of this is also pierced by a similar hole, and the space between the two slabs, usually covered by the projection of the roof-slab or capstone, is generally formed into a small porch by cross side-slabs or cheek-pieces, as if to preclude all entry except by the small holes, which are usually just large enough to admit a small man or a child by dexterous crawling.

A smaller slab or shutter-stone is provided, and in a few examples is found set up closely against the innermost front slab so as effectually to close the entrance hole. Occasionally I have found the holes in the outer slabs so

[1] At Ânegaṭṭahaḷḷi in Maisûr, the wall-slabs are banked up on the outside with neatly-laid stones so as to form a somewhat rounded or conical mass.

small that they could not have been intended for the entry or exit of human beings in the flesh, being only 4 or 5 inches in diameter.[2] Sometimes there are three or four holes behind one another, one in each row, but not in a line so that the rising sun could shine, or any one see, through them all at once. More usually, however, the outer row or two rows have no hole, but merely a semicircular depression or notch in the easternmost slab of each ring. Most of the slabs are very thin, from 2 to 4 inches thick only, except the capstone which may be from 5 to 9 inches. They bear no trace of the mason's chisel, but have been very cleverly split from the bluish-grey gneiss rock which abounds in the neighbourhood, and then neatly chipped into shape. The quarry was apparently on the spot, from the great quantities of fragments strewn about or collected in large heaps. Modern villagers and stone masons have drawn upon them largely for big slabs, and ruthless demolition has, in many cases, completed natural dilapidation in the course of time.

All the slab-surrounded monuments at Îralabaṇḍa are not of the semi-round-headed pattern described above (*fig.* 1), but differ only from them by having all the erect slabs in each circle of the same height, as shewn in *fig.* 2; neither are they all so regular as these examples, but some have the slabs of the inner and highest circle irregularly placed and the eastern slabs considerably higher, as in *fig.* 3.

The plan, section, and front view or elevation of one of these slab-monuments *restored*, (*figs.* 4–6) are drawn from the average of several of the least dilapidated. Of the largest round-headed sort above described, there are probably a score or more still standing, incomplete and ruined, and as many more of the flat-topped pattern. But dividing the tombs in this cemetery into three classes, 170 were counted of the biggest, 210 of the second, and 200 of the third or smallest sort, a simple *kist* made of slabs from 2 feet square and upwards, more or less buried in the earth and without any circle of surrounding slabs or stones at all. The necropolis probably contained many more than 600 tombs within an area 500 yards long by 300 wide: and the whole place looks very much like a field of tombstones with many rude stone huts and kennels interspersed.

Many of the vaults were examined and found vacant, but most had a deposit of soil from 1½ to 3 feet in depth, which, on excavation, yielded the usual sepulchral relics found so universally in the stone-circle graves of Southern India, except that iron weapons were very scarce or entirely absent, whilst the terra-cotta burial coffers, or many-legged sarcophagus troughs, were abundant, as in the lowland cemeteries of Madras. Many of the larger chambers have been and are still, I believe, occasionally occupied by wild men of the woods, Îralar, I was told, (? Irular) during the rainy season. And the place may have received its name from them; Îrala-baṇḍa (*Rock of the Îralar*).

For convenience they (or others) have broken away the surrounding slabs and rudely enlarged the inner entrance hole, and apparently in some cases have cleared out the interior.

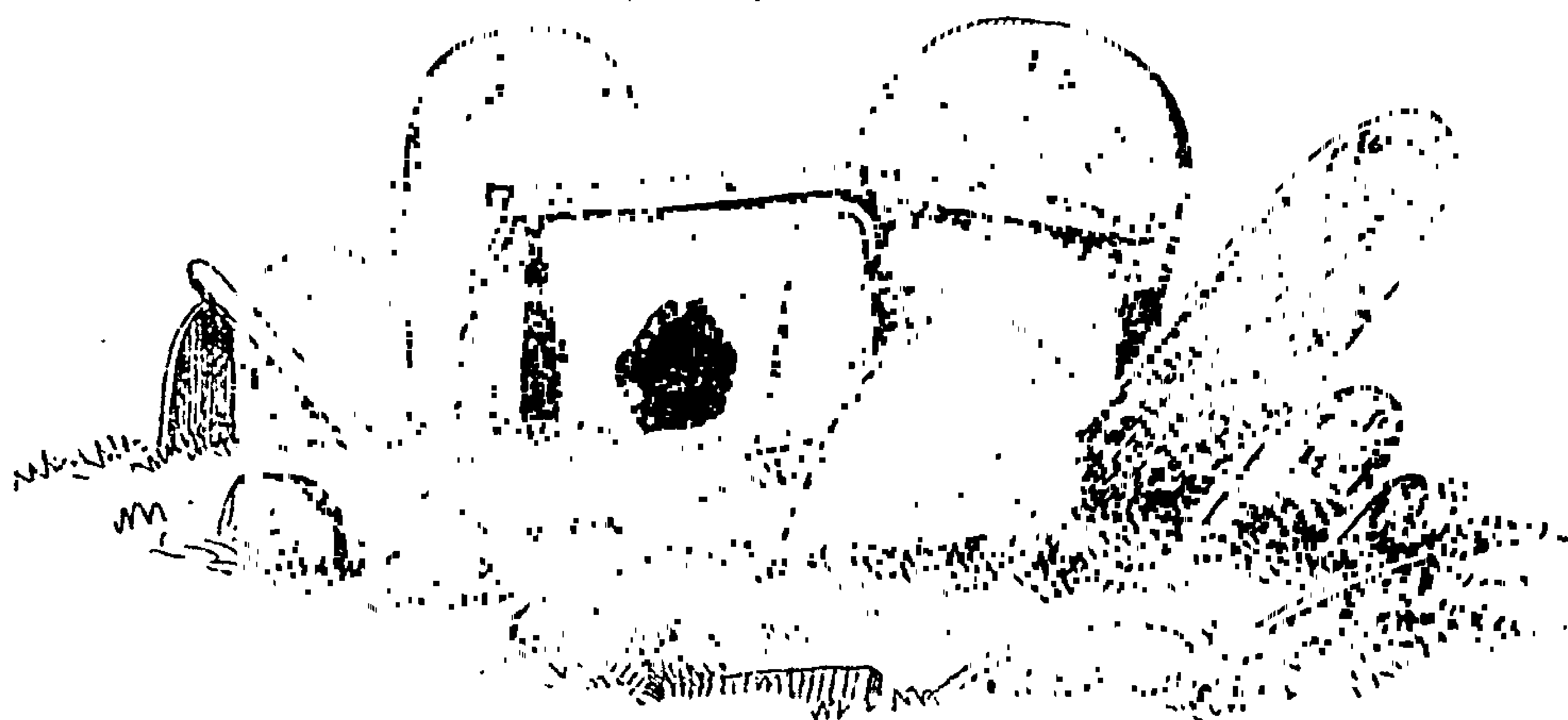
In the case of *fig.* 1 all the slabs on the N. E. side had been broken down or removed, the entrance hole roughly enlarged and a great portion of the projecting roof-slab overhanging the porch broken away.[3] The original deposit of earth had not been removed apparently, but was covered to a depth of several inches by the ashes of recent fires and the debris of comparatively recent cookery, &c. The whole of the soil by its looseness and admixture with ashes would seem to have been disturbed, for pottery of the obsolete kind usually found in these graves was only found in broken and scattered fragments, and the remains of an old human interment in the shape of fragments of human skull and other bones. In another sepulchre with only 5 or 6 inches of soil, little or nothing was found, except in a corner where a piece of the floor-slab was gone, and the space filled with a large deposit of the old pottery and bones. But the largest deposits were found in the smaller or middle-sized *kists*; several of which were full of interred pottery and human relics, generally accompanied by the many-legged terra-cotta coffers, some of which were highly ornamental with a chain pattern in festoons, dependent from projecting loops and hooks.

[2] One of the ruined kistvaens at Âneguttahaḷḷi has but one very small hole (3″ in diameter), and that is in the round-topped slab still standing on the *north* side of the chamber.

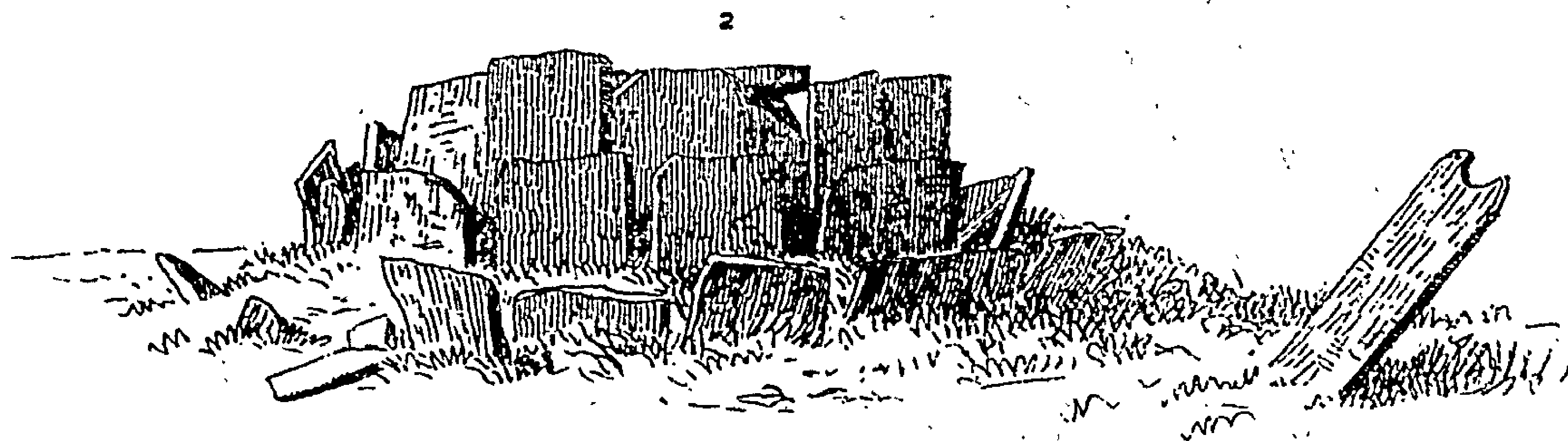
[3] The dimensions of this kistvaen were,—interior 10′ 7″ E. to W., 8′ 9″ N. to S., 8′ 5″ high. Capstone or roof-slab 15′ by 13′; entrance hole, in the east end, rudely enlarged to 3′ 6″ high by 2′ wide.

I. SLAB-STONE MONUMENTS AT ÍRALABANDA-BÁPANATTAM, N. ARKAT

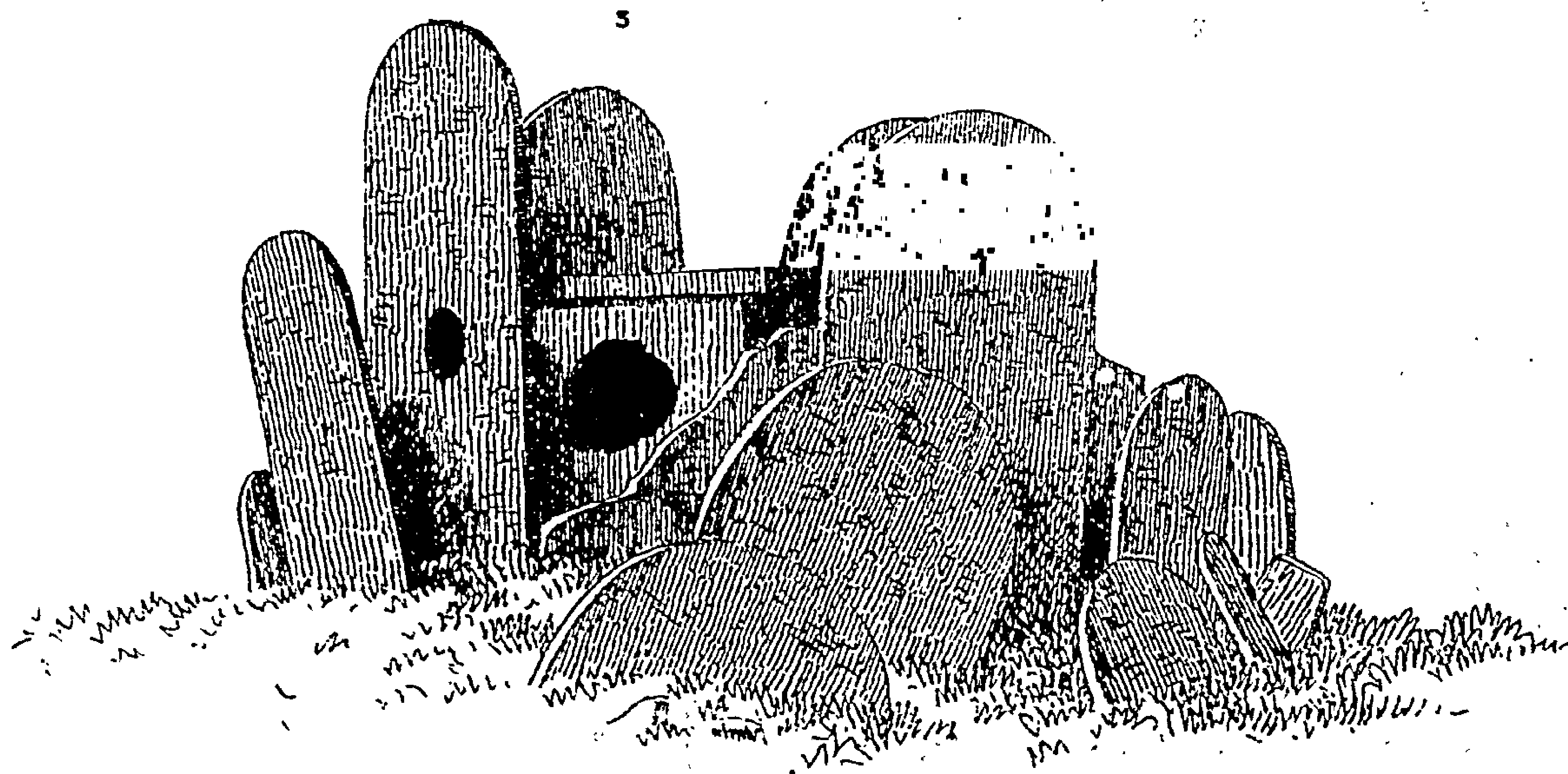
1



2

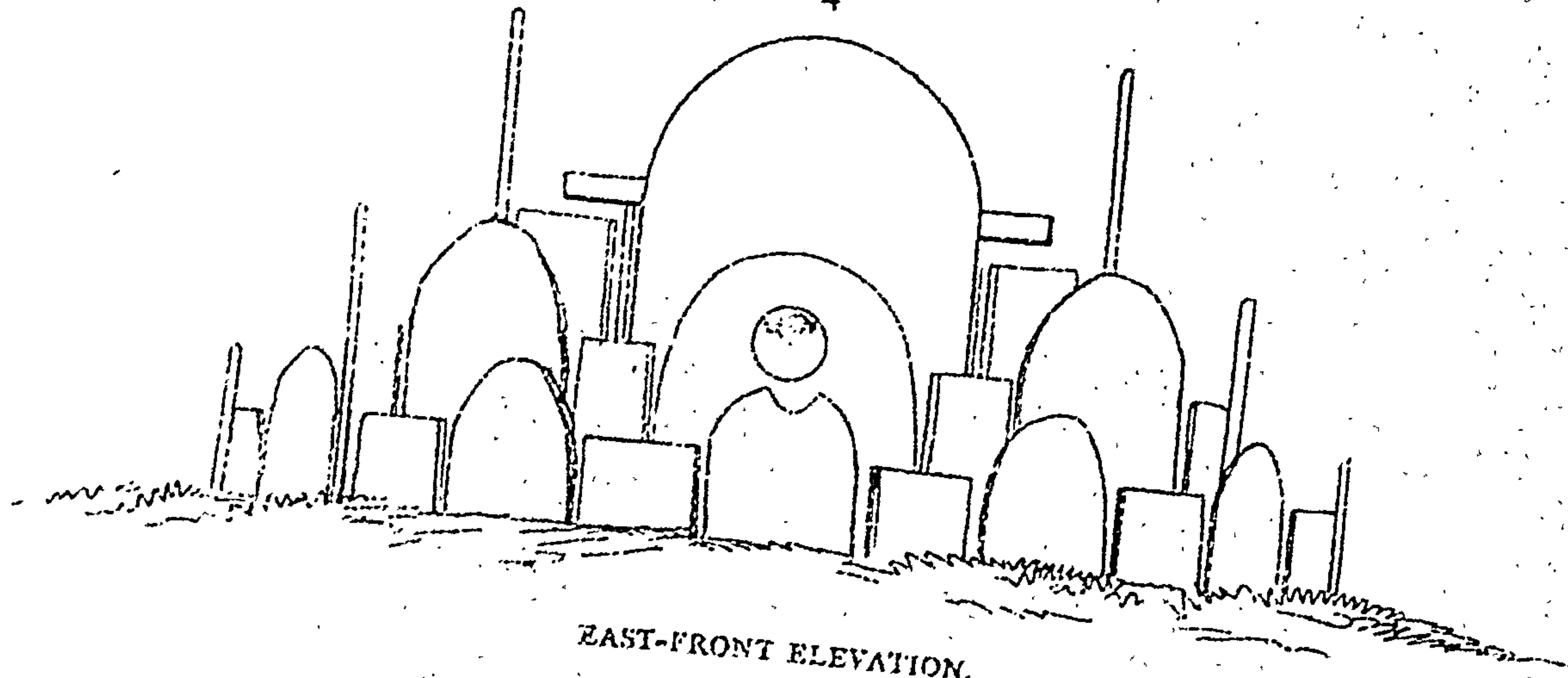


3

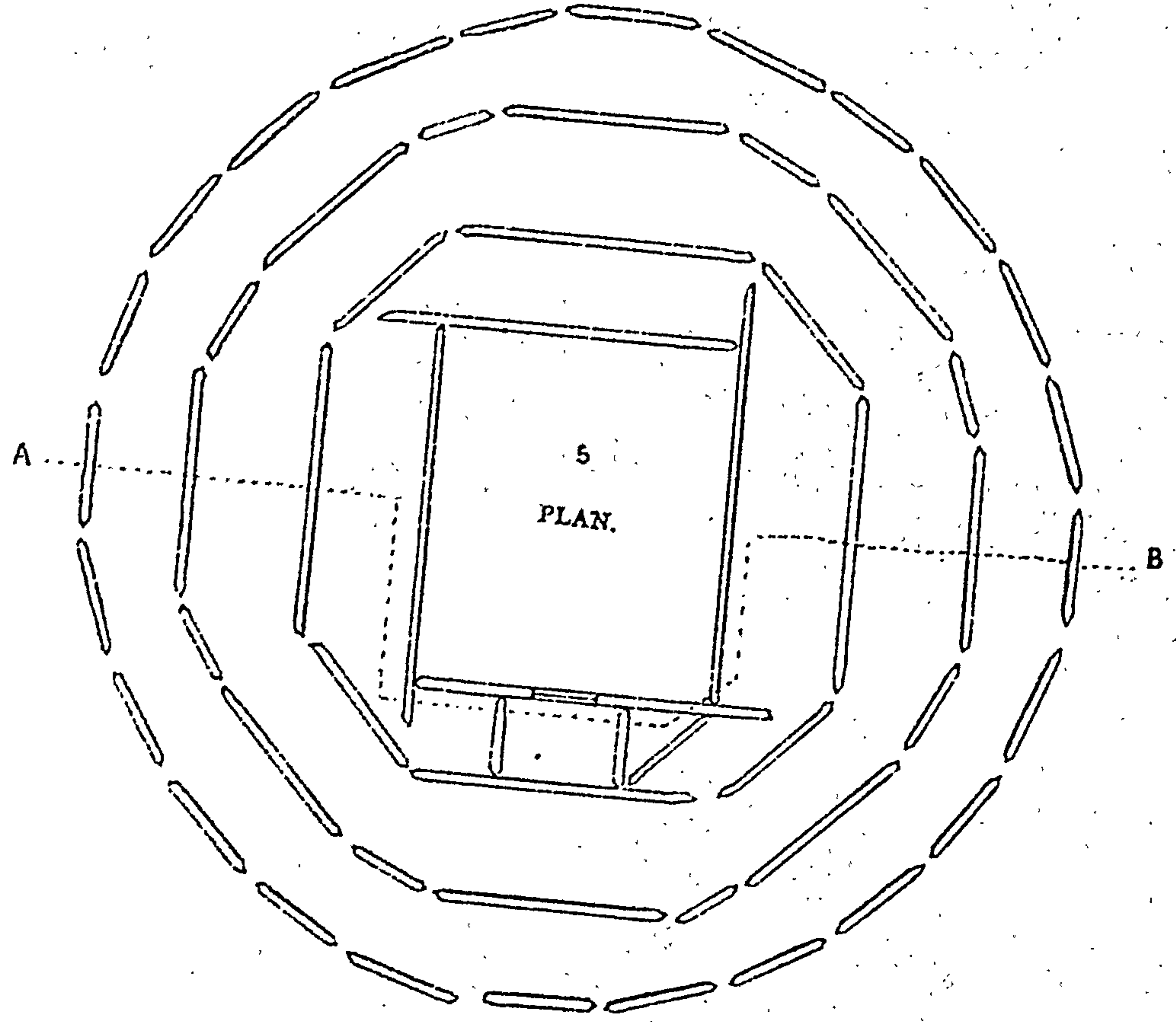


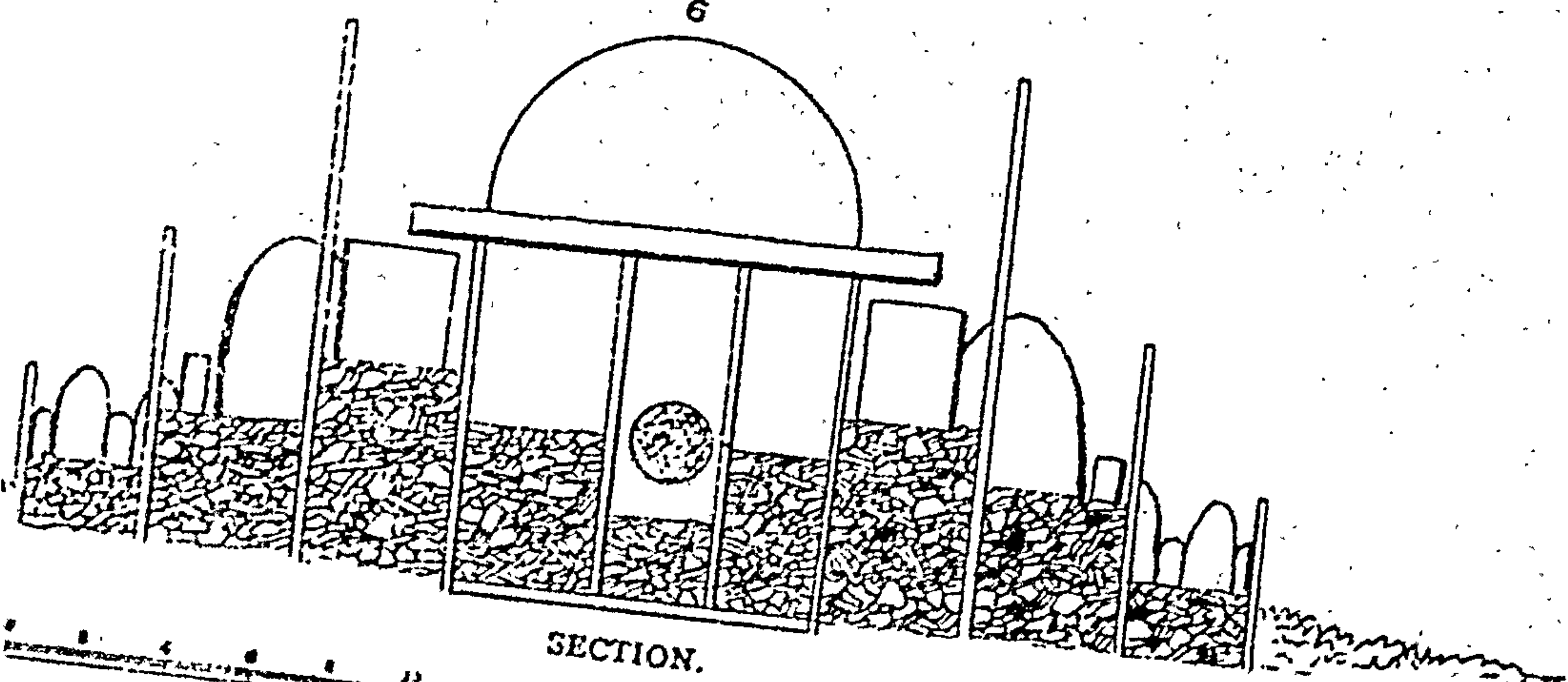
CAPT. G. STRAHAN R.E. DELT
FROM COL. BRANFILL'S SKETCHES.

II. SLAB-STONE MONUMENT AT ÍRALABANDA-BÁPANATTAM, N. ARKAT.
(RESTORED)



EAST-FRONT ELEVATION.





SECTION.

CAPT. C. STRAHAN R.E. DELT.

In a small unroofed *kist* tomb, half-full of solid earth, two of the terra-cotta many-legged troughs were found with pottery and bones as usual, and a few beads of a necklace lying on the floor-slab near the remains of a skull. All or nearly all the pottery was marked with the usual scratches, (the arrow point ⋀, the asterisk or double cross ✳, the two triangles ⋈, &c.), and amongst it was the fragment of a little bowl with some writing on it, apparently Tamil (சதுட)? "*Chathuṭ.*" I found no more writing here, but on some pieces of small pots taken from some stone circles near Old Ârkâṭ, a short time since I found some other scraps of writing. From the shape of the Tamil letters it appears that this writing can be of no great antiquity, three to five centuries perhaps.

In *fig.* 2 may be seen a stone slab standing in front (east) of a flat-topped slab-monument at the distance of a few yards. It has a rounded top with a curved notch in it. Several of these tall notched slabs are to be seen standing about, mostly single in front of the tombs, but here and there in groups, as if they had formed an enclosure from 20 to 30 feet in diameter. Two such circular enclosures remained almost complete, in one case of nine or ten flat-topped slabs about 6 feet high, 2 or 3 feet wide, and 2 or 3 inches thick, all of them notched in the middle of the top: the other of eight slabs, 7 feet high and 5 feet wide, with double notches on top of each. In both instances the tall slabs alternate with low flat-headed slabs which complete the circle. Another pair of large half-buried slabs shewed a projecting spike, tenon, or pivot point, one on the top of each, out of the centre.

The Îralabanḍa-Bâpanattam necropolis, or tomb-field, is on the highlands above the Eastern Ghâṭs, and in the Palmanêri tâluk of the North Ârkâṭ district. The spot is marked *Yerlabundah* on the Indian Atlas Sheet No. 78. It lies some 6 miles by bridle path, east from Baireḍḍipalle (viâ Nellipaṭla), whence there is a road to Palmanêri, 15 miles distant.

This is not the only necropolis of the kind, but perhaps the most interesting one yet brought to notice.

Ten or twelve miles to the S.S.W., at or near Nâyakanêri (*Naickenairy* of Ind. Atlas, sh. 78) is a group of two or three score of the same kind of slab-stone monuments, mentioned, with a sketch by Colonel Welsh in his *Military Reminiscences* (1830), an extract of which is given at p. 160 vol. V of the *Indian Antiquary* (May 1876). I sent messengers who had visited Îralabanḍa to examine and report upon the Nâyakanêri group. They state that the monuments at the latter are much like those at the former, only they are fewer and more ruined: also that the curves of the round-headed slabs were rather flatter than a semicircle.

When examining the extensive tomb-field at Sâvandurga, 23 miles west of Bengalûr, last summer (1879), I first noticed some single half-round slabs pierced with a hole, set up in front of some of the *kistvaens* there: and they seemed so singular that I enquired diligently for more, and sent messengers in search, having never heard or read any mention of them, or seen a sketch. After some time I heard of an extensive tomb-field with many of the round-headed slab-stone monuments still standing, and being very accessible, I visited it. The site is at Âneguṭṭahaḷḷi (*Elephant-rock-ville*), nearly four miles, or about an hour's walk, south from Tyâkal or Tekkal on the line of the Madras-Bengalûr Railway. I found a very extensive necropolis, but, as usual, most of the monuments have been destroyed by the country stonemasons. I saw no boulder circles, but all the tombs seem to have been of the round-topped slab-stone kind, only not quite so large as some of those at Îralabanḍa.

Most of the Âneguṭṭahaḷḷi *kistvaens* are vacant, but on opening one that seemed intact, it was found to contain an interment of human remains with a little pottery, and two of the many-legged terra-cotta coffers, of precisely the same kind as those found so frequently to the eastward in N. and South Ârkâṭ. I have not heard of any further west as yet. One peculiarity was—that a pan of incinerated fragments of human bones was found deposited in the porch immediately outside the entrance hole of the sepulchral chamber. There was the same scarcity of iron in the deposit that I noticed at Îralabanḍa.[4]

The fifth place where I have found this type of slab-stone monuments, is Govind-Reḍḍipalle near Gâzulapalle, some twelve miles

[4] Photographs of a few of the Îralabanda Bâpanattam monuments may be had from Girthari Lâl, Chintadripet, Madras; and of the Aneguttahaḷḷi monuments from Messrs. Orr and Barton, Bangalore.

N. W. from Chittûr, N. Ârkâṭ. I have not seen them, but my messengers report from ten to fifteen of the round-topped slab-monuments just like those described above.

A *sixth place* at which they are found is at Dêvanûr-Kollûr, near Tirukôvalûr on the Ponniyâr or South Pennâr River, discovered and described by Mr. J. H. Garstin, C.S.I. (see p. 159, vol. V, *Ind. Ant.*, May 1876); and I have heard of a few others in the wild hill country between Maisûr, Sêlam, and North Ârkâṭ.

ANCIENT PALM-LEAF MSS. LATELY ACQUIRED FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY.

BY DR. F. KIELHORN, DECCAN COLLEGE, PUNA.

After some months of hard work I am enabled to give a short account of the collection of ancient palm-leaf MSS., which it has been my good fortune lately to acquire for the Government of Bombay. It has not been an altogether easy task to reduce to something like order more than 12,000 leaves which for hundreds of years have been hidden away unread and uncared for, and so to arrange them as to make the works which they contain generally accessible and useful to my fellow-workers; but the result has amply repaid any little trouble which has been undergone.

The collection will be particularly welcome to those who specially devote their energies to the elucidation of the history of the Jain religion, but it also contains some works which are sure to interest Sanskrit scholars generally. Its acquisition gives rise to the hope that the liberality of the Government of India will enable us to continue the examination of the ancient libraries of this country which has already yielded most valuable and unhoped-for results.

There are several works in the collection which hitherto were either unknown or of which only imperfect copies were accessible, but what renders these MSS. specially valuable, and the one point in which they excel all MSS. of the principal European Libraries, is their great antiquity. The oldest MS. of the Berlin Library is dated Saṁvat 1435 (A.D. 1378), and I cannot be far wrong in saying that the London and Oxford Libraries contain few MSS. written before the 16th century. Those of the palm-leaf MSS. which are dated give the years when they were written as stated below, and there is evidence to prove that those which contain no dates were written about the same time, viz., from six to eight hundred years ago. The dates actually given are:—

Saṁvat 1138 = A.D. 1081.

Saṁvat 1145 and 46 = A.D. 1088 and 89; during the reign of Karnadeva.

Saṁvat 1179 = A.D. 1122; during the reign of Jayasingha.

Saṁvat 119-(?) = between A.D. 1133 and 42.

Saṁvat 1218 = A.D. 1161; during the reign of Kumârapâla.

Saṁvat ? = ? during the reign of Bhîmadeva.

Saṁvat 1294 = A.D. 1237.

Saṁvat 1300 = A.D. 1243.

Saṁvat 1304 = A.D. 1247.

Saṁvat 1315 = A.D. 1258.

Saṁvat 1332 = A.D. 1275.

Saṁvat 1340 = A.D. 1283.

Saṁvat 1342 = A.D. 1285.

Kaliyuga 4398 = A.D. 1297; during the reign of Râmachandradevâ.

Saṁvat 1359 = A.D. 1302.

Reserving for my Report to Government any further remarks I may have to offer and a more accurate description of the MSS., I now proceed to give the titles of the works which they contain, together with the names of the authors, where they are mentioned, and the number of leaves of each MS:—

1. *Anekârthasaṁgraha* by Hemachandra; 99 ll.
2. *Âchâraniryukti*; 32 ll.
3. *Uttarâdhyayanasûtra*; 64 ll.; Saṁvat 1342.
4. The same; 175 ll.; Saṁvat 1332.
5. The same, incomplete; 134 ll.
6. *Uttarâdhyayanasûtravṛitti subodhâ*; 394 ll.; 12,000 Gr.; Saṁvat 1342.
7. *Upadeśakandalivṛitti* by Bâlachandra; fragments of 250 ll.
8. *Upamitabhavaprapanchâ Kathâ*; 355 ll.
9. *Ṛishidattâcharita* by Guṇapâla; 155 ll.; written during the reign of Bhîmadeva.
10. *Ohasamâyârî*; 110 ll.; 1162 Gâthâs.
11. *Kandaliṭippana*; fragments of 150 ll.

12. *Karmastavaṭîkâ* by Govindagaṇi; 47 ll.; Saṁvat 1179.

13. *Kalpachûrṇi*, on the Bṛihatkalpasûtra; 281 ll.; 16000 Gr.; Saṁvat 1218, during the reign of Kumârapâla.

14. *Kalpasûtra*; 130 ll.

15. *Kavidarpaṇavṛitti*, incomplete; 85 ll.

16. *Kshetrasamâsa* of Jinabhadragaṇi-kshamâśramaṇa, with commentary by Malayagiri; 283 ll.

17. *Gaüḍavaha*, Kairâyalaṁchhaṇassa Vappairâyassa; 111 ll.

18. *Chaturthopângatṛitîyapadasaṁgrahaṇî* by Abhayadevasûri; 17 ll.

19. *Chaityavandanakulavṛitti* by Jinakuśalasûri, incomplete; 169 ll.

20. *Chaityavandanasûtravṛitti lalitavistarâ* by Haribhadra; leaves 60-143, and fragments.

21. *Lalitavistarâpanjikâ* by Śrîmunichandrasûri; 249 ll.

22. *Chaulukyavaṁśa Dvyâśrayamahâkâvya*, in 20 Sargas, by Hemachandra; with marginal notes; 189 ll.

23. *Jîtakalpachûrṇi* by Siddhasena; 85 ll.

24. *Jîtavyavahârasûtra* with Vivaraṇa; 79 ll.

25. *Jainendravyâkaraṇa-śabdârṇavachandrikâ* by Somadeva; incomplete; 280 ll.

26. *Jyotisharatnakośa* by Lalla, the son of Bhaṭṭa Trivikrama; 200 ll.

27. *Tâtparyapariśuddhi* by Udayana; incomplete; 240 ll.

28. The same; fragments of 100 ll.

29. *Damayantîkathâ* by Trivikramabhaṭṭa; with marginal notes; 179 ll.

30. The same; 76 ll.; last leaf missing.

31. *Dvâtriṁśaddvâtriṁśikâ*; 90 ll.; 830 Gr.

32. *Narapatijayacharyâ*; 111 ll.

33. *Nâmalingânuśâsana* by Amarasiṁha; 118 ll.; Kaliyuga 4398, during the reign of Râmachandradeva.

34. *Niśîthasûtra*; 15 ll.; Saṁvat 1145.

35. *Niśîthasûtrachûrṇi viśeshanâmnî*, Uddeśakas XIV-XX, by Jinadâsagaṇi, and *Bhâshya*; 415 ll.; Saṁvat 1145 and 46, during the reign of Karṇadeva.

36. *Niśîthasûtrachûrṇi viśeshanâmnî*, Udd. I-X, by Jinadâsagaṇi; 326 ll.; Saṁvat 1359.

37. The same, Udd. XI-XX; 353 ll.; Saṁvat 1294.

38. *Naishadhacharita* by Śrîharsha, Sargas I-XII; 179 ll.

39. *Nyâyapraveśaṭîkâ* by Haribhadra, incomplete; 51 ll.

40. *Panchavastuka*; 97 ll.; 1700 Gâthâs; Saṁvat 1179.

41. *Panjikâdurgapadaprabodha*, a commentary on Trilochanadâsa's Kâtantravṛittivivaraṇapanjikâ, by Jinaprabodhasûri; 232 ll.

42. *Pâkshikasûtravṛitti* by Yaśodevasûri; ll. 1-157 and 170-189.

43. *Piṇḍaniryukti*; 61 ll.

44. *Piṇḍaniryuktivṛitti śishyahitâ* by Vîragaṇi; 226 ll.

45. *Piṇḍaviśuddhiprakaraṇavṛitti* by Yaśodevasûri; 142 ll.; Saṁvat 1300.

46. *Prajnâpanapradeśavyâkhyâ* by Haribhadra; 97 ll.

47. *Pramâṇanayatattvâlokâlaṁkâra*; fragments of 100 ll.

48. *Moharâjaparâjayanâṭaka* (in honour of Kumârapâla) by Yaśaḥpâla; 105 ll.

49. *Yogaśâstravṛitti*; 150 ll. much damaged.

50. The same; 300 ll. much damaged.

51. *Rudraṭakâvyâlaṁkâraṭippanaka* by (Śvetâmbara) Nami; 199 ll.

52. *Vârttikaṭippana* (Nyâya); 150 ll. damaged.

53. *Vichârasâra* by Jinavallabhagaṇi; 128 ll.

54. *Viśeshâvaśyakabhâshya*; 131 ll.

55. *Viśeshâvaśyakabhâshyaṭîkâ* by Koṭyâchârya; 341 ll.; 13700 Gr.; Saṁvat 1138.

56. *Viśeshâvaśyakavṛitti śishyahitâ*; 345 ll.; Saṁvat 119—(?).

57. *Śatakavṛitti* by Hemachandra; 198 ll.

58. *Śabdasiddhi*, a gloss on Durgasiṁha's Com. on the Kâtantra, by Mahâdeva, the son of Dhundhuka; 177 ll.; Saṁvat 1340.

59. *Śabdânuśâsana*, with *Vṛitti*, by Malayagiri; incomplete; 288 ll. Related to the Śâkaṭâyana-vyâkaraṇa; composed under Kumârapâla.

60. *Śabdânuśâsana-laghuvṛitti*, Adhy. I, 1–III, 2, by Hemachandra; 137 ll.; Saṁvat 1315.

61 The same; 141 ll.

62. *Śabdânuśâsanavṛitti*, Adhy. I, 1–II, 1, by Hemachandra; 178 ll.; much damaged.

63. *Śântinâthacharita*, a Mahâkâvya by Mâṇikyachandra; incomplete; 300 ll.

64. *Śrâvakapratikramaṇavṛitti*, incomplete; 32 ll.; Saṁvat 1179.

rubies, and having set up its silver umbrella, gave the field called Maṅgalulle, (*of the measure of*) eight hundred. May he, who destroys this (*grant*), be guilty of the five great sins!

No. XCV.

The accompanying inscription[5] is on the front or north face of another pillar, which also is an integral part of the building, on the west side of the door in the same porch. There is very possibly a similar inscription on the front face of the corresponding pillar on the east side of the door; but it is blocked up by a more modern pillar built up in front of it to support the beam and bracket of the roof.

The writing covers a space of 1′ 11½″ high by 1′ 11″ broad. The inscription is cut in the same bold and deep letters, with the edges rounded off, as the two inscriptions in the eastern gateway of the temple of Virûpâksha at Paṭṭadakal.[6] The language is Old-Canarese; but I cannot translate the whole inscription, nor have I been able to obtain a translation of it from any one else. It appears, however, that the pillar was a votive offering of a certain Puṭṭimaṇinâga; and the inscription mentions a *Mahâsâmanta*, or Great Chieftain, named Ereve, who seems to have issued some edict, regarding the pillar or the temple, to the guild of the One-thousand-nine-hundred-and-sixty-six.

Transcription.

[1] Puṭṭimaṇinâga-kambhaṁga ja-
[2] gatuṁ(ttuṁ)ga neladanti danteyde
[3] âddo(?ḷdo)n=a(â?)taṁg=ishṭanâ sâha-
[4] yan=Ereve-mahâsâmanta-
[5] n=uttamagaḷḷa goppe puṭṭidobir=a-
[6] grahâram(?) tala-viḍidu kaḷegado
[7] kiṭṭi sâsirad=o[ṁ*]bayi-nû(nû)ṟa â[ṟa*]vata(tta)
[8] aṟuvara iṟidoppa(? ḷpa) prakaṭisi-
[9] dân [||*]

No. XCVI.

The accompanying inscription[7] is on the east face of a pillar inside the same temple. This pillar is a later addition, built up in front of the original pillar to support the bracket and beam of the roof. Opposite to it there is a similar double pillar, on which there is a Canarese inscription of one line of eleven letters near the top, and another of four lines of about eight letters each lower down; neither of them is of any historical importance.

The inscription now published covers a space of 2′ 8¾″ high by 2′ 6½″ broad. It is an Old-Canarese inscription, recording a grant made to the temple by the *Mahâsâmanta* Bappuvarasa in Śaka 856 (A. D. 934-5), the Jaya *saṁvatsara*. From the inscription, he seems to have been the ruler of the country of Kaṭaka, or Cuttack. Who the Gôpâla mentioned in this inscription was, I am not at present able to say.

The inscription is unfinished. It was probably intended to record the name of the engraver of it; but, for some reason or other, it breaks off quite abruptly.

Transcription.

[1] Svasti Samadhigata-pañchamahâśabda-ma-
[2] hâsâmanta ratn-âvaḷôkaṁ raṇa-dhura-
[3] dhavaḷaṁ Kaṭaka-divâkaran=ujja(jjva)la-Chandrama-
[4] yyagaḷa mallaṁ vîra-Gôpâḷa-drôhara sanni-
[5] pâta kiṟiya-Bhairava pratyanta-mârtta-
[6] ṇḍa śrîmat(d-) Ba(-ba)ppuvarasa(sar=) Ssa(=śa)kanṟipakâḷ-âtîta-
[7] sa[ṁ]vatsara-śataṁgaḷ=eṇtu-nu(nû)ṟa ayivatta
[8] âṟaneya Jaya-sa[ṁ]vatsarada Kârtta(rtti)-
[9] ka su(śu)ddha pañchamiyuṁ Budhavârad-andu[ṁ] ma-
[10] gudake vandu Nandikêsa(śva)ra-mu(mû)-nellu-ge-
[11] yvaṁ koṭṭa[ru*] [||*] Sindara magaḷ=Nî-
[12] jabbeya maga

[5] *P., S., and O.-C., Inscriptions*, No. 51.
[6] *P., S., and O.-C., Inscriptions*, Nos. 58 and 59.
[7] *P., S., and O.-C., Inscriptions*, No. 52.

ON TWO PILLARS IN THE PORCH OF THE TEMPLE OF MAHAKUTA, AT BADAMI.

...ONS BY J. F. FLEET, BO. C. S.

W. Griggs Photo lith, London.

ON A PILLAR INSIDE THE TEMPLE OF MAHAKUTA, AT BADAMI.

FROM AN IMPRESSION BY J. F. FLEET, BO. C. S.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITHO, LONDON

Translation.

Hail! On Wednesday the fifth day of the bright fortnight of (*the month*) Kârttika of the Jaya *saṁvatsara*, which was the eight hundred and fifty-sixth (*year*) of the centuries of years that had expired in the era of the Śaka king,—the glorious Bappuvarasa,—the *Mahâsâmanta*, who had attained the five *mahâśabdas*; he whose glances were (*as bright*) as jewels; he who was famous in the van of war; he who was the sun of (*the country of*) Kaṭaka; he who was the hero of the resplendent Chandramayyas (?); he who was a very Bhairava on a minor scale to the assemblage of the enemies of the brave Gôpâḷa; he who was a very sun to the neighbouring countries,—came to the temple[8] and bestowed three rice-fields at (*the village of*) Nandikêśvara.

(L. 11).—The son of Nijabbe, who was the daughter of Sinda, . . .

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF AŚOKA.

BY PANDIT BHAGWÂNLÂL INDRAJI.

The labours of learned Oriental scholars such as Prinsep, Wilson, Burnouf, Kern, and others, have thrown considerable light on the rock inscriptions of Aśoka. Owing, however, to the very scanty and insufficient means at their command, the translation of these important records has been performed in so incomplete a way that they still afford a field for the investigation of our best scholars. If these inscriptions were carefully re-examined and re-translated in a systematic way, I have no doubt they would furnish interesting and as yet unexpected results bearing upon the language and palæography of different provinces of India, as well as on the history and religion prevailing in the time of Aśoka.

The necessity of re-examining these ancient records arises from the fact that the facsimiles made hitherto are more or less erroneous, and consequently cannot be thoroughly depended on for the purposes of deducing such results as might be gathered from them. Even the lithographed copies published with so much care and trouble in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* by the able and experienced scholar and archæologist General A. Cunningham are not of a quite satisfactory character, although, in justice to the learned author, it must be admitted that they are far better than those which preceded them, and that they form the first collection of all these records in one volume, neatly printed and easy of reference.

For purposes of re-investigating these inscriptions, I think the Girnâr inscription should be taken in hand first, because it is in splendid condition, from its being deeply engraved on a fine close-grained and smooth stone. It is, however, much to be regretted that a portion of it, which contained the very valuable and long edict No. XIII, has been broken off, and nearly three-quarters of the edict carried away. After this inscription, two others, one at Kâlsi and the other the Bactro-Pâli inscription at Kapure-di-garhî, should be examined. Both of these are also in very good preservation and complete, notwithstanding their being slightly injured by the effect of time and weather on the shallow cutting and rough surface of the stones on which they are engraved. They are indeed in such a condition that any one practised in reading such inscriptions and acquainted with their language can trace out every letter in them with considerable ease and accuracy. The Girnâr inscription would serve at the same time as an aid in some doubtful parts. After these, the remaining two inscriptions at Jaugaḍâ and Dhauli should be gone through. These inscriptions, although they are much broken, would be of service in assisting the work of investigation, for the portions of them that still remain intact are in excellent preservation.

It may be mentioned here that the edict No. XIII, which has almost altogether disappeared in the Girnâr inscription, is fortunately in a very satisfactory condition in both the Kâlsi and Kapure-di-garhî inscriptions, and thus the most valuable information it contains is left us, which otherwise would have been quite lost. But we are as yet quite in the dark regarding it, for no translation of any value has been

[8] Lit., 'to the tiara (*of the god*).' Or, perhaps, *maguḍa* is here a corruption of *mahâkûṭa*.

attempted with the exception of an incomplete one given by Prinsep.

In this edict, King Aśoka, in the eighth year of his reign, expressed his mingled feelings of sorrow and joy, sorrow at the bloodshed of a hundred thousand of his warriors and of an equal number of those of his opponents in the battlefield, and of joy at the glorious victory he achieved in religious matters in his newly-conquered kingdom of Kalinga. He valued his achievement of religious success more than his political victory. He mentions with the greatest satisfaction that Antioko, the Yavana king, who resided in a far-off country, lying at a distance of 800 yojanas, and his four tributary kings, as well as other kings of surrounding Indian countries, followed the precepts of his religion.

The two separate edicts in the Jaugadâ and Dhauli inscriptions also have not been correctly translated as yet, and the translations of other edicts are incomplete.

I give below, as an example, a transcript and translation of the first edict. This transcript was made by me after a careful personal examination of texts on their respective spots.

I think it proper here to draw attention to an important fact in Indian Palæography, which we obtain from the Girnâr inscription, in regard to the compound letters, more especially those compounded with *ra*.[1] It must be observed that the Indian alphabet is first presented to us in the Girnâr inscription and among the Aśoka records. In it the letter *ra* is always represented with a zigzag or wavy vertical line thus and when any other letter is joined with it, this is done by giving a zigzag form to the straight line of the said letter, as we see in the following instances:—

kra in the word *parâkrama* (edict vi, line 14).
tra ,, ,, *sarvatra* (ed. ii, lines 3 & 6), and also in other places.
pra ,, ,, *prajuhitavyam* (edict i, line 3).
pra ,, ,, *pratipati* (edict iv, line 2).
prâ ,, ,, *prâṇi* (edict i, line 9).
pri ,, ,, *priyo,priyadasi* &c., (ed. i, l. i, &c.)
pru in the word *pruvam* (edict iv, line 4).
brâ ,, ,, *brâhamana* (ed. iv, lines 2 & 6).
vra ,, ,, *vrachha* (edict ii, line 8).
sra ,, ,, *sramaṇ* (edict iv, line 1).
srâ ,, ,, *sahasrâṇi* (edict i, line 9).

From this it will be seen that this system of joining letters together is irregular and quite distinct from that in use in the Western India Cave inscriptions, which are of a period subsequent to this. The system observed in later times was to join the letters according to the order of pronunciation. But this is not the case in the Girnâr inscription. The method observed therein seems to be simply that of joining letters in the manner that seemed most convenient for the purpose without regard to the order of their succession in pronunciation. Thus we have *rva* and *vra* in the words *sarvatra* and *vrachhâ* written in the same way.

Again, this want of system is not confined to the compound of other letters with *ra*, but prevails universally in all compound letters; as for instance, in writing *vya* in *vyâptâ* and *vyanjanato*, it is put together thus , which in the usual way according to the later system would be read *yva*. This is also the case in respect to *sta* in the words *tistanto* and others. From these examples, however, it should not be inferred that the system has always inverted the order of the consonants; in several cases they are correctly combined as *pta* in the word *vyâptâ*, *sta* in *asti*, and *dva* in *dvâdasa*, &c.

This extraordinary mode of combining consonants leads us to think of two questions, viz., (1) whether it was owing to the alphabet being only newly introduced when the inscriptions were engraved, or (2) whether it was merely a mistake on the part of the writers. The latter, however, does not seem to be the cause, for we know that so important a task as that of engraving such religious edicts must have been entrusted as usual to some minister of religion, (Dharma Mahâmâtras,) by King Aśoka, and so it is highly improbable that such mistakes as these could have escaped his notice.

[1] M. Senart has already pointed this out, *ante* vol. IX, p. 285; but the Pandit's discovery is quite independent, as he drew my attention to it some years ago, and had the materials of this paper then ready. Even the English MS. of this was sent to the press early in October last, but owing to a press of other matter the printing of it has been delayed. M. Senart and Pandit Bhagwanlal are thus independent discoverers, but M. Senart has had the priority in publication. The Pandit's facsimile of the first edict from Kapure-di-garhî is a most important addition to our knowledge.—Ed.

Transcript and comparison of the first Edict of Aśoka's rock inscriptions at Girnâr, Kâlsi, and Kapure-di-garhî.

Girnâr.	*Kâlsi.*	*Kapure-di-garhî.*
[1] इयं धंमलीपी देवानं प्रियेन	[1] इयं धंमलिपि देवानं पियेना	[1] अयं ध्रमलिपि देवानं प्रिअस
[2] प्रियदसिना राञा लेखापिता इध न किं-	पियदसिना लेखिता हिदा न कि-	रञो लिखापिता हिदा नो कि-
[3] चि जीवं आरभित्पा प्रजूहितव्यं	छि जिवे अलभितु पजुहितवियॆ	चि जिवे [आरभिता] प्रयेह्यतवे
[4] नच समाजो कतव्यो बहुकं हि दोसं	[2] नो पि च समाजे कटवियॆ बहुका हि दोसा	नो पि च समाजा कटवा बहुका हि दोषा
[5] समाजह्मि पसति देवानं प्रियो प्रियदसि राजा	समाजसि देवानं पियॆ पियदसि लाज देखति	समायस देवानं प्रियो प्रियद्रशि राया देखति
[6] अस्ति पितुए कचा समाजा साधुमता देवानं	अथि पिचाए कतिया समाजा साधुमता देवानं	[2] अठि पिचाअ कतिआ समाये सेस्तमते देवानं
[7] प्रियस प्रियदसिनो राञो पुरा महानसम्हि	पियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने [3] पुले महानसंसि	प्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रञो पुरे महान-[स]सि
[8] देवानं प्रियसा प्रियदसिनो राञो अनुदिवसं ब-	देवानं पियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने अनुदिवसं ब-	देवानं प्रियस प्रिअद्रशिस रञो अनुदिवसो ब-
[9] हूनि प्राणिसतसहस्रानि आरभिसु सूपाथाय	हुनि पानसहसानि अलभियिसु सुपथाय	हुनि प्रा[णश]तसहंसानि. . . . . सुपात्थाय
[10] से अज यदा अयं धमलीपी लिखिता ती एव प्रा-	से इदानिं यदा इयं धमलिपि लेखिता तदा तिनि येव पा-	से इदानि यदा अयं [3] ध्रमनिपि लिखिता तदा त्र[ये]व प्रा-
[11] णा आरभरे सूपाथाय द्वो मोरा एको मगो सोपि	नानि आलभियति [4] दुवे मजुले एके मिगे सेपि ये	णा हंञते मजुरा दुवि २ म्रुगो १ सोपि
[12] मगो न ध्रुवो एते पि ती प्राणा पछा न आरभिसंदे.	मिगे नो धुवे एतानि पिच तिनि पानानि नो अलभियिसति	म्रुगो न ध्रुव एता पि प्राणत्रयो पचा न आरभिशति.

Sanskrit.

Girnâr.	*Kâlsi.*	*Kapure-di-garhî.*
इयं धर्मलीपी देवानां प्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा लेखिता इह न क-	इयं धर्मलिपिर्देवानां प्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना लेखिता ऽत्र न क-	इयं धर्मलिपिर्देवानां प्रियस्य राज्ञो लेखिता ऽत्र नो क-
श्चित् जीवं आलभ्य प्रहोतव्यं	श्चित् जीव आलभ्य प्रहोतव्यः	श्चित् जीव आलभ्य प्रहोतव्यः
नच समाजः कर्त्तव्यो बहुकं हि दोषं	नो आपि च समाजः कर्त्तव्यः बहुका हि दोषाः	नो आपि च समाजाः कर्त्तव्या बहुका हि दोषाः
समाजे पश्यति देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा	समाजे देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा पश्यति	समाजस्य देवानां प्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा पश्यति
अस्ति[2] पित्रा[3] कृताः समाजाः साधुमता देवानां	अस्ति[2] पित्रा[3] कृताः समाजाः साधुमता देवानां	अस्ति[2] पित्रा[3] कृताः समाजा श्रेष्ठमता देवानां

[2] According to Sanskrit rule, the verb *asti*, which is in the singular number, and governed by the nominative *samâjâ*, which is in the plural, should also be plural, *santi*; but when it is taken as *avcyaya*, it does not change its form in plural. So in this case it is probably used as such.

[3] *Pitue* (Sanskrit Petuhu) is in the 6th case, but in Sanskrit it is not in general use; according to the Sanskrit rule it ought to be in the third case, as *Pitrâ Kritâ*. However in all Prakrita dialects which have taken root from the Sanskrit, the practice of using 6th case in such matters is very common.

प्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनो राज्ञः । पुरा महानसे	प्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनो राज्ञः । पुरा महानसे	प्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनो राज्ञः । पुर महानसे
देवानां प्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनो राज्ञो ऽनुदिवसं ब-	देवानां प्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनो राज्ञो ऽनुदिवसं ब-	देवानां प्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनो राज्ञो ऽनुदिवसं ब-
हूनि प्राणिशतसहस्राण्यालप्सुः सूपार्थाय	हूनि प्राणिशतसहस्राण्यालप्सुः सूपार्थाय	हूनि प्राणिशतसहस्राण्यालप्सुः सूपार्थाय
तदद्य यदेयं धर्मलीपी लिखिता त्रय एव प्रा-	तदिदानीं यदेयं धर्मलिपिर्लिलिता तदा त्रीनेव प्रा-	तदिदानीं यदेयं धर्मलिपिर्लेखिता तदा त्रय एव प्रा-
णा नालभ्यन्ते सूपार्थाय द्वौ मयूरावेको मृगः सोपि	णा नालंभयति द्वौ मयूरावेको मृगः सोपि यो	णा हन्यन्ते मयूरौ द्वौ २ मृगः १ सोपि
मृगो न ध्रुवः एतेपि त्रयः प्राणाः पश्चान्नालप्स्यन्ते	मृगो न ध्रुवः एतेपि च त्रयः प्राणा नो आलभयिष्यन्ते	मृगो न ध्रुवः एतदपि प्राणित्रयं पश्चान्नालप्स्यते

Translation.

This edict of religion is caused to be written here by King Piyadasi[4] (*Priyadarśi*), beloved of the gods. No[5] rite of making burnt offerings is to be performed by putting to death living beings and no convivial meetings should be held. King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, certainly perceives much evil[6] in convivial meetings. Convivial meetings held by (*the*) father of King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, are believed to be unobjectionable (*by him*). Formerly several hundreds of thousands of animals were slaughtered daily in the kitchens of King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, for the sake of soup, but now, when this edict of religion is written, only three animals are killed for the sake of soup, two peacocks and one deer; the deer, however, not always. These three animals, even, shall not be killed hereafter.

Remarks.

In the Girnâr inscription the word *lipî* is written with *î* long, and the adjective *iyam* prefixed to it is in the feminine gender, as in the words *Iyam dhama-lipi*, but further on, in the same edict, this adjective is put in the masculine, in the words *yadâ ayam dhama-lipi*. This circumstance shows that the word *lipî* was used both in the feminine and in the masculine genders in the Saurâshṭra dialect, while throughout the Kâlsi inscription the word is used only in the feminine gender, and in the Kapure-di-garhî one it is masculine throughout.

The title *Devânâmpiya* or *Priya* means "beloved of the gods," but it was usually applied to great kings in early times. It was also, it appears, used as a common name for kings, as is the case in Edict VIII of the Kâlsi inscription. It occurs in the Girnâr inscription thus: *Atikântaṁ antaraṁ Râjâno vihârayâtâm ñeyâsu, i.e.* "from long time ago kings were going out on pleasure trips;" for which in the Kâlsi inscription we read *Atikantaṁ aṁtalaṁ devânaṁpiyâ vihâla yâtâm nikhamisu*, meaning "since long ago, Devânampiyas were going out on pleasure trips." In some of the *Sûtras* of the Jainas, we find the title *Devânupiya* used for great kings, which is no doubt a corruption of the word *Devânaṁpriya*. In the *Uvâi* (Sans. *Aupapâtika*) *Sûtra* this title is applied to the name of king Konika, son of Bimbisâra or Śrenika, thus:—

चंपाए नयरीए मझं मझेणं जेणेव कोणियस्स रण्णो गिहे जेणेव वाहिरिया उवट्ठाणसाला जेणेव कूणिए राया भिंभसारपुत्ते तेणेव उवागच्छित्ता करयल परिग्गहियं सिरसावत्तं मत्थए अंजलिं कट्टु जएणं विजएणं वद्धावेइ २ एवं वयासि। जस्सणं देवाणुप्पिया दंसण कंखंति, जस्सणं देवाणुप्पिया दंसणं पीहंति, जस्सणं देवानुप्पिया दंसणं पत्थेति, जस्सणं देवाणुप्पिया दसणं अभिसंसंति — — — — सेणं समणे भगवं महावीरे पुव्वाणु पुव्विं चरमाणे गामाणुगामिं दुइज्जमाणे चंपाए णयरिए उववणगरग्गामं उवागत्ते.

In place of "the king beloved of the gods," as

[4] This passage is written differently in the Kapure-di-garhî inscription thus:—*Ayaṁ dhram-lipi devânam priasa raño likhâpitâ hidâ.* "This edict of religion of king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, is caused to be written, &c.," which may either mean that it is caused to be written by king Piyadasi himself, or by somebody else as a meritorious deed of the king during his lifetime or subsequently.

[5] In the Girnâr inscription this phrase is as translated above, while in the Kâlsi and Kapure-di-garhî ones it is changed thus, in Kâlsi: *Na kichhî jive âlabhitu pajuhitaviye,*" and in Kapure-di-garhî: *no kichi jive arabhita praychyatave*—" no burnt offerings of living beings should be made by putting them to death."

[6] In the Girnâr inscription "evil" is in the singular number, while both in the Kâlsi and Kapure-di-garhî ones it is plural; also in the Kâlsi and Girnâr versions the phrase is—"evil in convivial meetings." *Supathaya* is derived from Sanskrit *sûpârthâya*, which means "for the sake of soup."

1. GIRNÂR.

2. KÂLSI.

3. KAPUREDI-GARHI.

Indraji fecit

occurs in the Girnâr inscription, it is only "the beloved of the gods" in the Kâlsi one, the word "king" being omitted in it.

Instead of *idha*, i. e. "here," in the Girnâr inscription, the Kâlsi and the Kapure-di-garhî ones have *hida*. *Idha* seems to be a corruption of the Sanskṛit *atra*, which is corrupted into इथे in the modern Maharâshṭri dialect, and *hidá* appears to be a corruption of the Sanskrit *iha*, which has become *hiḍá* in the modern Kachhi dialect.

In the Kapure-di-garhî and Kâlsi versions the words "for the sake of soup" are omitted.

In the Kâlsi copy in place of the phrase *so pi mago, i.e.* "the deer however" of the Girnâr inscription, the phrase *se pi ye mige, i.e.* "the one which is the deer however" occurs.

In the Kapure-di-garhî inscription, the numbers of the animals slaughtered daily in the king's kitchen are given in figures also thus :—" Peacocks two, 2, deer 1."

It is to be particularly noted that the peacock, a very common bird in India, is excluded from the list of birds to which Aśoka has given a promise of safety in his *Lát* edicts. This circumstance seems probably to have some connection with the surname Maurya of his family, on account of some particular ancestral rite of sacrificing peacocks, a rite which Aśoka could not have given up so easily. We see in the above edict that he could do without sacrificing a deer sometimes, but not a single day without killing peacocks.

INDIAN TRAVELS OF CHINESE BUDDHISTS.

BY REV. S. BEAL, B.A.

There is a Chinese book in two parts called *K'iu-fă-ko-săng-chüan*, which contains brief memoirs of Chinese Buddhist priests who visited India during the early period of the T'ang dynasty (618 A.D.—907 A.D.)—written by I-tsing of the same dynasty.

Altogether there are fifty-six names recorded in the index of the work, and I will proceed to give a brief summary of the history of each name, though not always in the order of the Chinese record.

I. *Yüan Chau.*

The Doctor Yüan Chau, a Shaman, was a native of Sien-chang of Tai-chau. His Indian name was Prakâśamati. He was of distinguished descent both on his father's side and that of his maternal grand-father. Arrived at manhood he determined to forsake the world, and become a priest. He purposed to visit the sacred places existing in India, and for the purpose of preparation proceeded to the capital to attend religious lectures there. And so in the middle of the *Chêng-kwan* period (638 A.D.) he proceeded to the Ta-hing-shing Temple, and there in the place where Hüan Ching had taught he gave himself to the study of Sanskrit literature.

Then taking his religious staff he wended to the west, purposing to visit the spot where Buddha taught in the Jetavana Monastery.

Leaving Kin-chau (Lan-chow) he crossed the "drifting sands," and passing through the Iron Gates, he ascended the snowy peaks till he reached the Fragrant Lake; and then pressing forward with fixed determination he passed through Sha-li and the Tukhâra country, and so through Tibet, where Wen-shing-kung ruled, he traversed North India, and gradually arrived at Jalandhara. But before reaching this place they were threatened by robbers in a narrow pass. But by the influence of some sacred words, the robbers were put to sleep, and so they escaped. Passing four years in the Jalandhara country, the Mung king (Mongol king) earnestly pressed the pilgrim into his service, and during that period studied with him Sanskrit literature. After this, passing southward he arrived at the Mahâbodhi district (Magadha), where he spent four years. Deeply regretting that he was not permitted to meet the immediate person (of Buddha), he nevertheless paid reverence to all the vestiges of his presence, and after studying various books he went on to the Nalanda monastery. Passing three years in this place he met two priests, one called Shing-sien, the other Ratna of Ceylon, (or it may be "*a priest of Ceylon.*") After this, ascending the Ganges, the king of the Mung (*Shan* for *Mung* in the text) detained him in his capital at the temple called Sin-chê, for three years. Finally, in consequence of the Chinese ambassador Wang-yun urging his return, he went back to Lo-yang by way of Nepâl and Tibet, having traversed more than 10,000 lis. Once again, in the middle of the *Lin-têh* period (665 A.D.), he set out to Kaśmir in company with a Brahman

Lo-kia-yih-to and others. Narrowly escaping death by robbers, he arrived in North India, and there again met the Chinese ambassador, who commissioned Yüan Chau and his companion Lo-kia-yih-to to go to Western India, to the country known as Lo-tû.[1] Passing through Balkh they came to the Nava Vihâra, where they paid reverence to the water pitcher of Buddha and other relics. Passing thence through the region of Sin-tu and the Dard people, they remained for four years with the Mung king, after which they went to the district of the Vajrâsana (Magadha) and also the Nalanda Temple. Thence returning through Nepâl and Kapisa, owing to the difficulties of the road during the period of hostilities with the Arabs, they went back and traversing India again Yüan Chau finally died in the country of Amarâvat in Central India, aged 60 and odd years.

II. *Hwui Lun.*

Hwui Lun, a master (of the law), was a native of Sin-ko (Corea). His Indian name was Prajñâvarman. He quitted his own country inflamed with a desire to perform a pilgrimage to the sainted spots of his religion. Taking ship he arrived in Fuhkeën, and thence gradually journeying forward came to Loyang. There he was commissioned by the Emperor to follow the steps of Yüan-chau, who had gone to the Western Countries, and, having found him, to attend him as servant.

Having undertaken this, he went from place to place, paying homage to the sacred spots of his religion. He dwelt for ten years in the convent called Sin-ché, in the country of Amarâvat (or Amarâbâd?). Thence going eastward he visited the convent called Tou-ho-lo-sse, belonging to North India. This temple was originally built by the Tou-ho-lo peoples (the Tokhari ?) for the accommodation of their fellow countrymen. It is very rich and well supplied with all necessaries for food and convenience, so that no other can surpass it in this respect. The temple is called Gandhârasanda. Here Hwui Lun remained for the purpose of studying the Sanskrit language.

All priests who come from the North occupy this temple, as the Superior of it is a man of great learning. They call the Temple Ta-hsio (*i.e.* 'Great learning'). To the west of the temple is another belonging to the country of Kapisa. This temple is also very rich, and celebrated for the learning of its priests, who excel in the Little Vehicle. Buddhist monks of the North also dwell here. This temple is called Guna-charita.' To the N. E. of the great Bôdhi (the temple just named) about a couple of stages, is another temple called Châlukya.

This is the one which was formerly built by a king of the Châlukya kingdom in South India. This temple though poor is remarkable for the religious life of its inmates. In more recent times a king called Jih-kwan ('Sun-army,') built a new temple by the side of the old one, which is now getting finished, and in which many priests from the South take their residence. In short all the different districts (of India and its neighbourhood) have temples erected for the entertainment of priests belonging to the respective countries—all, except China, which has none: and so we pass and return under great difficulties.

Forty stages or so to the eastward of this we come to the Nalanda Temple. First taking the Ganges and descending it, we reach the Mṛigaśikhavana Temple. Not far from this is an old temple, the foundations of which alone remain—it is called the China Temple. The old story goes that this temple was built by Śrigupta Mahârâja for the use of priests from China. At this time there were some Chinese monks, twenty or so in number, who, having wandered away from Sz'chuen by the road known as Ko-yang (?) came out near the Mahâbodhi and there offered their worship. The king, moved with reverence on account of their piety, gave them a village of considerable extent, where they might remain and finally settle—twenty-four places in all. Afterwards the Tang priests having died out, the village and its land attached came into the possession of aliens, and now three persons belonging to the Mṛigavana Temple occupy it. This occurred about 500 years ago or so. The territory now belongs to the king of Eastern India, whose name is Dêvavarmâ.

[1] The Larikê of Ptolemy, the Lâr of the Arab writers, and Lâṭadêśa of the Hindus, corresponding to the Northern Koṅkaṇ.—Ed.

He has given back the temple and its land to the villagers to avoid the expense of keeping it up, as he would have to do, if many priests of China came there.

The Vajrâsana Mahâbodhi Temple is the same as the one built by a king of Ceylon, in which priests of that country formerly dwelt. Going seven stages or so to the N. E. of this temple we come to the Nalanda Temple, which was built by an old king, Śri Śakyâditya, for the benefit of a Bhikshu of North India, called Râjabhaga. This temple has been completed by a succession of kings, and is now one of the most splendid in India.

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(*Continued from p.* 20.)

VI.

We have seen how, on the death of Yessugei Khân, the Mongols, led by the Taijut under their chief Terkutai Kiriltuk, deserted his young son Temujin. Anbakhai the chief of the Taijut had formerly been the supreme ruler of Mongolia, and it was natural that his descendant should now succeed to the broken heritage; but, as we have seen, none of the Taijut chiefs were anxious for this honour, and it would seem that a very considerable power in consequence passed to Chamukha, the head of the Jajirat or Juriat tribe, who joined with the chief of the Kirais in helping Temujin to recover his wife. He seems to have become the most important chief on the river Onon, and, as we are expressly told in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, had control of the proper subjects of Temujin himself. The latter now went to live with him. They were apparently both young, and had long been close friends, so close that Chamukha is constantly referred to as Chamukha anda, *anda* meaning a life-and-death friendship among the Mongols. It is ratified solemnly by an exchange of presents, &c. In this case the friendship had begun when Temujin was eleven years old. The two had been playing together on the ice on the Onon, when Chamukha gave his friend a stone from the musk deer,[1] Temujin returned a ball of copper(?). Afterwards when the two boys amused themselves with archery, Chamukha gave his friend an arrow, having a point that would rattle, made out of cows' horn, while Temujin presented him with one made of cypress wood, and so they became *anda*. The pact was now renewed, and Temujin put a golden scarf he had obtained among the Merkit about his friend, and also presented him with a mare which had been sterile for some years. Chamukha gave him in return a similar scarf he had taken from the Merkit Dair Ussun and also a white horse. They had a feast together at Khorkhon Akhjubur under the thick trees, and afterwards slept under the same blanket. The two friends lived thus together for about a year and a half. One day, as they were sitting together in front of a kibitka, Chamukha used an enigmatical expression which it is difficult to understand, and which was not understood by his companion. He said, "If we stop at the mountain the horses will get forage, if at the ravine the sheep and lambs will get it." Temujin, who was perplexed by the words, rode up to his mother to ask her to explain them, but before she could answer, his wife Burtê intervened, and said: In regard to this Chamukha, people have said that he loves the new and hates the old. He is tired of us. His words conceal some illwill against us. It is better we should not stay; we had better get away during the night.[2] The fact was that a natural jealousy had arisen between the two chiefs who were both ambitious. Temujin had doubtless designs of his own. He could not forget the position his father had filled, and to which he was the natural heir, and he had no doubt spent the previous few months in securing the adhesion of a large number of partizans. This we gather from what followed. Chamukha, on the other hand, was naturally of an envious disposition, and was, in fact, styled Sechen.[3] Rashidu'd-dîn has preserved some Sagas about him. He tells us that Tokhtoa

[1] A so-called bezoar stone or perhaps merely a lump of musk.

[2] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, pp. 57-59.

[3] *i.e.*, the crafty or far-seeing. Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 225. Abulghâzi says it means in Mongol and Uzbek one who is witty, and is equivalent to the Arabic *akil* and the Tajik (*i.e.* Persian) *ba-khired*. In his day, he says, it was applied to a good speaker (*op. cit.* ed. Desmaisons, pp. 79 and 80).

Biki of the Merkit once harried his camp. For a while he wandered about with but 30 companions, and at length in his distress sent an appeal to Tokhtoa, offering to acknowledge him as his father. The latter accepted his offer, undertook to protect him, and restored him his followers. He often deceived his amirs by his smooth words, so that they were astonished at his skill. Once having noticed a sparrow sitting on its nest in a willow, he marked the spot. The next day he went as if by chance, and took the amirs with him, and said: Last year I passed this way, and noticed a sparrow building its nest in this very willow, let us look and see if there is a nest there again, and if it contains any young ones. He looked into the bush, when out flew a sparrow, and there assuredly was a nest with young ones in it. The amirs who, we must confess, must have been rather naive, were astounded at his apparently extraordinary memory in recognizing the identical bush. On another occasion he presented himself on a day when, according to custom, no one was seen by Tokhtoa Biki, and when, therefore, the guards were negligent. He entered his tent with 30 men and found him alone. Tokhtoa was very much afraid, and felt he was at his mercy. He therefore asked him why he had come with his men, as his guard knew nothing about it, and were not on the look-out. He replied he only went to see whether the latter were in fact vigilant or not. At these words Tokhtoa was still more disconcerted, and he accordingly administered to Chamukha a solemn oath in which, according to custom, the latter poured kumiz out of a golden bowl on to the ground and promised never to hurt Tokhtoa, who then restored him all his family and property, and he once more returned to his yurt.[4] Such was the person with whom Temujin now commenced a long and bitter feud. We are told in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* that on leaving Chamukha's camp on his way homewards he passed through that of the Taijut who were afraid, decamped and joined his rival. His people captured a boy named Kokochu, whom they had left behind, and gave him to Temujin's mother Khoilun.[5]

Temujin was now joined by a number of chiefs with their followers, who are enumerated in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi.* They comprised the three brothers Khachiun, Kharakhai and Kharaldai, who belonged to the clan Tokhuraun (the Tukraut of Rashid u'd-din) of the tribe Jelair. Khadaan, Daldurkhan and five others of the tribe Tarkhu.[6] From the tribe Kian there went to him Mungetu, with his son Ungur and others, and also people from the Chanshiut and Bayau.[7] From the tribe Balura[8] there went to him Khubilai and Khudusi. From the tribe Mankhu (the Mankgut of Rashid) he was joined by Jedai and Dokholkhu. Rashid associates the Mankgut with the Nuyakins or Nutakins and Urut. He tells us that in the time of Temujin the two latter were the allies of the Taijut. The chief of the Urut at this time was Udut Berdut,[9] who often fought with Temujin. One of his principal amirs was Jeda Noyan.[10] The Mankgut sided with the Taijut, except Khuilidar Seshen, whom Erdmann calls Khubuldan Sajan, and who went over to Temujin with his clients and dependents, and they became *anda.* Of Jeda Noyan Rashid says it was reported as follows. Among the Urut there were three brothers. Two of them formed the resolution to join the Taijut. The third, however, who did not see that there was any cause of quarrel with Temujin, refused to join them, whereupon his eldest brother fell upon and shot him and his slaves, and appropriated all his property and children. One of his wives of the tribe Bargut, who lived close by, had a suckling whom she managed to secrete and to preserve from damage. When the Taijut were conquered by Temujin, she gave him the name Jeda, and sent him to him. He was well received, and was made the overchief of the Urut and Mankgut, over which tribes his descendants continued to rule till the 14th century. He was one of the great amirs of

[4] Berezine, vol. I, pp. 201 and 202; Erdmann, *Temudschin*, pp. 225-226.

[5] *Op cit.* p. 59.

[6] The name Bargut or Barghut of Rashidu'd-dîn is also read Terghut or Torgut by Berezine and Von Hammer, and this may be the tribe here meant.

[7] The Bayau were no doubt the Bayaut of Rashidu'd-dîn divided by him into the Jida Bayaut, living on the river Jida, and the Kehrun Bayaut on the plain. Berezine, vol. I., p. 175; Erdmann, pp. 214-215.

[8] No doubt the Berulas of Rashid, who tells us one of these chiefs in the time of Chinghiz was Khubilai noyan, *id.* p. 224.

[9] So Erdmann (p. 219) reads it; Berezine makes it two names Odot and Bodot (*op. cit.* vol. I, p. 189).

[10] *i.e.* the Jedai above named.

the right wing, and was styled J e d a N o y a n.[11] There can be little doubt that the Jeda of this notice is the abovenamed Jedai of the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*. Let us now return to the list of Temujin's allies as given in the latter authority. These comprised a younger brother or relative of the Alura (the Arulat of Rashidu'd-dîn) Boorchu Ogelian. From the Uriankha came the younger brothers of Jelmi, Chaurkhan and Subutaî. The latter became very famous in later days and is known to the western writers as Subutaî Behadur. From the tribe Besu (the Baisut of Rashidu'd-dîn)[12] came Digai and Khuchugur. Rashid calls them Teke or Dega and Kujukur, and says that their father having been killed by the Taijut their mother Baidu Khatun brought the orphans to Temujin. The former was given charge of the stallions and the latter of the mares of the Imperial stables. The latter was also given the title of Terkhan. Their mother superintended the Imperial *kumis*.[13] To return to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*. We read that there came from the tribe Suldu, Chulgutai, Taki and Daüchiudai. From the tribe Jelair, Sechidomokh and Arkhaikhasarbala with his two sons. From the tribe Khuankhotan (the Khongkhoiot or Kunegkiat of Rashidu'd-dîn) Sueiketu, Sukeke, Jegai, and Khuandakhor, with their children Sukegai, Jeun, Nendai and Chakhaanbuga; Kingiyadai came from the tribe Olkhuna, to which Temujin's wife Burtê belonged; Sechiur from the tribe Khorola or Kurula, to which his mother belonged; Mochibeduun from the tribe Dorbê and Butu or Budu from the tribe Ikiresun, *i.e.* the Ikeras or Ankiras of Rashidu'd-dîn. About Budu we read in the work translated by DeMailla who calls him Podu, that he lived near the river Ergune,[14] and was renowned as a famous archer both on foot and on horseback. Temujin wishing to secure his alliance sent him one of his trusted followers named Churchetan. Podu received this envoy with honour, killed a sheep to entertain him, and as his horse was wearied with its journey, he provided him with a fresh one from among his own. Temujin was so pleased with this reception that he determined to bind him closer to himself, and offered him his sister Tiemolun *i.e.* Tumalun in marriage. Podu was flattered, and he sent his relative Yepukiatai with a courteous message, in which he compared Temujin's friendship to the glory of the sun breaking from behind a bank of clouds or a spring balmy breeze breathing over wintry ice. Temujin having learnt that Podu had thirty horses, and intended one half of them as a present for himself as an equivalent for his favour, said to Yepukiatai: To speak of giving and taking when we are making an alliance, is to use the language of traders. Our old folk say it is difficult to unite two hearts and souls into one. It is this which I propose to do. My purpose is to subject all the hearts of this district and to extend my conquests even further, and that the tribe of K i e l i e i,[15] of which Podu is chief, will help me faithfully. This is all I ask. He thereupon sent Podu his sister. Some time after Tatsilatai, (? the Jajirats) Tsachua and Toyei having marched at the head of 30,000 men against Podu, their neighbour, he sent to inform Temujin, but meanwhile succeeded in defeating them himself, and compelled them to range themselves under his banner. His ally was about to march to the rescue, when he heard of his victory.[16] To continue our list of Temujin's allies from the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*. We are told he was further joined by Junshai from the tribe Nayakin, by Jurkhoan from the tribe Orona,[17] by Sukhusechan and Kharachar with their families from the tribe Barulas. From the tribe of Barin there joined him Khorchi, the old Usun, and Kokososi with the whole clan of Menan Baarin, Rashid[18] says that in the time of Temujin the chief of the Barins was Nabaga or Nayaka Noyan, who in his youth was called Naba or Baba Jusur. *Jusur*, he says, means a hypocrite and an insolent barefaced man. He lived to a very old age, and died over a hundred years old, in the days of Ogotai Khakan. He was perhaps the old Usun just named from the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*. He was in the service of Temujin with his two sons, Naya or Baba and Alak. Alak had a son Kukju, who was probably the Kokososi of the above notice. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* says that when K h o r c h i joined the young Mongol chief,

[11] Berezine, vol. I, pp. 189 and 190; Erdmann, pp. 219-220.

[12] So read by Erdmann; Berezine, vol. I, p. 207, reads the name Esut.

[13] Berezine, vol. I, pp. 212 and 213; Erdmann, pp. 229 and 230.

[14] *i.e.* the Argun which springs in the Kuilun lake and falls into the Onon.

[15] *i. e.* the Inkirasses.

[16] De Mailla, vol. IX, pp. 13-14, Gaubil, p. 3.

[17] *i. e.* the Urnaut of Rashidu'd-dîn.

[18] See Berezine, vol. I, pp. 195-6; Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 222.

went within a bowshot, whereupon the eagle dictated to him the divine laws, which are called *yasa* and gave him the title of Chanc Ghaian.[32]

A similar story again is told by Ssanang Setzen, who says the proclamation was made by the Aralad on the banks of the Kerulon. Before it took place, a five-coloured bird in the shape of a lark went for three mornings, and sat on a squared stone in front of the Royal yurt, and screamed out Chinggis Chinggis! which Temujin accordingly adopted as his middle name, his full title being Sutu Bogda Chiṅggis Khaghan, by which he was everywhere known. The stone upon which the bird had alighted thereupon suddenly flew asunder, and disclosed in its midst the famous seal Khas Boo, which was a span in length and breadth, and bore a tortoise on one side and on the other two interlaced dragons, the whole being beautifully wrought.[33]

In regard to the etymology of the name Chinghiz there have been many theories. It has been connected with *tenghiz*, a sea or great lake, and with *ghakhai* a pig.[34] Rashidu'd-dîn gives several explanations of it. In his account of the Urnaut he says the word *ching* is equivalent to the Arabic *muste hekem*,[35] and that *chinggiz* is the superlative or plural of *ching*.[36] Again, in his account of the *Kuriltai* of the year 599 Hej. he says *ching*[37] means strong, powerful, and *chinghiz* is the superlative of the same word. Lastly, in his account of the *Kuriltai* of 602 he says the title *Chinghiz* was equivalent to that of *Shâhin Shâh* among the Persians. He also says 'it was equivalent to *Gurkhan*,' *i. e.* strong and mighty Padishah.[38] Khuandemir uses a couplet in these words:—"Notice that in the Mongol tongue the name of Chinghiz Khân means king of kings."[39] Schmidt in discussing the name says that *ching* does not in Mongol mean strong, but is an adverb, meaning 'fast, immovable,' and he explains it by the phrase *ching bishirel*, *i. e.* the immovable faith.[40] Erdmann adopts this etymology, and styles his work "The history of Temujin, the immovable or firm," and compares this title with that borne by O no-wei, a chief of the Yeu-Yen, whom I have elsewhere identified with the Kalmuks, who was styled Sô-liu-teu-ping-tu-fa-khân, *i. e.* the Khân who has conquered and holds fast.[41] I cannot adopt this etymology. Schmidt, who was a profound Mongol scholar, says distinctly that *Chinghiz* has no meaning at all in Mongol.[42] This agrees with the statement of Gaubil, who says "Tchingkisse n'est pas un mot Mongou, ce n'est qu'un son qui exprime le cri dont j'ai parlé,"[43] and of Visdelou, the profoundest Chinese scholar among the French Jesuits, who, after mentioning the etymology for the name *Chinghiz* suggested by his Mongol friend as above mentioned, goes on to say: "Cela me fait croire que ce titre fut emprunté d'une langue etrangère et inconnu aux Mongols, dans laquelle il avait le sens que les Chinois lui donnaient." He previously says that the Chinese explained the name as meaning Tien-si, *i.e.* given by heaven.[44] These facts make one the more readily accept the suggestion of the late Dorji Bansarof, who was a Mongol by birth and a scholar, and who urges that when Temujin proclaimed himself Emperor he adopted the title used by the former sovereigns of the Hiung Nu, namely Chenyu or Shan-yu, of which Chinghiz was a corruption, in confirmation of which he adds that the Hiung Nu also styled their chief Tengri-kubu, *i.e.* son of heaven. Erdmann argues against this conclusion[45] of Bansarof, but it is accepted by Palladius, who says that any one who knows how incorrectly the Chinese transcribe foreign names into their own tongue will not be surprised that Shan-yu should become Chinghiz. The

[32] Brosset, *Hist. de la Georgie*, add. etc. pp. 440 and 441.

[33] *Op. cit.* p. 71. The Persian writers who date the adoption of the name in 1201-2, tell a different story. Juveni, the author of the *Jihan Kushai*, tells us that at the *kuriltai* held in that year a Shaman called Gugju, also named But Tengri or the Image of God, who for several days in the severe winter had been running over the mountains and steppes naked, said that God had spoken to him and declared he had given the whole earth to Temujin, and had also given him the name of Chinghiz Khan. Juveni reports this on the testimony of a Mongol amir who had told the story to himself (Erdmann, p. 600). Rashid-u'd-din tells us Gugsu or Kuksu was the son of Menglik, to whom Chinghiz gave his own mother in marriage after his father's death. He tells us that Kuksu communicated to Chinghiz himself the message he professed to have received from heaven as above. It was reported of him that he used to sit naked on the ice in the winter in a place called Udan Keruen or Uhan Garwan, the coldest in those parts. The Mongols believed that he could fly to heaven on a white horse. (Berezine, vol. I, pp. 158-9; Erdmann, p. 204.)

[34] Erdmann, *op. cit.* note 179.

[35] *i. e.* one firmly fixed in his authority.

[36] Erdmann, p. 601.

[37] *Jing*, as Erdmann writes it.

[38] Id. pp. 602-603.

[39] Quatremère *Hist. des Mongols de la Perse*, p. 247, note 76.

[40] *Op. cit.* p. 379.

[41] Erdmann, *Temudschin*, etc., p. 606.

[42] Ssanang Setzen, p. 379.

[43] *Op. cit.* p. 12, note 1.

[44] D'Herbelot, *Suppl.* p. 334.

[45] *Op. cit.* pp. 599-609.

etymology is also remarkably confirmed by a correspondence of Chinghiz Khân with the Taouist philosopher Ch'ang-ch'un. In a phrase in one of the former's letters we read: "It seems to me that since the remote time of *our* Shanyu such a vast empire has not been seen.[46] In a note Palladius adds that the expression proves that Chinghiz considered the ancient Hiung Nu as the ancestors of the Mongols. This view he seems to deprecate on the ground that Klaproth shewed the Hiung Nu to have been Turks,[47] but I believe Klaproth's position in this matter is untenable.[48] In support of the contention here urged I may add that according to Schmidt the titles Sutu Bogda given by the author of the *Altan Topchi* and Ssanang Setzen to Chinghiz Khân are the same in meaning as Tengri Kubu, the title given to the chiefs of the Hiung Nu.

Su, or, with the guttural pronunciation, *gu* or *ku*, signifies the incarnate emanation of the Deity which is supposed to dwell in great monarchs, and *bogda* means divine.[49]

Palladius says that Khubilai gave the Kin emperor Tai Tsu in the temple of the ancestors the style of Chinghiz,[50] which again confirms this contention.

In regard to the date of the proclamation of Chinghiz Khân there is apparently great contradiction among the authorities, and it would seem that he was in fact twice so proclaimed, once by his immediate followers, and again when he had become master of the greater part of the nomades of Mongolia. Rashidu'd-din apparently only refers to the second of these proclamations, which he dates in 1202 or 1203. The *Yuan-shi* dates it in 1206,[51] but we there also find a reference to a previous proclamation.[52] De la Croix suggests that he became emperor or Khakan in 1203 and adopted the title of Chinghiz in 1205.[53]

Abulfaraj dates the commencement of the Mongol dynasty in the year 599 of the *Hejra*, *i. e.* 1202-3. Marco Polo has the words "it came to pass in the year of Christ's Incarnation 1187 that the Tartars made them a king whose name was Chinghiz Khân."[54] Ssanang Setzen dates the event in 1189, when he was 28 years old.[55] This variation shews the uncertainty of the chronology of the early life of Chinghiz. I am disposed to accept the dates given by Marco Polo and Ssanang Setzen as approximately fixing the earlier proclamation of the great Khakan.

Having been made Khakan, Chinghiz, according to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, appointed Ogelai, the younger brother of Boorchu, Khachiun, Jedai and Dokholkhu, the four bowbearers. They were styled Khorchi, and were attached to his person as his immediate bodyguards. Vanguru Sueiiketu and Khada-andaldurkhân were appointed superintendents of the commissariat. Degai was made chief shepherd. Guchuguru was given charge of the *kibitkas* or baggage waggons and Dodai of the domestics. Khubilai, Chilgutai, Kharkhaito-khuraun and his own brother Khazar were nominated sword-bearers. His other brother Belgutai with Kharaldaitokhuraun were made herdsmen over the horses and stud masters. Daichiudaikhutu, Morichi and Mutkhalkhu were made overseers of the pastures. Arkhaikhazar, Takhai, Sukigha, and Chaurkhan were appointed adjutants. The brave Subutai undertook to give his services generously to his patron, he said he would lay up stores for him like an old mouse, fly like a crow, cover like a horse-cloth and shelter like a felt. Boorchu and Jelmi, who had been faithful to him in his great distress, he appointed his own deputies. Chinghiz now addressed the crowd, and told them how he would make fortune shine on them for having left Chamukha to join him. He then dismissed them to their houses. He sent Takhaya and Sukighaya to inform his old friend the Kirai Tughrul of his elevation, and similarly deputed Arkhaikhazar and Chaurkhân to go and inform Chamukha. The former was apparently pleased, and remarked that they could not have got on without a Khakan, and advised them to be faithful to him. The latter asked how it was that they had not proclaimed him when they were together, and bade them reassure Temujin, who, he suggested, was illdisposed towards him.

---

[46] Bretschneider, *Notes on Chinese Mediæval Travellers*, p. 121.
[47] Id., note.
[48] See article *Hun*, by Henry H. Howorth, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. XII.
[49] Ssanang Setsen, p. 379.
[50] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, note 184.
[51] Douglas, *op. cit.* pp. 53-54.
[52] P. 37.
[53] The *History of Genghizcan the Great*, pp. 74 and 83.
[54] *Op. cit.* Ed Yule, p. 233.
[55] *Op. cit.* p. 71.

READINGS FROM THE BHARHUT STÛPA.

By Dr. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

Part I.

The Bharhut Stûpa affords special facilities for study to the philologist and archæologist; thanks chiefly to General Cunningham's splendid work on that ancient monument, with its beautiful photographic illustrations, and his happy thought of purchasing and dispatching the best and most valuable of the sculptured remains to the Indian Museum in Calcutta, where, under the direction of Dr. Anderson, the indefatigable Superintendent of the Museum, they have been carefully set up in close imitation of their original position in the Stûpa. Thus, with General Cunningham's unerring photographs to read from, and the original stones close at hand to refer to, in case of need, the first great desideratum of the philologist is at once supplied,—a trustworthy text. This is a great point gained in reading the ancient inscriptions on the Bharhut sculptures.

But a not inconsiderable difficulty yet remains. There can be no doubt that we have the exact text as the masons wrote it on the stone; but that does not necessarily mean that we have got the text exactly as they *meant* to write it. Masons were illiterate men in those days no less than they are now; and there is no reason to place absolute faith in the correctness either of their spelling or their grammar. No doubt, in the case of most of these inscriptions, especially the longer ones, the mason's work consisted merely in copying from manuscripts supplied to them by others better educated than themselves. But even supposing the original manuscript to have been correct, where is the security for the accuracy of the mason's copy? Where, moreover, is the security for the accuracy of the original writing? The inaccuracy of the natives of India, even among the literate classes, is almost proverbial. It is so now; and there is no reason to assume that it was different formerly.

But further, supposing this initial difficulty overcome, and an accurate text supplied or restored, there comes, in many cases, the second great difficulty,—to determine what the text of the inscription means and what the fact or event is which it chronicles or describes. Fortunately, in not a few cases, the sculptured figures or scenes which the inscriptions are intended to explain, are so well executed that they, on their part, serve to explain, or at least confirm, the meaning of the inscription. Even so, the story, a portion or the substance of which is represented by the sculpture and expressed by the inscription, must in some cases remain but very imperfectly known or understood. In making this remark, I have specially in view those scenes which refer to "Jâtakas" or "Chaityas," about which our knowledge at present is exceedingly small and inaccurate. The publication, however, of the *Jâtakas*, which has been commenced by Fausböll and Rhys Davids in Trübner's Oriental Series, may be expected to remedy this defect.[1] The legends which occur on the coping-stones, and which I shall discuss in this paper, will afford illustrations of each of the above-mentioned difficulties.

(1.) The first inscription which I take up, is the second in General Cunningham's arrangement of photographs; it is on No. 4 of Plate XLIII, and No. 10 in the transcriptions on Plate LIII. On p. 94 it is given as—*migasamadika chetiya* and explained to mean: "Chaitya under which lions and deer ate together." This is hardly correct. The inscription, letter for letter, reads

migasamadakaṁ chetaya.

Neither consonant *d* nor *t* carry any vowel-sign (*i*); they must accordingly be read *da* and *ta*. After *ka* there is a distinct *anusvâra*; though there is none after *ya*. The words, I think, should be translated: "The deer-crushing chaitya." This is confirmed by the sculptured scene, which shows a deer crushed under the platform of the chaitya, while five other deer and two lions are looking on. The latter may be mere "staffage"; they certainly are not represented in the act of eating.[2] *Chetaya* is an incorrect spelling for *chetiyam*. The *anusvâra* is not uncommonly omitted; though properly this is only allowable when it is conjoined with a consonant, as in *daḍa*, for *daṁḍa*, *chakamá* for *chaṁkamá* (see No. 7, plate XLVII). But the omission of the vowel-sign *i* on *t*, is simply an error of the mason's. Double consonants, as is well known, are always represented single on these ancient inscriptions. Hence the legend, written in full and correctly, would run: *migasaṁ-*

[1] Two volumes have since been published of the Text, (1877-79), and one of the English Translation (1880).

[2] Possibly (as suggested to me by the Editor *I. A.*) the preceding scene, entitled *Isi-migo Jâtaka*, may be connected with this one. It appears to represent a deer being warned by a man against impending danger; in the background is seen a tree, which may be the tree belonging to the chaitya under which the deer was eventually crushed. Whether or not this is so, it is impossible to say, so long as the Jâtaka has not been identified. The identification suggested by Gen. Cunningham, on p. 75, can hardly be considered quite satisfactory. In passing, it may be noted that this is the only inscription (on the copings) in which the word *jâtaka* is correctly spelt; it being *jataka* in all others.

maddakaṁ chetiyaṁ, and be equal to Sanskrit *mrigasammardakaṁ chaityaṁ*.[3]

(2.) The third inscription, on No. 2 of Plate XLIV, and No. 20 on Plate LIII, is explained on p. 95, where it is given as *Raja Janako Sivalá Devi*. The actual letters of the legend are

Janako rája sivala devi.

The consonant *l* has no vowel-sign (*á*), and therefore reads *la*. The name intended is clearly *sivalî* (Skr. *śivalî*), as the Burmese story quoted by General Cunningham has it. There is, therefore, here the same mason's error, as in the preceding legend: here *la* for *lî*, as there *ta* for *ti*.[4] Another error is the omission of the vowel sign (*á*) in *rája* which ought to be *rájá*. Further, in *sivala* and *devi* the long vowel *î* is not distinguished; though, probably, this is not an error, as distinct marks for long and short vowels were not always used; in the Kaithî alphabet they are not used to the present day. The legend, then, spelt correctly, would run *janako rájá sivalî devî*, and translated "King Janaka (and) Queen Sivalî."

(3.) The fourth inscription, on No. 9 of Plate XLV, and No. 21 on Plate LIII, is explained on p. 94, where it is given as *chitu-páda-sila*, and said to mean "split-rock," the word *páda* being left untranslated, and the word *chitu* being taken as an error for *chhitu*. Even allowing the possibility of the mis-spelling, the word ought to be *chhita* (not *chhitu*), the past participle *chhita* "split" of the root *chho*, I suppose, being intended. I would suggest that *chitupáda* is one word meaning "four-sided," and refers to the draught-board depicted in the sculpture. Spelt correctly and fully, it would be *chatuppáda* (Skr. *chatushpáda*). Double *pp* is, as usual, written singly (*p*); and the vowel *i*, for *a*, is perhaps not so much an error as a provincialism. In modern Hindî we have *chiûṁ* or "on all four sides," *chilotarsau* "one hundred and four," &c., which seems to show that the vowel *a* of *chatur* always had a tendency to be changed to *i* by the illiterate. However, as the marks of the vowel *u* and of the subjoined *r* are much alike, it is not impossible that the word intended may be *chitrapáda*, which means, "divided into various parts." In that case, it would also refer to the playing-board.[5] Either word, *chatushpâda* or *chitrapáda*, would be a very appropriate name for a square gaming-board consisting of 36 compartments, such as the sculptured scene shows. But I am not sufficiently acquainted with Indian games to say whether there actually exists a game called by either of these two names. The name of chess, *chaturanga*,[6] however, is not unlike it. The other word may be read as intended for either *silá* "rock" (Skr. *śilá*) or *sîlaṁ*, "practice," "habit." The whole legend, then, would mean, either "the rock with the gaming board" or "devotion to the gaming board," "the practice of gambling." In any case the word *sila* is inaccurately spelt. Among the *Játakas*, there is one which narrates the birth of Buddha as a gambler;[7] and the sculpture possibly refers to this story.

(4.) The sixth inscription, on No. 8 of Plate XLVI and No. 15 in Plate LIII, and referred to on p. 76, reads *sechha-jataka*, or, as it would be in full, *sechchha-játakaṁ*. I would propose to translate it, "the probationer—or, novice—Jâtaka"; taking *sechchha* to be an alternative form of the more usual *sekkha* (Skr. *śaikshya*).[8] The closely-cropped hair on the head of the two men in the sculptured scene would seem to indicate novices.

(5). The eleventh Inscription, on No. 2 of Plate XLVIII and No. 2 in Plate LIII, and referred to on p. 78, reads

maghâdeviya[*ṁ*], *jataka*

or as it would be in full, *maghádeviyaṁ játakaṁ*. After the *ya*, the stone shows a very shallow indentation, apparently indicative of the *anusvára*, too slight to be seen in General Cunningham's photograph, but just recognizable on a squeeze taken by me. The meaning is: "the Jâtaka referring to Maghâdeva."[9] The latter name has been very ingeniously, but probably correctly, identified by General Cunningham with that of King M a k h â d e v a of M i y u l a, or rather (according to the *Dîpavaṁsa* III, 34, 35) of Mithila, one of the early fabulous ancestors of Buddha, of whom it is said:[10] "When he had reigned 252,000 years, he saw the first grey hair, upon which he resigned the kingdom to his son and became an ascetic." The sculpture represents the moment when the first grey hair was found. The King M a k h â d e v a is seated on a throne, attended by two servants, who assist him in his toilet; the usual knot of hair is opened, and the long hair depends, to the shoulders, on both sides of his head; one of the servants had been attending to it; with one hand he holds the royal

[3] The words might also be divided *migasa maddakaṁ chetiyaṁ* (Skr. *mrigasya mardakaṁ chaityaṁ*). But the reading, given above, and first suggested to me by Mr. Tawney, is much better.

[4] In the *Dîpavaṁsa*, however, both forms *sivalá* and *sivalî* occur as names of different persons.

[5] In Skr. one of the meanings of *chitrapada* is a metre consisting of four lines of 23 syllables each.

[6] And there is the popular *chaupat* or *chausar*.—Ed. In Hindî also *chaupar*.—R. H.

[7] See Spence Hardy's *Manual of Budhism*, p. 102.

[8] Skr. *ksh* usually becomes *kkh* in Pâli, but sometimes also, *chchh*, e. g., Pâli *akkhi* or *achchhi* "eye" for Skr. *akshi*; see E. Kuhn, *Beiträge zur Pâli Grammatik*.

[9] Conf. Fausböll's *Játaka*, Vol. I, 137,—the *Makhâdevajátaka*, translated in Rhys Davids's *Buddhist Birth-Stories*, vol. I, pp. 186 ff.; conf. *Makhâ-deva Sútta*, No. 83 in *Majjhima Nikâya*.—Ed.

[10] See Spence Hardy, *Manual of Budhism*, p. 133. This Jâtaka is given in Fausböll's edition, vol. I, p. 137, and in Rhys Davids's translation, pp. 186ff.

tresses, with the other he shows to the King the first grey hair which he has just discovered and pulled out; the King has also taken hold of it with one hand and slightly turns his head sideways to inspect it. The other servant stands by, looking on with folded arms, in a respectful attitude. It should be noted, as confirming the interpretation, that the inscription has *maghá* (not *magha*, as given on p. 78 and in the transcript, No. 2 on Plate LIII), which agrees with the Pâli *makhá* (also with *á*).[11] The change of *kh* to *gh* is unusual; but a similar change is *dh* for *th*, in *Madhurá* for *Mathurá* (*Dîpavaṁsa* III, 21). The occasional change of the hard aspirates into the corresponding sonants is especially noticed by Chaṇḍa in his grammar of the ancient Prâkrit (III, 11, where *Madhurá* is given as one of the examples). This view would be supported by *deviya*, if it may be taken to stand for *devika*; for according to Chaṇḍa III, 34, the surd *k* may be occasionally elided, and, according to III, 35, the euphonic *y* interposed between the hiatus-vowels. Though, of course, *deviya* may be merely an inaccurate spelling for *devîya*.

(6.) The twelfth inscription, on No. 4, of Plate XLVIII and No. 3 on Plate LIII, reads *dighata-pasisise anusásati*. It is explained on p. 97, where the words are divided *dighatapasisise anusásati*, and said to mean "Dirghatapas instructs the female Ṛishis." This meaning, however, does not agree with the figures on the sculptured scene, which represent, not female, but male disciples. It is also questionable whether female disciples could at all be designated as "female Ṛishis." Moreover, the words as divided above are ungrammatical. The nominative singular of *dighatapas* would be either *dîghatapá* or *dighatapaso*, and the accusative plural of *isi* or *isî* would be *isî* or *isiyo*, but not *isise*. The words should clearly be separated

dighatapassi sise anusásati,

i.e. "Dîrghatapas instructs (his male) disciples." In full the words should be spelt *dîghatapassî* or *digghatapassî sisse anusásati*. *Dîghatapassî* would represent the Sanskrit form *dîrghatapasvî* (nom. sing. of *dîrghatapasvin*). This, no doubt, is a somewhat unusual form of the well-known name. But there is no need to deny its possibility, unless one should prefer to assume a mason's error of incising °*si* instead of °*so*. Grammatically, the form *dîgha-tapassî* is analogous to *dîghadassî* "far-seeing," *dîghasuttî* (Skr. *dîrghasûtrî*) "long-yarned," "tedious."

(7.) The thirteenth inscription, on No. 6 of Plate XLVIII and No. 4 on Plate LIII, is referred to on p. 94, where it is read *ambode chetiyaṁ*, and explained to mean "the chaitya mango tree." The tree in the sculpture may be a mango tree; but the inscription can hardly be so translated, as that wholly omits the syllable *de*; *ambo chetiyaṁ* would be "the chaitya mango tree." Letter for letter, the inscription reads

abode châtiyaṁ.

The latter word, no doubt, is a mere mason's error for *chetiyaṁ*, the small horizontal line at the top of *ch* having been drawn to the right instead of to the left. The word *abode* I would propose to read *abbode*, and to take as the locative singular of *abboda=abbuda*=Skr. *arbuda*, the name of the famous holy Mount Abû, where, according to Colonel Tod (Forbes' *Râs Mála*, vol. I. p. 267), "the mango is abundant." The inscription then would mean "The Chaitya on (Mount) Abû." The change of *u* to *o*, though not common, has analogies in *poráṇa* = Skr. *puráṇa* "old;" *porisa* = Skr. *purusha* "man," etc.[12]

(8.) The fifteenth inscription, on No. 9 of Plate XLVIII and No. 18 on Plate LIII, is correctly read on p. 98, as

Vaḍuko katha dohati naḍode pavate,

but not translated. The words, I think, must be divided as above given, and for *katha* and *pavate* the full spelling should be *kathaṁ* and *pavatte*. *Vaḍuka* I take to be the name of the person represented in the sculpture in the ludicrous act of "milking" from a leathern bag (a sort of *mashak*) which is suspended from some bambu stalks. Under the form *vaṭuka*, the same word occurs as the name of a king in the *Dîpavaṁsa* (XX. 27). *Naḍode pavatte* is an ablative (or rather, locative) absolute. The whole sentence may be translated: "how is Vaḍuka milking, when there exists lotus-stalk-water;" *i.e.*, what is Vaḍuka thinking of, that he attempts to "milk" water (from the leathern bag) when there are lotus-stalks by which he might obtain it. The word *naḍoda*, I believe, to be a proverbial expression, which is probably founded on the following story, called the *Nalapánajátaka*.[13] Once on a time Buddha was born as the king of monkeys in a forest, in which there was a pool inhabited by a water-ogre who devoured all that came down to drink of its waters. Buddha had warned his followers of 80,000 monkeys not to drink of any unknown water in the forest. So, one day, being thirsty and coming to that pool, they sat down waiting for Buddha's arrival. Buddha, coming up to them, enquired why they did not drink. They replied that they were waiting for

[11] See *Dîpavaṁsa*, ed. Oldenberg, vol. III. p. 33. In the *Mahâvaṁsa*, ed. Turnour, p. 9, it is incorrectly spelt *Makhadeva*.

[12] See E. Kuhn, *Beiträge zur Pâli Grammatik*, p. 27.

[13] Fausböll's *Jâtaka*, vol. I, p. 170, translated in Rhys Davids's *Buddhist Birth-Stories*, vol. I. p. 232.—Ed.

him. Buddha, noticing foot-steps descending to the pool, but none reascending, concluded that it was haunted, and commended their caution. In the meanwhile the ogre, observing their hesitation, showed himself and enquired why they did not come down to drink. Buddha asked him in reply, whether he was the water-ogre who ate up those that came down to drink. The ogre admitted that he was, and threatened to eat up him and his whole suite, if they dared to come down to drink. Buddha said: "You suppose that unless we come down to the water, we cannot drink it; but we shall each take the hollow stalk of a lotus, and by means of it draw up the water to drink, without your being able to devour us." Then, having, by his miraculous powers, caused a lotus-stalk to rise up to him, he tested it with his mouth; but as the stalk was full of joints, he failed in getting any water. Thereupon, by his miraculous powers, he caused all the lotus-stalks of the pool to turn into jointless hollow tubes; and now, by means of these he and all his monkeys were able to drink the water of the pool, while the baffled ogre had to return to his abode. This story may well have led to the proverbial use of the expression *naḍoda* or "water (obtained) by means of a lotus-stalk," to represent any clever expedient for escaping a difficulty. The word *naḍoda* would thus practically come to mean simply "an expedient." In the present case a foolish man, who is represented as trying to draw water from an empty leather bag, (apparently a relative of the well-known Indian "mashak,") is twitted for doing so, when "water-obtainable-by-a-lotus-stalk is ready to hand," *i. e.*, when he might escape his difficulty by a very simple expedient. What this expedient is, is represented, I believe, in the following compartment of the sculpture; viz.

(9) The sixteenth inscription, No. 11 on Plate XLVIII and No. 19 on Plate LIII, referred to on p. 93. This is evidently a continuation of the preceding one. It reads

jabu-naḍode pavate

or in full, *jambu-naḍode pavatte*), *i. e.* "when the Jambu-tree-expedient is ready to hand"; and it explains the previous indefinite phrase *naḍode pavatte*. The Jambu is said to be an enormous tree on Mount Meru, in the great forest of Himâlaya; it is 100 yojanas high, and has four branches; from the trunk and the four branches large rivers continually flow; it bears an immortal fruit, as large as the water vessel called "*mahakala*." From it, J a m b u d v î p a or India derives its name.[14] The sculpture shows the Jambu tree with its four branches; and on the companion-sculpture Mount Meru (or Himâlaya) is represented by four pieces of rock. The Jambu tree is represented as supplying meat and drink to two persons, one of whom is just receiving it, while the other is carrying away what he has already received. The man Vaḍuka is asked why he foolishly endeavours to get his supply from an empty leather bag, when the Jambu tree is ready to hand, from which he might obtain it, like the other two men. There is probably some story of Vaḍuka, to which the sculpture refers; but I have not been able to find it.

(*To be continued.*)

[14] See Spence Hardy's *Manual of Budhism.*

MISCELLANEA.

CHINESE TRANSLATIONS OF SANSKṚIT TEXTS.[1]

In my review of the *Kâśikâ Vṛitti* (*ante*, vol. IX, p. 305f.), I gave a short extract from the 39th chapter of I-t s i n g's *Nan-hai-ki-kwoi-chou'en*, containing the titles of several grammatical works which I-t s i n g knew and studied during his stay in India 673-95 A.D. Most of these titles are much disfigured in their Chinese transliterations, and, with regard to several of them, I was unable to give their Sanskṛit equivalents. I have since received some communications on this subject from Mr. S. Beal and from Mr. Kasawara which enable me to restore, at all events, one more name with tolerable certainty. On the second of the so-called *Khilas*, which Mr. Kasawara had rendered by *Man-cha*, I cannot say that I feel satisfied even now. By the side of *Ashṭadhâtu*, explained as declension and conjugation, and *Uṇâdi*, the well-known title of the irregular nominal suffixes, *Mancha* could hardly be anything, one should think, but a treatise on the regular nominal suffixes, the so-called *Kṛit*. However, Mr. Beal called my attention to a note of Stanislas Julien's in his *Index* to Hiouen-Thsang, where (vol. iii, p. 514) *Men-tse-kia* is explained by *Manḍaka*. H i o u e n-T h s a n g mentions *Men-tse-kia* (vol. i, p 166) as one of two classes of words, the other class being *Uṇâdi*. But, though Stanislas Julien tells us that Prof. Spiegel approved of this interpretation, I cannot find any place where Prof. Spiegel has treated of *manḍaka* and traced it back as a technical term to some corresponding *sañjñâ* of Sanskṛit grammarians. Mr. Kasawara's translation was:—"*Mancha* treats of the formation of words by means of combining (a root and suffix, or suffixes). One of many names for tree, for instance, is *vṛiksha* in Sanskṛit (that is to say, the word *vṛiksha* is made

[1] From *The Academy*, Feb. 19, 1881.

up of *vriksh* and *a*). Thus a name for a thing is formed by mixing the parts together, according to the rules of the book, which consists of more than twenty sentences (or feet of śloka). *Uṇâdi* is nearly the same as the above, with a few differences, such as what is full in the one is mentioned in brief in the other, and *vice versâ*."

Mr. Kasawara now informs me that *Mancha* may be meant for *maṇḍa*, possibly for *maṇḍaka*, but I do not see that even this would help us much. *Maṇḍ* means to adorn, *maṇḍa* is used for cream on milk, also for gruel, but all this, even if we admitted the meaning of mixing, would not yield us a technical name for the formation of words by means of joining a suffix with a root. At all events, I have never met with *maṇḍ*, or any of its derivatives, in that technical sense. I thought at one time that *maṇḍa* might be meant for *Mâṇḍûka*, because the Mâṇḍukeyas were famous by their grammatical works (see *History of Ancient Sanskṛit Literature*, p. 146), and one of these might possibly have been used by I-tsing when studying the *Kṛidanta* chapter. But I do not think this likely, even if, as I am told, the Chinese transliteration should admit of it.

But while we must leave this point unsettled, we are able to identify another title—namely, *Juni* or *Chuni*, given as the name of Patañjali's *Mahâbhâshya*. Mr. Beal informed me that this might be read *Chûrṇi*, and *Chûrṇi*, a general name for commentary, as in *Jîtakalpa-chûrṇi*, a Prâkṛit commentary on the *Jîtakalpasûtra* of the Jainas, &c., is more especially the name of Patañjali's commentary, Patañjali himself being called Chûrṇikṛit.

There is every reason to hope that a more accurate study of the Buddhist Chinese literature will be of great help in determining the age of a number of Sanskṛit works the dates of which are at present floating about between several centuries. And there is another advantage likely to accrue from that study which has not yet been pointed out, and to which I should like to call the attention both of Chinese and Sanskṛit scholars.

When we have literal translations of Sanskṛit texts, these translations help us, not only to fix the date of the Sanskṛit originals, but also to determine the ancient readings of the Sanskṛit texts. Of course there are translations and translations, and we know now that the translation of a Life of Buddha ascribed to Kâśyapa Mâtanga and Chu-falan (76 A.D.) does not prove, as Stanislas Julien thought, that this was a translation of our *Lalita-vistara* (see *Selected Essays*, vol. ii, p. 191). But when we have to deal with literal translations, some of them so literal or *mot-à-mot* as to defy all rules of Chinese syntax, then we are able to find out what the Sanskṛit text must have been which the Chinese translators tried to render into their language, and we may thus succeed in occasionally correcting the text as handed down to us in Sanskṛit MSS.

But here a very curious phenomenon presents itself. There are mistakes in the Sanskṛit text of our MSS. which it is easy to correct, particularly when they occur in metrical passages. For instance, in the *Lalita-vistara* (ed. Calc. p. 543, l. 8) we read:

Chakshur anityam adhruvaṁ tatha śrotaghrâṇaṁ jihvâpi,
Kâya-mana-duḥkhâ anâtma api riktasvabhâva-śûnyâḥ.

Here the metre shows clearly that we must omit *jihvâpi* in the first, and *kâya-mana* in the second line. They are additions, and very natural additions, to the original text. But when we take Divâkara's translation, the *Fang-kwang-ta-chwang-yan-king*, which was made about A.D. 685, we find both *jihvâpi*, "also the tongue," and *kâya-mana* "body and mind," reproduced, and we find exactly the same in the far later Tibetan version.

In the same chapter (p. 527), after Upaka had asked Bhagavat how he could bear witness of himself, and claim for himself the names of Arhan and Jina, Buddha answers:

Jinâ hi mâdṛiśâ jñeyâ ye prâptâ âśravakshayam
Jitâ me pâpakâ dharmâs tenopajino hy aham.

Here the last *pâda* is clearly wrong in metre and matter. There is no such word as *upajina*, and the Pâli version of the same verse (*Mahâvagga*, vol. i, p. 8) shows that the Sanskṛit text must have been *tenopaka jino hy aham*, the sense being: "Those who like me have reached the destruction of all frailties are to be known as Jinas; all evil dispositions have been conquered by me, therefore, O Upaka, I am a Jina, a conqueror."

Here, again, there is no trace of the vocative Upaka, O Upaka; in Divâkara's translation, and, whatever the Chinese translator may have had before him, it could hardly have been *tenopaka jino hy aham*.

This shows how little assistance we can hope for from existing Sanskṛit MSS. towards a restoration of corrupt passages in the *Lalitavistara*. There are few Sanskṛit MSS. as old as the Tibetan translation; none as old as Divâkara's Chinese version. Yet, what seem to be palpable blunders must have existed when these translations were made. What hope, then, is there of our finding a *medela* for these wounds from existing Sanskṛit MSS., unless they come from totally different localities, and had branched off from the general stream before the seventh century of our era?

F. Max Müller.

Oxford: Feb. 5, 1881.

BOOK NOTICES.

The Sacred Books of the East, vol. V. Pahlavi Texts, translated by E. W. West. Part I. The Bundahish, Bahman Yasht, and Shâyast lâ-Shâyast: Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1880.

The principal efforts of Zoroastrian scholarship have been naturally for a long time directed towards the Avesta texts, as embodying the older form of Zoroastrism, and being the main source of its further development. The Pahlavi language was only studied so far as it helped directly to a better intelligence of the Zend books, and the only Pahlavi texts much sought after in Europe were the commentaries on the *Avesta* and the *Bundahish*, which chanced to be translated in the last century by Anquetil Duperron. The bulk of the Pahlavi literature was left to sleep in the dust of libraries, and curtly condemned as modern, worthless, and unreadable. There is still a school of Avesta scholars whose motto might be: *Pahlvi est, non legitur*. It was not until within the last twenty years that the full value of the Pahlavi literature at large began to be recognised, chiefly owing to the exertions of the late Dr. Martin Haug and Dr. West, and it is now so well acknowledged that the able editor of the Sacred Books of the East has thought it necessary to give a place, and that not a small one, in the collection, to those records of the later periods of Zoroastrism.

The book before us contains translations of the *Bundahish* with extracts from *Zâd Siparam*, the *Bahman Yasht*, and the *Shâyast lâ-Shâyast*;—more than two-thirds of which texts are still unedited.

The *Bundahish* has always been a favourite with European scholars, and has already been translated thrice, once into French by A. Duperron, and twice into German by Windischmann and Justi. The new translation by Dr. West, though it contains not a few improvements on the last, still derives its principal superiority from its representing a more complete text than the one known in Europe. It appears that the latter is only an extract from a much larger work, containing twice as many chapters, a copy of which is in the hands of Mr. Tahmuras in Bombay. The happy possessor of that MS. kindly communicated a few of the extra chapters to Dr. West, and the interest of the contents, as here translated, will certainly cause all Pahlavi scholars in Europe to join with Dr. West in urging their fellow-scholars in Bombay to have a lithograph of the whole of the MS. published. The additional chapters translated by Dr. West give us many details of importance on the mythology and legendary history of Iran, and what is more, just those data of which the want has made itself most felt up to this time: I mean historical data on the age of the *Bundahish*. They contain a list of Mobeds who were contemporary with the author or last revisor, and among the names given is that of Zâd Siparam, the author of what Dr. West calls a paraphrase of the *Bundahish*. Now, according to Dr. West, Zâd Siparam must have had the *Bundahish* before his eyes, as he deals with the same subject, often in the same words, but generally in a style more involved and obscure, which seems to imply that the *Bundahish* was older than Zâd Siparam's treatment of the same matter. Dr. West draws thence the inference that the writer of the text, as found in Mr. Tahmuras' MS., being older than Zâd Siparam, is likely to have merely re-edited an old text, with some addition of his own. As Zâd Siparam is known to have been living in the year 881, and as the allusions to the Arabian dominion found in the *Bundahish* show that it is not anterior to the conquest of Iran, it must have been written between the middle of the 7th century and the year 881. Dr. West's main reason for making Zâd Siparam posterior to the *Bundahish* lies in his style; which makes it difficult to give a definite judgment on his inferences, until the text itself is published: still, in any case, whatever may be the true relation between Zâd Siparam and the *Bundahish*, whether he borrowed from the *Bundahish* or the reverse, or whether both borrowed from a common source, the identity between the two works is a proof that the ground-work of the *Bundahish*, as far as the matter is concerned, is as old as the 9th century.

The *Bahman Yasht* is still unedited, with the exception of a short extract published by Prof. Spiegel. It belongs to that long series of 'Revelations' which were so numerous among the Jews, the Christians and the Persians. Zoroaster is represented in it as receiving from Ormazd an account of the future history of Iran from his own time down to the last days of the world and the resurrection. It is interesting both as being the fullest account yet published of the Parsi theory of the last days of the world and as being a historical work. It alludes to the rule of the Turks and Turanians being broken by other fiends, the *Kilisiâki*; as this is a name of the Christians (Neriosengh, *Ad Yaśna* ix, 75; from ἐκκλησία), one can hardly help seeing in this an evident allusion to the Crusades, the more so as the author seems to see in their coming the fulfilment of an old tradition that the last invaders must have red banners, red weapons and red hats; the red cross of the Crusaders may have been an appropriate answer to that expectation.

As the oldest MS. of the *Bahman Yasht* was written about five hundred years ago, and this is most certainly not the original one, the composition of the book must have taken place between 1099 and the middle of the fourteenth century, and very likely nearer the former than the later date. I may mention here that the Judaeo-Persian 'revelation' known as *The History of Daniel* (*Qissahi Daniel,*) which was written in the year 1099, immediately after the taking of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, offers striking analogies with the *Bahman Yasht*.

We come now to the *Shâyast lâ-Shâyast,* " a compilation of miscellaneous laws and customs regarding sin and impurity, with other memoranda about ceremonies and religious subjects in general." It consists of two distinct treatises on the same and similar subjects, of nearly the same age, to which the editor has added a third part consisting of a number of miscellaneous passages of somewhat similar character, which are found in the same MS., but which cannot be attributed to the same writer or the same age. The matter treated of in the *Shâyast* is nearly the same as in the Pahlavi commentary to the *Vendidad* on the one hand, and in the Persian *Ravaets* on the other. Its authors borrowed freely from that commentary, and it was not less freely borrowed from by the authors of these *Ravaets.* Its age is shown by Dr. West with tolerable certitude to belong to the seventh century. Any editor, either of the commentary to the *Vendidad*, or of the *Ravaets,* will find in this book the best and an indispensable help for his task.

The translation is preceded by an introduction in which Dr. West gives a clear account of the Pahlavi scriptures and language, of the extent and importance of the Pahlavi literature, and in which he sums up the contents of the several treatises translated, and all the facts he has gathered from them as to the date of their composition and their bearing on the Pahlavi literature in general.

As to the value of the translation, the name of Dr. West is as good a warrant as can be desired in a matter of such uncertainty as the translation of a Pahlavi text. There are points, of course, in which all translators would not agree with him. For instance, page 63, it may be questioned whether *vât staft* has anything to do with the Persian *shitâftan,* to hasten (" the wind rushed"), as it appears from *Minokhired* 52, 19, compared with *Vendidad* iii. 42, that *vât staft* is only a clerical error for *vât shikaft* (a strong wind); the phrase: "The fire F r ô b a k was established at the appointed "place...which Yim constructed (*brâ karînit*) for "them; and the glory of Y i m saves the fire F r o-"b a k from the hand of D a h â k" would, I think, be better translated "the fire F r ô b a k was established at the appointed place, and when Y i m was sawn in two, the fire F r ô b â k saved the glory of Yim from the hand of D a h â k,"—as *brâ karînit* is just the word used (*Bund.* 77-9) to express that Dahâk and Spityura sawed Yim in two (in Zend *Yimô-kereñta*, Yasht xix, 46); and with regard to the second part of the sentence, in the Sanskrit translation of the Nyâyish, an allusion is made to the struggle between the fire Frôbak and Dahâk (*Adaraprâ yas samam Dahâkena prativâdam akarot*), a myth corresponding to, although different from, the one in Yasht xix, where it is told how the glory of Yima was saved from Dahâk by Mithra. In the same and the following pages, the word *hamâk* translated 'continually' may safely and ought to be left untranslated, as it is nothing more than the exponent of the present and imperfect, and is used in exactly the same way as the Persian *hamî*.

But whatever objections may be made to passages here and there, this book as a whole is such a one as I doubt whether any other Pahlavi scholar would have been able to do as well or to do at all, and it supplies the largest and best digested mass of documents that the student of the Pahlavi literature has ever been presented with at one time.

Paris. JAMES DARMESTETER.

SELECTIONS FROM THE CALCUTTA REVIEW (No. I). Calcutta: Th. S. Smith, 1881.

The first fifty volumes of the *Calcutta Review* were not only scarce and difficult to obtain, but so bulky, that the idea of reprinting the most important articles ought to be hailed with pleasure by all who know the value of the information imbedded in these early volumes—bearing on the history, religion, science, civil and military administration, &c. of India. The names of writers such as the late Sir John Kaye, Rev. Dr. Duff, Sir H. Lawrence, Sir Herbert Edwardes, Sir Henry Durand, Mr. J. Marshman, Dr. Oldham, &c.—not to mention authors still living,—are a sufficient guarantee for the literary and scientific value of the papers to be reprinted. The first monthly part of these *Selections* contains, in 152 pages, four articles from vol. I of the original *Review*; they are—1. Kaye's long and striking article on Lord Teignmouth; 2. The same writer's paper on the Ameers of Sindh; 3. The Rev. Dr. T. Smith's able and interesting account of the Astronomy of the Hindus; and 4. Kaye's on Lord William Bentinck's Administration. If in the succeeding parts the papers are as judiciously selected, the publication will deserve general support.

INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA AT KAHÂUN.

Bhagwânlâl Indraji

THE KAHÂUṄ INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA.

BY BHAGWÂNLÂL INDRAJI PAṆḌIT AND THE EDITOR.

THE Kahâuṅ Inscription of Skandagupta was noticed by Dr. Buchanan,[1] but was first brought to the notice of Mr. J. Prinsep in 1837, by Mr. D. Liston, who sent him a description of the pillar with a copy, and afterwards an impression, of the inscription.[2]

The village of Kahâuṅ (कहाउँ) is in the Selampur Majomli parganạ, about 46 miles in a straight line south-east from Gorakhpur, the principal town of the district. The pillar, which stands to the north of the village, is about 24 feet high above ground, and is formed of a compact sandstone, the letters of the inscription being deeply and clearly cut. The base of the pillar, to the height of four and a half feet from the ground, is a square of 1′ 10″; at 4′ 6″ it changes into an octagon for a height of 6′ 3″, and it is on the three northern faces of this portion of the shaft that the inscription is found. Above this a section 5′ 10½″ in height has sixteen sides, then it is circular for 2′ 11⅓″, over which is a square member 9″ thick, and 18″ square,—the pillar tapering slightly up to this. On a circular neck, 4½″ in height, rests the capital which is of the Perepolitan type[3] employed in other Lâṭs, is 2′ 1½″ in height, the principal member being bell-shaped and reeded. This is surmounted by a square block with a small niche on each side[4] containing standing figures of naked Tirthaṅkaras. Into a circular head, 6″ in height, over this square block, is inserted an iron spike which probably supported some symbol of the Jaina religion. The beautiful monolithic column in the court of the Indra Sabhâ Jaina Cave-temple at Elurâ, which may be regarded as analogous to this, supported a Chaumukha or figure of four Jinas. Similarly the Buddhists, we know, placed lions, singly or in groups of four, on their *stambhas*, and the Śaivas a Triśûla. On the western side of the base of this pillar is also a naked figure of Pârśvanâtha—the snake being coiled up behind him in the fashion usually represented in Jaina sculptures with its *saptaphaṇa* spread out as a canopy for the head of the Jina, while two females kneel at his feet.

Prinsep was the first to translate the inscription, but he made the date out as "30 and 2 and 1 plus 100" or "133 after the decease of Skandagupta." Gen. Cunningham in 1854 understood it to give the date of the death of Skandagupta in the year 133 of the Guptakâl.[5] Dr. FitzEdward Hall in 1855 noted the error in the date,[6] and later (in 1859)[7] he read "The month of Jyeshṭha having arrived in the one hundred and forty-first year; the empire of Skandagupta .... being quiescent, &c." but in the following year, he gave this up, and published, as 'a more tenable version'—"The month of Jyeshṭha being current, the empire of Skandagupta...being extinct for the hundred and forty-first year," &c.[8] Dr. Bhau Dâji (1864) read it correctly[9]—"In the month of Jyeshṭhâ, in the year 141, in the peaceful reign of Skandagupta." Lastly, Râjendralâla Mitra after a long discussion decides on taking the troublesome word *śânte* along with *varshe*, and alters Hall's reading to—"In the empire of Skandagupta, . . . the year 141 having passed away, and the month of Jaishṭhya arriving," &c.[10]

All these differences of rendering turned on the meaning and construction of the word *śânte*, and Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl Indraji in the following version and remarks, which I have rendered into English for him, supports Dr. Hall's first rendering and Dr. Bhau Dâji's.

The lithograph has been prepared from an impression which he took of the inscription in 1873, when he went to copy the Aśoka inscriptions at Luḍiya and Âraraj.—J. B.

Transcript.

सिद्धम्

[1] यस्योपस्थानभूमिर्नृपतिशतशिरःपातवातावधूता
[2] गुप्तानां वन्शजस्य[11]प्रविसृतयशसस्तस्य सर्व्वोत्तमर्द्धेः
[3] राज्ये शक्रोपमस्य क्षितिपशतपतेः स्कन्दगुप्तस्य शान्ते
[4] वर्षे त्रिन्श[12] द्दशैकोत्तरकशततमें ज्येष्ठमासि प्रपन्ने
[5] ख्यातेस्मिन्ग्रामरत्ने ककुभ इति जनैस्साधुसंसर्गपूते

[1] Buchanan's *Eastern India*, vol. II, pp. 366, 367 and pl. v.

[2] *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. VII (1838), p. 34.

[3] See Fergusson's *Ind. and East. Archit.* p. 54; there is a small sketch of the pillar in *Jour. As. S. Beng.* vol. VII, pl. i, p. 37; and another in Cunningham's *Archæol. Sur. Reports*, vol. I, pl. xxix, p. 92.

[4] I have availed myself, in these details, of General Cunningham's measurements, *Archæol. Rep.* vol. I, pp. 91 ff.

[5] *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 144.

[6] *Jour. A. S. Ben.* vol. XXIV (1855), p. 385n.

[7] *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.* vol. VI, p. 530.

[8] *Jour. A. S. Ben.* vol. XXX (1861), p. 3n., where he gives a long note justificatory of his rendering of *śânte*, &c.

[9] *J. B. B. R. A. Soc.* vol. VIII, p. 246.

[10] *J. A. S. Beng.* vol. XLIII, p. 371.

[11] Read वंशजस्य

[12] Read त्रिंश°

[6] पुत्त्रो यस्सोमिलस्य प्रचुरगुणनिधेर्भट्टिसोमो महात्मा
[7] तत्सूनू रुद्रसोम[:]प्रथुलमतियशा व्याघ्र इत्यन्यसंज्ञो
[8] मद्रस्तस्यात्मजोभूद्द्विजगुरुयतिषु प्रायशः प्रीतिमान्यः
[9] पुण्यस्कन्धं स चक्रे जगदिदमखिलं संसरद्वीक्ष्य भीतो
[10] श्रेयोर्थं भूतभूत्यै पथि नियमवतामर्हतामादिकर्तॄन्
[11] पञ्चेन्द्रांस्थापयित्वा धरणिधरमयान्सन्निखातस्ततोयम्
[12] शैलस्तम्भः सुचारुर्गिरिवरशिखराग्रोपमः कीर्त्तिकर्त्ता

Translation.

To the perfect one! He—the floor of whose audience hall is swept by the breeze of the bowing heads of hundreds of kings, born of the Gupta race, whose glory is wide expanded, prosperous beyond all others, like to Śakra, and master of hundreds of sovereigns,—in this Skandagupta's peaceful reign, in the year a hundred and forty one,[13] when the month of Jyeshṭha was come, in this jewel-like village, known to people as Kakubha—purified from being associated with the good: the great-hearted Bhattisoma, who is the son of Somila, a store of many good qualities, and whose son Rudrasoma is great in mind and in glory, and is otherwise called Vyâghra, whose son was Madra, kindly disposed, especially to Brâhmaṇs, Gurus, and ascetics. Being afraid on seeing this world to be evanescent, he made a heap of merit, *and* for his own and *other* people's welfare, having established, of stone,[14] five chief[15] Âdikartṛis[16] (Tirthaṅkaras) in the path of the ascetic Arhats, he set up this fame-conveying stone-pillar, which is beautiful and like the summit of chief of mountains.

Remarks.

The differences in previous renderings of the first *śloka* of this inscription have all turned on the word *śânte*, which means both 'peaceful' and 'expired;' but it was correctly construed by Dr. Hall in his first version, and by Dr. Bhau Dâji. Dr. Hall's second rendering of 141 years after the extinction of the empire of Skandagupta is untenable on palæographic grounds alone, as the characters do not belong to a later age than that of the Guptas. Then the Girnâr inscription of Skandagupta's governor Parnadatta, is dated 'in the year 136 calculated from the time of Gupta (*Guptasya kâlâdgaṇanâ vidheya*),' and it is well known that the coins and all other dated inscriptions of the Guptas show no other era but this. Râjendralâla Mitra connects *śânte* with the date which commences in the following *pada* of the *śloka*, and makes it express that the 'year' was 'expired,' but such a construction is unusual.

The remainder of the inscription has not been translated since Prinsep's time.

The inscription states that one Madra, whose pedigree is given up to his great grandfather, set up "five principal originators in the path of the Arhats," and then this pillar. The Jains call their Tirthaṅkaras by the name of Âdikartṛis; *but five of them, it is well known,* are special favourites, viz:—Âdinâtha, Sântinâtha, Neminâtha, Pârśva, and Mahâvira. These are oftenest represented in their temples, and addressed at the beginning of Jaina books. These are doubtless the "five lords" (*pañchêndra*) spoken of. The pillar we know from the sculptures on it to be Jaina, and though there are no temples near it now, there are traces of brick foundations in the ground about 25 feet distant from the pillar on the north, on which must have stood a Jain temple in former times. Besides this, there are ruins of two temples on the east side of the pillar, at a distance of about 200 yards, which were standing in the time of Buchanan. In one of these ruins there is still a Jaina image of Pârśvanâth in Kâyotsarga Moodrâ.

[13] Literally "thirty, ten, and one over a hundred."

[14] *Dharaṇidharamayân*, literally 'made of a mountain,' but employed here to mean simply 'of stone.'

[15] *pañchêndra* is an adjective to *Âdikartṛi*,—'five chief' or 'five lordly.'

[16] *Âdikartṛi*—'originators' the first who lead in the path, but usually applied to the Tirthaṅkaras: see *Kalpa Sûtra, śakrastava*. नमोत्थुणं समणस्स भगवओ महावीरस्स आइगरस्स चरमतित्थयरस्स.—*Sanskrit trans.* नमोस्तु श्रमणाय भगवते महावीरायादिकर्त्रे चरमतीर्थंकराय.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C. S., M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from p.* 105.)

No. XCVII.

The accompanying inscription, partly in the Sanskrit, and partly in the Old-Canarese, language, is edited from a black-lead impression taken by Mr. R. B. Joyner, Executive Engineer, Kalâdgi, from a stone at Bijâpur which, with

some others, was exposed by some excavations made by him in July 1880. The stone, however, though lost sight of in the interval, had previously been brought to notice, as there is an incomplete copy of this inscription in the Elliot *MS. Collection*, Vol. I, p. 232. Mr. Joyner's description of the stone is :—"It is built into a wall on the left hand of a pathway leading into the citadel of Bijâpur. It was evidently built in by Musalmâns, and does not occupy its original place. The stone is basalt. It is adjacent to other Hindu remains, which were built into a gate-house by the Musalmâns, probably in the early part of their occupation of Bijâpur,—say A. D. 1500."

The inscription is in well-formed and excellently perserved Old-Canarese characters of the period. It covers a space of about 3′ 3½″ high by 2′ 6″ broad. The only emblems at the top of the stone appear to be the moon over the commencement, and the sun over the end, of the first line.

The body of the inscription is of the time of the Western Chalukya king Bhuvanaikamalla or Sômêśvara II, and is dated in Śaka 996 (A. D. 1074-5), the Ânanda *saṁvatsara*, while his *Daṇḍanâyaka* Nâkimayya was governing the district called the Taddevâḍi Thousand. Taddevâḍi is the modern 'Tuddehwarree' of the maps, on the south bank of the Bhîmâ, about thirty-six miles to the north of Bijâpur; I had overlooked it in searching the map, and it was brought to my notice by Mr. Joyner, who has visited it, and states that, as far as he remembers, it contains no remains except a few Musalmân tombs. As to the other local villages mentioned in the inscription, Kannuvuri is the modern 'Kunoor' of the maps, about seventeen miles to the north of Bijâpur; and Bijjanahaḷḷi is probably the 'Busnal' of the maps, about eight miles to the east by north of 'Kunoor'.

In line 42 there commences a second inscription, undated and apparently unfinished, of the time of Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramâditya VI. It contains no historical information.

Transcription.

[1] Śrî [||*] Namas=tuṁga-śiraś-chuṁbi-chaṁdra-châmara-châravê trailôkya-nagar-âraṁbha-mûla-stambhâya Saṁ(śaṁ)bhavê || Jayaty=udadhi-maṁthan-ôtthita-vish-âgni-da-

[2] rpp-âpahaḥ sva-pâda-nakha-darppaṇ-ârppita-Surêṁdra-chûḍâmaṇiḥ ||(|) gaḷad-rudhira-budbuda-chchhurita-siṁha-charmmâ

[3] śuka-sphurad(d-) bṛi(-bṛi)had-urasthaḷa-sthita-bhujaṁga-hârô Haraḥ || Svasti Samastabhuvanâśraya śrî-pri(pṛi)thviva-

[4] llabha mahârâj-âdhirâja paramêśvara paramabhaṭṭâraka Satyâśraya-kuḷa-tiḷaka Châḷuky-âbharaṇaṁ śrîmad-Bhuvanaikama-

[5] lladêvara vijaya-râjyam=uttar-ôttar-âbhivṛidhdhi(ddhi)-pravardhdha(rddha)mânam=â-chaṁdr-ârkka-târaṁ saluttam-ire [| *] Tat-pâda-padm-ôpajîvi

[6] Samadhigatapaṁchamahâśabda-mahâsâmaṁtâdhipati mahâprachaṁḍa-daṁḍanâyakaṁ vibudha-vara-dâyakaṁ vipra-kuḷa-kamaḷa-

[7] mârttaṁḍaṁ nuḍid-aṁte-gaṁḍaṁ sâksharika-samudhdha(ddha)raṇaṁ satya-Yudhishṭhiraṁ śôbh-Âṁjanêyaṁ kâryya-Bṛihaspati parivâra-chintâmaṇi

[8] svâmi-vaṁchaka-gaja-paṁchânanaṁ nija-kuḷa-kuvaḷe(ḷa)ya-sudhâkaraṁ dharmma-ratnâkaraṁ śrîmad-Bhuvanaikamalladêva-Râm-âdêśa-Ha-

[9] nmaṁ(numaṁ)taṁ śrîman-mahâprachaṁḍa-daṁḍanâyakaṁ Nâkimayyaṁgaḷ Taddevâḍi-sâsiramumaṁ dushṭa-nigraha-śishṭa-pratipâḷanaṁ-geydu

[10] sukhadin=anubhavisuttam-irddu Sa(śa)ka-varshaṁ 996neya Ânaṁda-saṁvatsarada Pusya(shya) su(śu)dhdha(ddha) 5 Bṛi(bṛi)haspativârad-aṁdi-

[11] n=uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrâṁti-parvva-nimittam=âgi Vaṁ(baṁ)kâpurada nele-vîḍinoḷ Śrî-Ballavarasargge biṁnapaṁ-geydu râjadhânî-Vija-

[12] yâpurada Śrî-Svayaṁbhu-Sidhdhê(ddhê)śvara-dêvara dêgulamaṁ mâḍisiy=alliy=âchâryyar Śrî-Yôgêśvarapaṁḍitadêvara samîpadal=kêḷva ta-

[13] pôdhanarggaṁ bhaṭṭarggam=aśan-âchchhâdanakk=eṁdu [| *] Svasti Samasta-jagaj-jana-jêgîyamâna-śruta-tapaḥ-prabhâvaḥ sâkshân-Mahâdêvaḥ Kâḷâ-

[14] mukha-mukha-tiḷakaḥ sva-samaya-saṁpâdit-ânaṁda-puḷakaḥ tat-kuḷa-lakshmi(kshmî)-viḷâsa-niḷaya-mûḷa-staṁbhaḥ parihṛita-sakaḷa-daṁbhaḥ

[15] śrîmad-Bhujaṁgadêvâchâryy-âbhidhânaḥ sa êsha vijayatê | yaḥ khalv=êvaṁ guru-paraṁparâtau(tô) mahâ-mahima-mahanîyata-

[16] yâ śrûyatê || Yasy=ôdêti samâdhi-saushṭhava-vaśâd brahmâṁḍa-khaṁḍât=paraṁ jyôtir=yyasya nirâkrit-âkhiḷa-ja-

[17] gat-sâṁrâjya-lîḷaṁ manaḥ | san-mukti-pramadâ-vaśîkaraṇa-maṁtratpaṁ(tvaṁ) jaṁ(ja)gâm=âchaḷaṁ vâṁdyô=sau bhagavân Bhujaṁga-munipaś=chû-

[18] ḍâmaṇir=yyôginâṁ || Yôgêna prati-maṁḍaḷaṁ vidadhatâṁ(tâ) sadyas=tanûnâ[ṁ*] śataṁ pratyashṭhâyi(pi)pa(sha)ta kshaṇâd=anikaṭaṁ Jhaṁjhêśvarâ

[19] dvâdaśa | sthânîya-pramukhâ[ḥ*] prasiddha-vishayêshv=âścharyyatâṁ kurvvatâ yên=âsau prathatê Bhujaṁga-munipaḥ Kâḷâmu-

[20] kh-âgrêsaraḥ || Aṇim-âdi-guṇ-ôpêtâḥ karmma-nirmmûḷana-kshamâḥ mukti-lakshmi(kshmî)-priyâs=tasya santânê muni-puṁ-

[21] gavâḥ || Tasya śishyaḥ | Sâṁgê vêda-chatushṭayê pravimaḷa-Śrî-Lâkul-âpt-âgamê tat-prôkt-âva(cha)raṇ-ôpajâta-jagad-âścharyya-

[22] prabhâv-ônnatau Tâḷ-âbhîḷa-vilôchana-prakaṭakaṁ lôkâ vadaṁt=îti yô Bhaujaṁgô bhuvanô Trilôchana iti khyâtaḥ sa vî-

[23] ta-spri(spṛi)haḥ || Tasya śishyaḥ | Prajñâ-pâṭava-pâṭitam hṛidaya-jaṁ môh-âbhidhânaṁ tamô vâg-nishṇâtatay=ô(â)nya-vâdi-ja-

[24] natâ-garvv-âṁdhakâraṁ hataṁ unmûḷikṛitam=ûrjjitais=su-charitair=ddôsh-âvaḷî-dhvâṁtakaṁ bâlyê yêna

[25] sa Bâḷasûryya-munipas=Trailôchanô bhrâjatê || Tadîyas=tu śishyaḥ | Lôk-ânugraha-hêtunâ bhagavatî Vâ-

[26] g-dêvat=aiv=ôditâ dêvô v=âpi Mahêśvarô=dadhad=atha śrîman(n-) ma(-ma)nushy-âkṛitiṁ êtâvat khalu śakyatê budha-janaiḥ Kâ-

[27] śmîra-sûrîśvaraḥ stôtuṁ kô=pi sahasra-vaktra-rahitaḥ śaktaḥ samantât punaḥ || Tasya śishyaḥ | Punaḥ Śrî-Vâdimahâ-

[28] praḷe(ḷa)yakâḷa-Bhairavapaṁḍitadêvô yasy=êyaṁ samâkhyâ || Mîmâṁs-âbhîḷa-śûlaḥ sugata-ḍamaruka-dhvâna-vibhrâṁta-

[29] dhṛishyad-vâdi-svântô viśêsha-Tṛi(tri)ṇayana-bhaya-kṛit(t-) kâ(-kâ)piḷ-ôdyat-kapâḷaḥ | nyâya-prôddâma-ghaṁṭâ-dhvani-badhirita-dig(g-)

[30] vyô(-vyô)ma-bhûmy-aṁtarâḷô dhattê=sau vâdinâṁ Tatpurusha-munipatiś=chêtasâ Bhairavatvaṁ || Anud(d-) grî(-grî)vô bâḷâbaḷa-sada-

[31] si n=âḍaṁbara-karaḥ kshamâ-rûpaś=ch=âyaṁ satatam=atha vidvat(t-) pra(-pra)bhu-sabhê ||(|) abâṭ śûḷ-âbhîḷa-Tṛi(tri)ṇayana-karôṭi-ḍa-

[32] maruka-sva-chihn-âbhâ[ṁ*] vâchaḥ prakaṭayati bhâ[ṁ*] Bhairava-muniḥ || Tasy=ânvayê samuditaḥ Kali-kâḷa-paṁka-prakshâḷana-kshama-

[33] charitra-pavitra-mûrtti[ḥ*] | Yôgêśvarô bhuvana-viśruta-śuddha-kîrttir=Ggaṁgâ-pravâha iva bhûri-Himâdri-madhyê ||

[34] ⊛ Bîbhats-âkuḷam=âkaḷayya sakaḷaṁ saṁsâra-jâḷaṁ baḷ-ônmûḷ-ônmûḷita êpa(sha) yêna mahatâ saṁkalpa-janma-drumaḥ ||(|) kânt-âpâṁga-

[35] viḷôkan-âmṛita-rasair=âvirbhbha(rbbha)vat-pallavaḥ Śrî-Yôgî(gê)śvara-paṁḍitô vijayatê sô=yaṁ muniṁdr-ôttamaḥ || Nishṭhâ-kaḷatra-nirataḥ sukṛi-

[36] ta-prarôha-kshêtrîkṛita-prathi(?)ta(?)-nâtha-pad-âṁbujâtaḥ ||(|) adhdhâ samṛi-dhdha(ddha)-rasa-vâk-tati-kâmadhênur=Yôgî(gê)śvarô nanu gṛiha-

[37] stha iv=aisha chitraṁ || Svasti Yama-niyam-âsana-prâṇâyâma-pratyâhâra-dhyâna-dhâraṇâ(ṇa)-samâdhi-saṁpannaruṁ vibudha-prasaṁ-

[38] nna(na)ruṁ | sûkti-sudhâ-saṁtarppita-samasta-lôkaruṁ ûrjjita-vivêkaruṁ | Kâḷâmukha-kuḷa-kamaḷa-vana-râjahaṁsaruṁ Sarasvatî-

[39] karṇṇ-âvataṁsaruṁ srîmat-[T*]rilôchana-dêva-labdha-vara-prasâdaruṁ sakaḷa-vidyâ-vinôdaruṁ ni[ḥ*]spri(spṛi)ha-mahâ-mahim-ôpêtaruṁ

[40] charit-âvadâtaruṁ śishṭa-jan-âbhîshṭa-phaḷa-dâyakaruṁ muni-nâyakaruṁ | śrîmad-Vâdipraḷe(ḷa)ya-Bhairavapaṁḍitadêva-pâd-ârâ-

[41] dhakaraṁ mukti-kâminî-chitta-sâdhakarum=appa śrîmad-Yôgêśvarapaṁḍitadêvara kâlaṁ karchchi sarvvanamaśyaṁ(syaṁ) dhârâ-pûrvvakaṁ mâḍi Kaṁnu-

[42] vari-paṁneradara baḷiya Bijjanahaḷḷiya poladoḷ Mâṇikêśvarada gaḍiṁbadiṁ biṭṭa mattar 300 ⊛ Svasti Samastabhuvanâśra-

[43] ya śrî-pri(pṛi)thvivallabha mahârâj-âdhirâja paramêśvara paramabhaṭṭâraka Satyâśraya-kuḷa-tiḷaka Châḷuky-âbharaṇaṁ

[44] śrîmat-[T*]ribhuvanamalladêvar Kalyâṇada nelevîḍinoḷ=uttar-ôttar-âbhivṛiddhi-pravarddhamânam=â-chaṁdr-ârkka-târaṁ sa-

[45] lutlam-ire [| *] Tat-pâda-padmôpajîvi ⊛ Tamad=oḍḍiṁdaṁ karaṁg-iḷd=iruḷan=amṛita-dhâmaṁ kara-stômadiṁd=atyamalaṁ-mârpp-aṁt-ir=igaḷ Kṛi-

[46] tayuga-charitaṁ Tryem(tryaṁ)bakaṁ satya-saujanya-mah-âṁbhôrâśi-dôshâkara-Kaliyugamaṁ nirmmaḷaṁ-mâḍidaṁ dhâtri manaṁ-go-

[47] ḷv-aṁtu Gaṁgâ-salila-śuchi-yaśô-râśi-piyûshadiṁdaṁ || Arid=app=î Kalikâlad=oṁdu bisupiṁdaṁ nôḍa saujanya-vallari

[48] muṁ-piṁbaṇa bâḍi pâḍ-aḷiyal=eṁd=iḷd=igaḷ-igaḷ nayaṁ-bored=ettam-taḷirvâgi chaitra-late vol chelv-âge tâḷdittu chittaramaṁ

[49] Tryem(tryaṁ)baka-sadguṇ-âmṛita-payaḥ-saṁsêkadiṁ lôkadoḷ || Saradhoḷ(doḷ) saradî-nigaḷ=aṁbaradoḷ nakshatra-paṁktigaḷ pûrṇṇa-

[50] kaḷâdharanoḷ kaḷegaḷ beḷap-ant-ire beḷagidav=akhiḷa-viddegaḷ Tryeṁ(tryaṁ)bakanoḷ ||

Translation.

Śrî! Reverence to (*the god*) Śambhu, who is made beautiful by a *chauri* which is the moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds! Victorious is (*the god*) Hara, who destroyed the pride of the fire of the poison that arose from the churning of the ocean; who has the crest-jewel of (*the god*) Surêndra reflected in the mirror of the nails of his feet; whose (*garment of a*) lion's hide is besprinkled with drops of trickling blood; and whose necklace is a serpent, placed on his mighty chest, and glittering like a parrot!

(L. 3.)—Hail! While the victorious reign of the glorious Bhuvanaikamalladêva,—the asylum of the universe, the favourite of the world, the great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the most worshipful one, the glory of the family of Satyâśraya, the ornament of the Châḷukyas,—was flourishing with perpetual increase, so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars might last:—

(L. 5.)—He, who subsisted, (*as if he were a bee*), on the waterlilies which were his feet, viz. the glorious and most bold *Daṇḍanâyaka* Nâkimayya,—the *Mahâsâmantâdhipati*, who had attained the *pañchamahâśabda*; the most bold *Daṇḍanâyaka*; the giver of boons to learned people; the sun of the white waterlilies which were the class of the Brâhmaṇs; he who was true to his promises;[1] he who was the support of literary men; he who was a very Yudhishṭhira in truth; he who was a very Âñjanêya in distinguished merit; he who was a very Bṛihaspati in respect of religious duties; he who was the philosopher's stone of his retinue; he who was a very lion to the elephants which were those who deceived his master; he who was the moon of the blue waterlilies of his own family; he who was a very ocean of piety; he who was a very Hanumanta to the Râma who was the glorious Bhuvanaikamalladêva,—

(L. 9.)—While happily enjoying the (*district called*) the Taddevâḍi Thousand, punishing the wicked and protecting the good,—

(L. 10.)—On the occasion of the sun's commencing his progress to the north, on Thursday the fifth day of the bright fortnight of (*the month*) Pushya of the Ânanda *saṁvatsara*, which was the Śaka year 996,—

(L. 11.)—Preferred a request to Śrî-Ballavarasa at the capital of Baṅkâpura, and caused to be built a temple of the god Śrî-Svayaṁbhu-Siddhêśvara of the capital of Vijayâpura, and, saying that it was to provide food and raiment for the ascetics and for the *bhaṭṭas* who were the pupils of Śrî-Yôgêśvarapaṇḍitadêva, the *âchârya* of that temple;[2]—

(L. 13.)—Hail! Victorious is he who has the

[1] *Lit.*, 'one who sees as he speaks.'

[2] The context is in lines 37 and 42, "having laved the feet of the glorious Yôgêśvarapaṇḍitadêva, &c., allotted (*to him*), as a *sarvanamasya*-grant," &c.; all the intervening matter is by way of a parenthesis.

glorious name of Bhujaṁgadêvâchârya, the reported efficacy of whose penances is perpetually sung by the people of the whole world; who is the forehead mark of the face which is the Kâḷâmukha (*sect*);[3] the hairs of whose body stand erect through the happiness produced by his own religious observances; who is the foundation-pillar of the habitation of the sportive play of the goddess of the fortunes of that family; who has laid aside all hypocrisy; and who is verily said to be worthy to be honoured by the very greatest on account of the lineal succession of his spiritual preceptors. He, the holy saint Bhujaṁga, the most excellent of those who practise the *yôga*, and worthy to be praised, —whose lustre rises preëminent to either portion of the *brahmâṇḍa*, which has been brought under subjection by the excellence of his religious contemplation; and whose mind despises the frivolity of universal sovereignty over the whole world,—attained the immoveable condition of being possessed of religious incantations which could make subject to him the lovely woman who is final emancipation. Famous is the saint Bhujaṁga, the foremost of the Kâḷâmukhas,—who assumed, through the *yôga*,[4] a hundred forms at once in as many different realms, and caused to be established in an instant, far and wide, twelve (*liṅga*) forms (*of the god Śiva under the name*) of Jhañjhêśvara, the chief of which was the local one, and who thus caused astonishment in many famous regions.

(L. 20.)—In his lineage there were many eminent saints, endowed with the superhuman power of becoming as small as atoms, and with other good qualities; capable of eradicating (*the effect of*) actions; and dear to the goddess of final emancipation.

(L. 21.)—His disciple was that man, destitute of covetousness, who was renowned under the names of Bhaujaṁgabhuvana and Trilôchana, and who, people say, displayed (*three*) eyes, as terrible as those of (*the god*) Tâla, in (*his knowledge of*) the four *Vêdas* and the *Vêdâṅgas*, in (*his acquaintance with*) the most pure traditions that he had received from Śrî-Lâkula, and in the eminence of his dignity which evoked the admiration of the world through the religious observances that were preached by him.

(L. 23.)—His disciple,—Glorious is that saint, Bâḷasûrya-Trailôchana, by whom, in his childhood, the intellectual darkness called delusion, born in the heart, was penetrated by his talent, and by whom the darkness of the pride of his opponents in argument was destroyed by his eloquence, and by whom the darkness of faults was eradicated by his excellent good actions.

(L. 25.)—His disciple was Kâśmîra, the chief of wise men, in respect of whom learned people verily argue that (*it was as if*) the goddess Vâch had been born, for the sake of conferring a favour on mankind, and as if the god Mahêśvara had assumed a human form; who, then, that has not a thousand mouths, is able to praise him properly?

(L. 27.)—His disciple, again, was Śrî-Vâdimahâpraḷayakâḷa-Bhairavapaṇḍitadêva, of whom this is the reputation. He, this saint Tatpurusha,—whose terrible trident is the *Mîmâṁsâ*; who disturbs the caverns which are his arrogant opponents with the sound of his double drum which is the *Sugata* (*doctrine*); whose forehead is crowned by a mass of matted hair which causes fear even to (*the god*) Triṇayana; and who makes the interstices of the regions and the sky and the earth deaf with his huge bell which is the *Nyâya*,—assumes, by his intellect, the condition of being a very Bhairava to disputants. Not lifting up his neck and not displaying any arrogance in the assembly of the strong or of the weak, and always capable of toleration in the assembly of learned men and lords, the saint Bhairava makes manifest the glory of the goddess of speech the lustre of which is his own mark, *viz.* the double drum, which is a skull, of (*the god*) Triṇayana who is terrible by reason of his trident. . . . . .[5]

(L. 32.)—In his lineage there was born Yôgêśvara, whose form was purified by actions which were capable of washing away the mud of the Kali age, and whose pure fame was renowned in the world, like the stream of the

[3] A Śaiva sect.

[4] The *yôga* is supposed to confer the power of manifesting one's self in different localities at one and the same time. This verse puzzled me, and the emendation and translation of it are due to the kindness of Dr. Kielhorn, except that, where I insert a *Visarga* after *pramukhâ* in line 19, he retains the original reading, and divides the words *sthânyapramukh-âprasiddha-vishayêshu*, and translates "and who thus caused astonishment in unknown regions ruled over by towns," *i. e.* "in unknown regions and in the towns ruling over them."

[5] The meaning of *abâṭ* is not apparent, unless it is for *avâch*, 'pointing downwards, held downwards.'

(*river*) Gaṅgâ in the centre of the great (*mountain*) Himâdri. Victorious is he, Śrî-Yôgêśvarapaṇḍita, the best of saints, by whom, being so mighty, this tree of love, which displays fresh sprouts through the juice of the nectar of the side-glances of lovely women, was entirely uprooted by his strength, when he took into consideration that the whole mass of worldly existence is pervaded with loathsomeness. Verily this householder Yôgêśvara is a marvel, —being devoted to his wife who is perfection; having the waterlilies which are the feet of his famous lord made the field for (*the growing of*) the young sprouts of his good actions; and being possessed of a cow of plenty which is the abundance of his speech which is of perfect quality ;—

(L. 37.)—Hail!—Having laved the feet of the glorious Yôgêśvarapaṇḍitadêva,[6]—who was conversant with the practice of the *yama*, *niyama*, *âsana*, *prâṇâyâma*, *pratyâhâra*, *dhyâna*, *dhâraṇa*, and *samâdhi*; who was kindly disposed towards learned people; who gratified all people with the nectar of the *Sûkti*; who was a very *râjahaṁsa* among the waterlilies of the Kâḷâmukha family; who was the ear-pendent of (*the goddess*) Sarasvatî; who had acquired the excellent favour of the god Triḷôchana; who delighted in all learning; who was endowed with the exceeding greatness of being free from envy; who was pure in his actions; who granted the rewards desired by excellent people; who was the foremost of saints; who performed obeisance to the feet of the glorious Vâdipraḷaya-Bhairavapaṇḍitadêva, and who captivated the mind of the lovely woman final emancipation,—allotted (*to him*), as a *sarvanamasya*-grant, with libations of water, 300 *mattars* of land, by (*the measure of*) the staff of the temple of the god Mâṇikêśvara, in the lands of (*the village of*) Bijjanahaḷḷi, which is included in the Kannuvuri Twelve.

(L. 42.)—Hail! While the glorious Tribhuvanamalladêva,—the asylum of the universe, the favourite of the world, the great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the most worshipful one, the glory of the family of Satyâśraya, the ornament of the Châḷukyas, —was continuing with perpetual increase at the capital of (*the city of*) Kalyâṇa, so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars might last:—

(L. 45.)—He, who subsisted, (*as if he were a bee*), on the waterlilies which were his feet, viz. Tryambaka, who was possessed of the deeds of Kṛitayuga, and who was the moon of the great ocean of truth and goodness, made the Kaliyuga pure with the nectar of his fame which was as bright as the waters of the river Gaṅgâ in such a way that the earth was pleased,—just as the moon, with its mass of rays makes very pure the night which has been overspread by the mass of the darkness. By being besprinkled with the water of the nectar of the good qualities of Tryambaka, the creeper of excellence,—which, to look at, was as if it had withered and wasted away, before and behind, through the scorching heat of this wicked Kali age,—now again recovered and put forth new shoots on high and excellently acquired a variegated beauty in the world like a *chitra*-creeper. As the . . . . . .[7] (*shine*) in the water, and as the rows of lunar mansions (*shine*) in the sky, and as the digits shine in the full moon, so all the sciences shone in Tryambaka.

No. XCVIII.

The accompanying Old-Canarese inscription, in well-formed and fairly well preserved characters of the period, is from a black-stone tablet which was found lying in a field, Survey No. 258, away from any building, in the lands of the village of Hunaśikaṭṭi, about four miles in a south-easterly direction from Mugutkhâu-Hubḷi in the Sampgaum Tâlukâ of the Belgaum District. The stone is about 4′ 0″ high by 2′ 5½″ broad, of which the inscription covers a space of only 8½″ high by 2′ 2″ broad. The emblems at the top of the stone are:—In the centre, a seated Jinêndra, facing full front, in the usual attitude, with the legs crossed and the hands in the lap; on its left, a cow and calf, with the sun above them; and a crooked sword or dagger beyond them; and on its right, towards the upper part of the stone, the moon, partially effaced.

The inscription is of the time of the Western Châlukya king Bhûlôkamalla, or Sômêśvara III, and is dated in the sixth year of his reign, the Sâdhâraṇa saṁvatsara, *i. e.* Śaka 1052 (A. D. 1130-1). It gives us Koḍana-Pûrvadavaḷḷi, or [illegible]ncient

[6] See note 2 above.

[7] *Saradinig[illegible]l*; I do not see

hamlet of Koḍa, or perhaps of the waterpot', as the ancient name of Mugutkhân-Hubḷi,—'Hubḷi', or rather 'Hubbaḷḷi,' itself being a corruption of 'Pûrvadavaḷḷi.'

Transcription.

[1] ⊛ Svasti Śrîmad-Bhûlôkamalladêvara varśa(rsha) 6neya Sâvâ(dhâ)raṇa-saṁva-
[2] tsarada Phâlguṇa(na) śu 5 Âdivârad-aṁdu śrîman-mama[8]hâmaṁ-
[3] ḍaḷêśvâraṁ Mârasiṁga(ha)dêvarasaru agrahâraṁ Koḍana-Pûrvva-
[4] davaḷḷiya Mâṇikyadêvara basadiya saṁmaṁ(bam)dhiy=Êkasâ-
[5] leya-Pârśvanâthadêvara vividha-pûjâ-vidhânakke biṭṭa
[6] gaddeya sîmeya gudde[9] [||*] Maṁgaḷa-śrî [||*]

Translation.

Hail! On Sunday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of (*the month*) Phâlguna of the Sâdhâraṇa *saṁvatsara*, which was the sixth year of the glorious Bhûlôkamalladêva,—the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Mârasiṁhadêvarasa allotted the block[9] of the boundaries of the rice-land for the performance of the various rites of (*the god*) Êkasâleya-Parśvanâthadêva connected with the temple of (*the god*) Mâṇikyadêva of (*the village of*) Koḍana-Pûrvadavaḷḷi. (*May there be*) auspicious good fortune!

A NOTE IN CONNECTION WITH THE WESTERN CHALUKYA KING VIKRAMÂDITYA I.

BY J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S., M.R.A.S.

At page 37 above, Mr. Rice has questioned the correctness of my rendering of a Sanskrit passage, as to the meaning of which I differ from him. In several of the Western Chalukya inscriptions,[1] there occur, in the description of Vikramâditya I, the words *avanipati-tritay-ântaritâm sva-gurôḥ śriyam âtmasât=kritya(tvâ)*, which I translate by "having acquired for himself the regal splendour of his father, which had been interrupted by a confederacy of three kings," but which Mr. Rice translates by "making his own the wealth which his father had won, together with that inherited for three generations",[2] or "together with that transmitted by a succession of three kings."[3] I should have thought that there could be no two opinions as to the proper meaning of so simple a passage. But,—as Mr. Rice still maintains the correctness of his translation of it, and still refuses to accept mine; and as the proper rendering of the passage is of some importance in connection with the history of the Western Chalukyas,—it seems desirable to show clearly once for all which of the two translations is to be accepted as correct.

Mr. Rice's translation is at the best inaccurate; as there is nothing in the original text to represent the words "had won" and "together with that." To justify his full translation, the text ought to run *avanipati-tritaya-kram-âgata-śrî-sahitâm sva-guruṇâ upârjitâm śriyam âtmasât-kurvâṇaḥ*. But the real point lies in the words *avanipati-tritay-ântaritâm*; and we need only concern ourselves with them.

Mr. Rice contends that the meaning of them is "inherited for three generations", or, again, "transmitted by a succession of three kings."

Now, *antaritâm* is the accusative singular feminine of *antarita*, the past participle passive and intransitive of the root *i*, 'go', in composition with *antar*, 'between'. The meanings which Westergaard, in his *Radices Linguæ Sanskritæ*, allots to the compound verb *antari* are 'intermeare' and 'seponere'; and the meanings which Professor Monier Williams, in his *Sanskrit Dictionary*, allots to the same are 'to come between, to stand in any one's way, to separate, to exclude from, to pass over, to omit, to disappear'. And the meanings which the Professor allots to *antarita* are 'gone within, concealed; departed, withdrawn, vanished, dead; separated, detached; impeded, hindered'. Another common derivative from the same root is *antaraya*, *antarâya*, to which the Professor allots the meanings of 'intervention, obstacle, impediment'. There is nothing whatever in either of these authorities to justify *antarita* being rendered by 'inherited' or 'transmitted'.

[8] This repetition of the syllable *ma* is a mistake.
[9] *Gudde*, 'a heap.'
[1] Vol. VI, p. 76, l. 16; Vol. VII, p. 219, l. 11 (a spurious grant); Vol. VIII, p. 26, l. 13; and Vol. IX, p. 1?7, l. 11, p. 130, l. 11, and p. 133, l. 15.
[2] Vol. VIII, p. 27; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 299; and p. 37 above.
[3] Page 37 above.

It is, on the contrary, perfectly plain, from the very etymology of the word, that it can mean nothing but—1, 'that which has gone in between other things, and so has disappeared',—or 2, 'that which has been gone in between by other things, and so has been separated, impeded, or interrupted'.

Turning next to the word *tritaya*,—the meanings given to it by Professor Monier Williams are, as an adjective, 'consisting of three parts', and, as a substantive, 'a collection of three, a triad.' The more usual word is *traya*, the meanings allotted to which by the Professor are, as an adjective, 'threefold, consisting of three, divided into three parts, of three kinds', and, as a substantive, 'a triad, three collectively, a triplet, three.' Similarly, from *dvi*, 'two', we have, with precisely analogous meanings, *dvitaya* and *dvaya*; and from *chatur*, 'four', we have *chatushṭaya*, and, in certain compounds, *chatura*. As used in composition with words expressing divisions of time, these words do convey the meaning of succession and consecutiveness; thus, *mâsa-dvaya*, 'two (*consecutive*) months', *varsha-traya*, 'three (*consecutive*) years', and *saṁvatsara-śata-chatushṭaya*, 'four (*consecutive*) centuries of years.' In fact, unless there is a distinct indication that two consecutive months, &c., are *not* intended, it is impossible to translate such compounds without the idea of consecutiveness and succession. And so, taking *râjya* in the sense of 'reign,' which carries with it the idea of the lapse of a division of time, *râjya-traya* would mean 'three (*successive*) reigns.' But, in composition with other words, *dvaya*, *dvitaya*, &c., convey no such meaning of consecutiveness, but only the meaning of collectiveness, with some bond of similarity or other connection; thus, *gô-dvaya*, 'a couple of oxen,' *vêda-traya*, 'the three *Vêdas*,' and *samudrachatushṭaya*, 'the four oceans.' And so, taking *râjya* in the sense of 'kingdom,' *râjya-traya* would mean 'three (*synchronous*) kingdoms,' or a 'collection of three kingdoms.' And *avanipati-tritaya*, without the use of some additional word or words to indicate explicitly that it means 'three kings in succession,' or 'three generations of kings,' can only mean 'three (*contemporary*) kings,' with the idea of some bond of connection between them, whatever that bond may be, *i.e.* 'a collection of three kings', or as I, having regard to the context, translate it in this particular passage, 'a *confederacy* of three kings.'

Mr. Rice further contends that the authority for this alleged confederacy of three kings is altogether too slight for us to accept it as a fact: and that it was this scantiness of evidence which led me to suggest that the Amara and Âdityavarmâ of the Yêwûr inscription were really not of the Chalukya family at all, but were two of the three confederate kings. A reference to what I wrote at the time will show that I rejected these two names from the Chalukya genealogy from no want of evidence as to who the three confederate kings were, but simply because all the copper-plates of the Western Chalukyas make Vikramâditya I the son, and not the great-grandson, of Pulikêśî II,—and because the sole authority for foisting these two additional generations into the genealogy, between Pulikêśî II and Vikramâditya I, is the Yêwûr inscription, or rather, as I have since shewn,[4] the Miraj copper-plates, which contain a Western Châlukya inscription of the time of Jayasiṁha III, dated Śaka 946, or three and a half centuries after the time of Vikramâditya I. There is probably no one now, except Mr. Rice, who will care to maintain that these two generations are to be foisted into the genealogy. He, however, does maintain it; and, in doing so, is doubly wrong. In the first place, I have shown that the first name is not Amara at all, but Naḍamari.[5] And in the second place,—whereas he identifies[6] this non-existent Amara with the "Ambêra, the dear son of Satyâśraya," of a copper-plate grant published by him in Vol. VIII, p. 96, and in *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 298,—the text of that grant, after the mention of Satyâśraya or Pulikêśî II, runs *sva-priya-sutâ sva-bhâshayâ Ambêr=êti*, &c. This passage is rightly read by Mr. Rice, but is wrongly translated by him;[7] for it gives the name, not of Ambêra, the *son* of Pulikêśî II, but of Ambêrâ, his *daughter*.

As to Mr. Rice's contention that there is no evidence of any confederacy of three kings

[4] Vol. VIII, p. 10.

[5] By the rules of Sandhi, *udvahannaḍamari* may be divided into *udvahan=Naḍamari*, or into *udvahann=Adamari*; but the latter is not likely to be the correct division in this passage. At any rate, the name is not Amara, nor anything like it.

[6] Vol. VIII, p. 89; and p. 37 above.

[7] Page 37 above; Vol. VIII, p. 97; and *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 298.

being formed against, or being overthrown by, Vikramâditya I,—the first point to be noted is that, in the earliest inscription in which the words *avanipati-tritay-ântaritâm* &c. occur,[8] —the very inscription which, through Mr. Rice's strictures on my interpretation of it and my remarks on it, has been the cause of this note,—these words are followed immediately by *krit-aikâdhishṭhit-âśêsha-râjya-bharaḥ*, *i. e.* "having acquired for himself the regal splendour of his father, which had been interrupted by a confederacy of *three* kings, he made the burden of the whole kingdom to be presided over by *one* (*sovereign*)." The contrast here is very marked and peculiar, and speaks for itself; he conquered *three* kings, and then made himself *sole monarch*. Further, the inscriptions of his son, Vinayâditya, record that Vikramâditya I "rent open (*like Indra*), with the thunderbolt which was his prowess, the proud summits of the haughtiness of the three mountains which were the three kings of Chôḷa and Pâṇḍya and Kêraḷa."[9] Later inscriptions, it is true, add "the Kaḷabhra and other kings", and record that he "subdued (*like Indra*), with the thunderbolt which was his prowess, the mighty tumult of the mountains which were the Pâṇḍya and the Chôḷa and the Kêraḷa and the Kaḷabhra and other kings.[10] But the earlier inscriptions, as I have said, mention only *three* kings—of Chôḷa and Pâṇḍya and Kêraḷa. We turn next to the Pallavas. It is recorded that Vikramâditya I "seized the city of Kâñchî, after the defeat of the leader of the Pallavas, who had been the cause of the discomfiture and the destruction of that family,[11] which was as pure as the rays of the moon,"[12] and, again, that he "had the waterlilies, which were his feet, besprinkled with the waters of the watering-pot which were the rays of the jewelled diadem of the lord of Kâñchî, who had bowed down before no other,"[13] and, with a slight difference of expression, that he "had the waterlilies which were his feet kissed by the diadem of the lord of Kâñchî, who had bowed down before no other."[14] Again, the inscriptions of Vinayâditya record that "at the command of his father (Vikramâditya I), he arrested the extremely exalted power of the Pallavas, whose kingdom consisted of three component dominions, as Sênânî (*did arrest*) the power of the Daityas (*at the command*) of (*his father*) Bâlênduśêkhara."[15] And the later inscriptions make the same statement, except that, for *trairâjya-Pallava*, they read *trairâjya-Kâñchîpati*.[16] Now, neither is *trairâjya* a proper name, as Mr. Rice takes it;[17] nor does *trairâjya-Pallava* or *trairâjya-Kâñchîpati* mean, as he translates it, "the Pallava king, or the king of Kâñchî, who had three reigns, or who formed a triad in himself."[18] But it does mean, as I have translated it, "the Pallava, or the lord of Kâñchî, (who had three kingdoms, or) whose kingdom consisted of three component parts." The expression points distinctly to there being three well-defined and recognised divisions of the Pallava dominions. They may have been each ruled by a separate king of a separate branch of the dynasty; or they may have been under one monarch, with a viceroy in each of the three provinces. But, in either case,—having regard to the natural and inveterate enmity that existed between the Chalukyas and the Pallavas,—the three Pallava kings, or the three viceroys of the Pallava monarch, would as a matter of course combine to resist a Chalukya invasion. In a footnote,[19] apparently overlooked by Mr. Rice, to the inscription which has been the origin of this note, I pointed out what I have now said at length,—that the three confederate kings either were the kings of Chôḷa and Pâṇḍya and Kêraḷa, or belonged to the Pallava dynasty. It must of course remain a moot point for the present which of the two views is the correct one, and, more so, whether the introduction by the Miraj plates of Naḍamari and Âdityavarmâ into the genealogy,

[8] Vol. VI, p. 76, l. 16.

[9] Vol. VI, p. 86, l. 16, and p. 89, l. 16; Vol. VII, p. 301, l. 15; and *Pâli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions*, No. 16, l. 11. The word *dharanîdhara-traya* has here the double meaning of 'three mountains' and 'three kings.'

[10] Vol. IX, p. 127, l. 12, p. 131, l. 12, and p. 133, l. 16; Vol. VIII, p. 26, l. 14; and see Vol. VII, p. 106, l. 66.

[11] The family of the Chalukyas, which was an offshoot of the Sômavaṁśa or race of the moon.

[12] Vol. VI, p. 86, l. 15, and p. 89, l. 14; Vol. VII, p. 301, l. 13; and *P., S., and O-C., Inscriptions*, No. 16, l. 10.

[13] The same inscription, ll. 17, 17, 16, and 12, respectively.

[14] Vol. IX, p. 127, l. 13, p. 131, l. 12, and p. 133, l. 17; Vol. VIII, p. 26, l. 15; and see Vol. VII, p. 106, l. 66.

[15] Vol. VI, p. 86, l. 19, and p. 89, l. 19; Vol. VII, p. 301, l. 17; and *P., S., and O-C., Inscriptions*, No. 16, l. 13.

[16] Vol. IX, p. 127, l. 15, p. 131, l. 14, and p. 133, l. 20; and Vol. VIII, p. 26, l. 17.

[17] Vol. VIII, pp. 24 and 28; and *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 299.

[18] Page 37 above.

[19] Vol. VI, p. 78, note ||

between Pulikêsî II and his son Vikramâditya I, connects them with those two kings, by tradition, in a sufficiently reliable manner to justify us in assuming that they were two of the three confederate kings. But, whatever opinion may be held as to these two points, we have the clearest evidence that there *was* a confederacy of some three kings, which interrupted the Chalukya supremacy for a while, at least over part of their dominions, after the death of Pulikêsî II,[20] but which at length was broken by Vikramâditya I.

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(*Continued from p.* 117.)

VII.

We have now reached a period of Chinghiz Khân's career when other authorities begin to be of value. Of these I would especially refer to three, all of them of Chinese origin. The first of them is entitled *Huang-yüan-sheng-wu-ts'in-cheng-lu, i. e.* "a record of Chinghiz Khân's warlike doings." This work has apparently never been printed; but the Archimandrite Palladius to whom we owe it that the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* was made accessible, possessed a MS. copy from which he published a translation in the Russian *Oriental Record,* vol. I, 1872. The work was apparently compiled from Mongol documents in the first half of the 14th century, but its author is unknown.[1] A friend of mine has favoured me with a translation of Palladius' version. I shall quote it by its two first words as the *Huang-yüan.* The work just cited is frequently quoted in a much better known work, namely the *Yuan-shi-lei-pen,* an abridged Chinese history of the Mongol dynasty, published in 1699 by Kiai-han in 42 chapters. Bretschneider remarks in reference to it that although only an extract from the *Yuan-shi,* it is a very valuable book for reference, as the learned author has added a great deal of interesting matter drawn for the greater part from rare works of the Mongol period. The first ten chapters comprising an extract from the *Pen-ki* (Annals) of the *Yuan-shi* were translated into French by Gaubil, and published in 1739 with the title *Histoire de Gentchiscan et de toute la dynastie des Mongous,* 1739.[2] Gaubil of course lies before me, as does a third and possibly a more important work, which I have already frequently quoted as an independent authority, namely, De Mailla's *History of China.* It is well to explain why it deserves this distinction. Joseph-Anne Marie de Moyriac de Mailla was a French Jesuit attached to the Peking Mission. He translated a famous history of China called *Tong-kien-kang-mu,* whose composition he has described at some length in his preface.[3] It was originally composed by Fan-tsu-yu (president of the Tribunal of History) and Se-ma-kuang, and extended from the year 208 B.C. to 960 A.D. To it were afterwards added the histories of the Sung and Yuan dynasties. The work was held in such high repute for its accuracy and solidity that in the last century the emperor Kang-hi had it translated into Manchu, and De Mailla tells us that his text is derived from a collation of both the Chinese and Tartar editions.[4] The part relating to the Liau, Kin and Yuan dynasties in this work was not very satisfactory, these dynasties being those of foreigners, and when he came down to them De Mailla had recourse to other authorities. Shun-shi, the father of Kang-hi, had caused the histories of these three dynasties which had been composed by Charbuhai, Nantu, Hokiton, Lieou-hong-yu, and others to be translated into Tartar. This history was drawn up very carefully from authentic documents, and was of equal authority with the *Tong-kien-kang-mu.* De Mailla therefore translated it in its entirety, and incorporated it in his work.[5] The whole was edited under the superintendence of M. Deshautesrayes and the Abbé Grosier, and was published at Paris in 13 volumes in the years 1777–1785. We will now resume our narrative:—

We have seen how a rivalry arose between Chinghiz Khân and his distant relative

[20] This period coincides with the period of anarchy which followed the death of Harshavardhana in Northern India.—See Vol. IX, p. 20.

[1] Bretschneider, *Notices,* &c. p. 15.

[2] Id., pp. 13 and 14.

[3] *Vide* vol. I, p. xlii, &c.

[4] Id. p xlvii.

[5] *Op. cit.,* tom. IX, p. 1, note.

Chamukha[6] for supremacy among the Mongols. The former's position now becomes very prominent. As we said, he was the chief of the Jajerat or Juriat, but he did not control the whole tribe. One section had deserted the Taijut, of which larger tribe the Juriat were a subordinate section, and had gone over to Chinghiz Khân. This is not mentioned in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, but is reported in the *Yuan-shi*, in the *Huang-yuan*, by De Mailla and by Rashid-u'd-dîn. In the *Yuan-shi* we read that the Juriat[7] who were related to the Taijut used frequently to meet Temujin's men on hunting expeditions. On one occasion Chinghiz proposed that they should camp together. Their chief replied that he was willing to do so, but that he had 400 followers, and even if he sent half of them home, he would not have enough to eat for them, so he could not well accept his hospitality, but the Mongol chief pressed his invitation, and gave him and his followers some food. The next day the two parties joined in hunting, and Temujin treated the Juriat like his guests, and ordered the game to be driven towards them so that they captured a large quantity. As they returned to their camp they spoke to one another, saying, although the Taijut are our brothers, they nevertheless seize our carts and horses, and rob us of our food. At present we have no one to rule over us, but if we are to have a ruler, let it be Temujin. The yoke of the Taijut now became very heavy upon them, so that their chiefs Yu-lih and Takhai Dadu rebelled. The rebellion was not successful, was put down with a heavy hand, and the Juriat ceased to be a separate tribe.[8] De Mailla says Temujin offered to cede to the two chiefs whom he calls Yulu and Tahaitulu as much land as they could enclose with the traces of their carts, but meanwhile they were hard pressed by the Taijut, and were both killed, and the Juriat (whom he calls Chaoliei) were completely dispersed.[9] Rashid reports the story at considerably greater length. He calls the place where the hunt took place "the hill Ujel Jelmen or Jelmez."[10] He says that when the hunters returned home they addressed themselves to their chiefs Ulug Behadur and Makhui Bedaneh (Berezine reads the names Uluk Bakhadur and Baguemi Badaganoi), and proposed that they should go over to Temujin Khân. The latter objected, saying that although the Taijut had used them badly, yet they were their relatives, and what would come to them if they separated from them. He therefore refused to fall in with their plans, but Ulug Behadur (the Yulu of the Chinese notices) and Tughai Talu (the Tugai-i-Ulu of Berezine and the Tahaitulu of De Mailla) went to Temujin with the following words:—"We come to you like wives without husbands, like great cattle without a leader, and small cattle without a herdsman. The sons of great ladies have robbed and ill-used us. We wish to draw the sword as your friends and to kill your enemies." Temujin addressing Ulug Behadur replied, "I was like one sleeping when you pulled me by the *gagul*, (*i. e.* the topknot or bunch of hair on the crown of the head, the root of the Russian *khokhol* meaning the same thing[11]) and awoke me. I sat sorrowfully at home, you have comforted and supported me. I will do all I can for you," and he in fact did them many services, but eventually the Juriat princes became his enemies and harried his people until the Merki Khudun Urjaneg (called Khodon *Orjeng by Berezine) killed Tughai Talu and the* Juriat were dispersed.[12] In the *Huang-yuan* we are told that the two parties were hunting in the usual Mongol fashion, *i.e.* enclosing a large space within an extended ring of beaters, &c. The lines having gradually approached one another, Chinghiz invited his friends to camp together. The chief of the Juriat thereupon sent home one-half of his men to make this possible. The place where the latter was hunting is there called Oojalamasi. Ulug Behadur is called Yilyibadu, and we are told that with the other elders of the tribe he addressed another chief named Mar-ya-dana, *i.e.* the Makhui Bedaneh of Rashidu'd-din, and tried to persuade him to desert the Taijut. As he would not, Yilyibadu and Takhai-talu went over to Chinghiz and urged that if their wives were without husbands and their horses without pastures, it was because the Taijut had taken them from them. Chinghiz offered to help them if they rebelled, but eventually Takhai-talu was killed by Khushu

[6] The name is written both Chamukha and Chamukhu in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, but the former is probably more correct.

[7] Hyacinthe calls them Choriat, and Douglas, Chowle.

[8] Douglas, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-13; Hyacinthe, pp. 8-10.

[9] *Op. cit.*, tom. IX, p. 12.

[10] Berezine, vol. II, p. 96; Erdmann, p. 263.

[11] Erdmann, *Temudschin*, note, p. 56.

[12] Erdmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 263 and 264.

Khurjan and the tribe of Jaoli, *i. e.* Juriat, was destroyed.[13]

Notwithstanding this defection of the Juriat we find Chamukha who was a Juriat chief, acquiring by his skill and knowledge a great ascendancy among the tribes on the Argun. He now comes forward as an important power, while the Taijut and their chief Terkutai Kiriltuk quite fall into the background. Chamukha soon came into conflict with Chinghiz Khân. On the dispersion of the Jelairs[14] many of them became the slaves and herdsmen of the Mongols. Among these we are told was Juchi Darmala (written Jokhi by Hyacinthe, Choki by Douglas, Suki by De Mailla, Juji Termileh by Erdmann, and Juchi Termela by Berezine, who lived with his masters in the district of Saali.[15] In another place the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* refers to this district as Saarikeer.[16] Rashid calls it Sarikeher.[17] The *Yuan-shi* calls it Sali gol, *i.e.* the river Sali.[18] The *Huang-yuan* also calls it the river Sali.[19] De Mailla styles it Sa li ho, meaning the same thing.[20] He also calls it Sali hor.[21] Quatremere has given a learned note upon the name in which he quotes a MS. gloss. of Gaubil's who calls the place Sali-kor or Sali-koure, and adds the Chinese have called the place Sali-chouen. "*Kouré*," he says, "means a place where there are many lakes and springs, and which is surrounded with water. The word is Mongol; *chouen* in Chinese denotes generally a watered district."[22] The *Kouré* of the above extract is doubtless the well-known *Keher* meaning a plain in Mongol, and Sari Keher as the name is correctly recorded by Rashidu'd-din means the Yellow Plains, by which name Chinghiz Khân's special home is frequently apostrophized, and notably in the funeral dirge which we shall quote further on. These yellow plains were apparently watered by a river Sari and were situated near the Onon, and Quatremere[23] suggests that the Saritei, a stream which Pallas met with near the Onon, is the Sari of the above extracts. This seems very probable. The Saritei is a tributary of the Aga which falls into the Onon on its western side, and the valley of the Aga like the other early Mongol settlements is described as strewn with ancient tombs, covered with flat roofs, and like them also as affording magnificent pasturage.[24] Dr. Bretschneider says that on the ancient map of Mongolia found in the *Yuan-shi-lei-pien* Sa-li-k'-ie-r is marked south of the river Wa-nan (*i.e.* the Onon), and close to the name is written the note "Here was the original abode of the Mongols."[25] We may take it therefore as exceedingly probable that the camp of Chinghiz at this time was on the upper waters of the Aga. Chamukha, we are told in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, lived at the mountain Ja-la-ma in the district of Olegaibulakha.[26] The *Yuan-shi* calls the place Irugil,[27] which D'Ohsson makes Iru-gol, *i.e.* the river Iru. The *Huang-yuan* calls it the sources of the river Yilyige. Rashid gives the name as Ulagai bulak. Ulagai in Mongol means red and Bulak a spring, stream or canal. There is according to Pallas a vitriolic stream seventeen versts north-west of the settlement of New Zurukhaitu on the Argun which is still called Ulan Bulak by the Tunguses and Krasnoi Kiyush by the Russians, which, he adds, both mean the same thing, *i.e.* the Red Spring.[28] The various allies of Chamukha chiefly came from the Argun, and we shall find him presently proclaimed Gurkhan on that river, whence it seems probable that the stream here mentioned from Pallas is the one referred to in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, and not the Ulengui, a tributary of the lower Ingoda as suggested by D'Ohsson.[29] We will now revert to our story. We have seen that the Jelair Juchi Darmala was engaged as one of Chingiz Khân's herdsmen on "the yellow plains of the Onon." One day a younger brother of Chamukha, named Taichar[30] or Taguchar, made a raid upon the cattle in his charge. Juchi's comrades did not dare to pursue, but he himself went after them, and overtook them at nightfall, and shot Taichar in the spine with an arrow, killed him, and drove his horses home again.[31] The *Huang-yuan* says that when the raid was made, Shochi Tarmakha, as he calls him,

[13] *Op. cit.*, pp. 154 and 155.
[14] Vide *ante*, vol. IX, p. 240.
[15] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, p. 64.
[16] Id., p. 81.
[17] Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 260; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 41.
[18] Hyacinthe, *loc. cit.*
[19] *Op. cit.*, p. 153.
[20] Tom. IX, pp. 10 and 22.
[21] Id., tom. X, p. 174.
[22] Quatremere's *Rashidu'd-din*, p. 117 note.
[23] *Op. cit.*, p. 117 note.
[24] Pallas, *Voyages, &c.* tom. IV, p. 342.
[25] Bretschneider, *Notices of Med. Geog.*, note 389.
[26] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, p. 64.
[27] Hyacinthe, p. 9.
[28] Id., p. 616.
[29] Vol. I, p. 41, note.
[30] So the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* calls him. Rashid styles him a relative, and names him Tegujar.—Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 260. The *Yuan-shi* calls him To-tai-kher—Hyacinthe, p. 9. The *Huang-yuan* styles him Tutaichar, and calls him a subject of Chamukha of the tribe Si-ta-lan, *op. cit.*, p. 153, a tribe I cannot trace. De Mailla calls him Tudaiyal, vol. IX, p. 10.
[31] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, p. 64.

having hidden among the horses, furtively shot the intruder.[31] The death of his brother or relative aroused the bitter animosity of Chamukha, who marched at the head of his people, altogether 13 tribes, forming three *tumans* or 30,000 men, and crossed the mountain ridge of Alaut-turkhau[32] with the intention of attacking Chinghiz Khân, who was encamped at a place called Gulyalgu.[33] The *Huang-yuan* says Chamukha entered into negociations with the tribes Daichiu, *i.e.* the Taijut, Ikilasi (*i.e.* the Inkirasses), Yuluu (*i.e.* the Urut), the Naili (*i.e.* the Nayakins), the Balulasi (? a section of the Tartars), and the Balin (*i.e.* the Barins), and went against Temujin with an army of 30,000 men. The latter was then with his people in the district of Talan-ban-chusi.[34] The *Yuan-shi* tells us Chamukha on this occasion was at the head of the Taijut, and that Chinghiz Khân was encamped at a place called Durben Chosu.[35] Rashidu'd-dîn says that Chamukha was at the head of the Inkirasses, the Kurulasses (both of them branches of the Turkish Kongurut) and also of the Udut or Urut and the Nuyakins or Bukakins.[36] He also tells us that Chinghiz was encamped at Talan Baljus. *Talan* is the Mongol word *tala*, a plain or stretch of pasture, and D'Ohsson and Erdmann[37] are both agreed that by the phrase is meant the plain of Baljuna already named, and which was close to the head waters of the Aga above assigned as his quarters. Although the Inkirasses were in alliance with Chamukha, one of their chiefs named Botu, who, as we have seen, was Chinghiz Khân's brother-in-law, when he heard of his rival's intentions, sent off Boluandai and Molitutu to warn his relative, and himself attacked Toa, who was in alliance with Chamukha, slew his people, and seized his wealth. This we are told in the biography of Botu in the *Yuan-shi*.[38] The Toa of this notice is probably the Toghai above named, some confusion having arisen as to the account of his death. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* calls the two messengers who warned Chinghiz, Mulkitotakh and Bololdai.[39] The *Huang-yuan* calls Botu the son of Nikyuni, and says he lived in the hills of Kyuilinyui. His messengers it calls Buntaya and Muge, and it says that after crossing the hills Alau and Tulau they met Chinghiz. De Mailla makes out that Botu, or Podu as he calls him, was attacked by the three allies Tatsilatai, Tsachua, and Toyai, at the head of 30,000 men, and that it was Chinghiz who was marching to his aid when he succeeded in defeating the allies alone.[40] Rashidu'd-dîn tells the story somewhat differently. According to him there lived at this time an Inkiras named Negun, who although he had intercourse with the Taijut, *i.e.* the Nikyuni of the *Huang-yuan*, yet because of his son Butuu, *i.e.* Botu, who was in the service of Temujin, and to whom he was therefore attached, he informed the latter of his enemy's plan through the medium of two Berulasses named Mulke and Totak, who had gone to him on business, and who found him on a road between two hills called Alaut Turaut, or as Von Hammer reads it in the MS. of Rashid at Vienna in a pass between the hills Alaut and Turaut,[41] and informed him of his danger.[42] This story is clearly the same as that related above from the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, the *Yuan-shi* and *Huang-yuan*. When Chinghiz Khân heard of Chamukha's intention he also collected his people, consisting of 13 tribes, also divided into 3 *tumans*, with whom he rode out to meet him. They met one another at Dalanbaljut, *i.e.* the plain of Baljuna already named. At this point the authorities vary, the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* says that Chinghiz, pressed by the forces of Chamukha, retired towards the Onon and encamped in a defile in the district of Cherin. Thereupon Chamukha returned and seized some of the princes in Chinasi, which Palladius (note p. 199) says was the name of several places, in one of which, according to a poet of the Yuan period, was the Daordo or Great Horde. There it is also said it was the name of a mountain. It probably refers to the ordinary camping place of Chinghiz Khân. Chamukha ordered his prisoners to be boiled in 70 cauldrons, and he decapitated Neudaichakhan and fastened his head to his horse's tail, after which he rode home.[43] The

[31] *Op. cit.*, p. 153.
[32] Probably the ridge dividing the drainage of the Argun and the Onon.
[33] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, loc. cit.
[34] *Op. cit.*, p. 153.
[35] Hyacinthe, p. 9; Douglas, p. 11, writes it Turpunchowsu.
[36] Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 260; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 42.
[37] See Erdmann, *op. cit.*, p. 48, note.
[38] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, p. 198, note.
[39] *Op. cit.*, p. 64.
[40] *Op. cit.* tom. IX, p. 14.
[41] *Gesch. der gold. Horde*, p. 59, note 6.
[42] Berezine, vol. II, p. 93; Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 261.
[43] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, p. 64.

Yuan-shi declares on the contrary that Chamukha was completely overthrown.[44] De Mailla tells us that in the fight Purchi (*i.e.* Boghorji) dismounted, and having made a girdle of the halter of his horse, almost emptied his quiver, and received a shower of weapons from the enemy without abandoning the foremost post which had been assigned to him. Temujin praised his valour after he had gained the battle.[45] Rashidu'd-dîn also says the victory was won by Chinghiz Khân, and assigns to him the boiling of the prisoners.[46] So does the *Huang-yuan*, which makes the Mongols eat as well as boil the captives. It is not easy to decide between these varying authorities, but in this case it would appear as if the copy of the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* consulted by Palladius was a faulty one. At all events it is strange that directly after the struggle we find several tribes detaching themselves from Chamukha and joining his rival. Von Hammer compares the boiling of the prisoners on this occasion with the similar boiling of the followers of the robber *Shaitan Oghli* (*i.e. the Devil's son*) by Shâh Ismail three hundred years later.[47] Mirkhawend, whose authority at this period is really of no value, and who has a very jejune account of the early period of Chinghiz Khân's career, here inserts one of his favourite sagas :—He tells us that when he defeated the Taijut on this occasion Chinghiz had a wonderful dream, in which it seemed as if his hands became very long, and that he held a sword in each of them, the two points of which reached out to the farthest East and West. At daybreak he told his mother this dream, who said he would rule over the East and the West, and that the traces of his sword would be visible in both directions.[48] The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* says that on the departure of Chamukha, Churchudai of the tribe Urnut, and Khuyuildar of the tribe Mankhu, each with his people left him and joined Chinghiz. There also went over Muilik from the tribe Khuankhotan with his seven sons. Chinghiz, greatly rejoicing that he had been joined by so many supporters, gave a feast on the banks of the river Onon to his relatives. At this he first filled a cup or leathern bag of mare's milk for Khoilun (*i.e.* for his own mother), for Khazar (*i.e.* his brother), and for Sachabiki,[49] then another for Ebegai, the young wife of Sachabiki. Thereupon the grand ladies Kholichin and Khuurchin (evidently piqued at what they considered some slight) remarked, Why was not milk sent to us before? They therefore set upon Shikiur (who was the manager of the feast), and beat him till he bled. The latter said "Yessugei Baatur and Nikuntaishi (*i.e.* the father and uncle of Chinghiz Khân) are dead. This is why they beat me."[50] To understand this it must be remembered that the two ladies who felt themselves aggrieved were apparently the step-mothers of Chinghiz Khân, and that Khuurchin was the widow of Khutuktu-Jurki, the only son of Ukin Barkhakh, eldest son of Kabul Khakan. By him she had had two sons Sachabiki and Taichu, who were the leaders of the tribe Jurki, and represented a senior branch of the house than Chinghiz himself, to whom, in fact, as we have seen, they surrendered the office of Khakan when he adopted the title of Chinghiz. Khuurchin was therefore senior to Khoilun, Chinghiz Khân's mother, and of course claimed precedence over her own daughter-in-law Ebegai.

In the *Yuan-shi* only one of the old ladies is mentioned, and she is called Hoo-urh-cha.[51]

The *Huang-yuan* calls her Khurjin Khadun. De Mailla calls her Kuactsin, and Rashidu'd-dîn Khahurjin Khatun.[52] Ebegai is called Ibogil by Hyacinthe, and E-pih-kih-lih by Mr. Douglas, both founded on the *Yuan-shi*. She is named Yebegai in the *Huang-yuan*; Yepiekai by De Mailla and Nemugai by Rashidu'd-dîn. The *Yuan-shi*, the *Huang-yuan*, De Mailla's authority and Rashid all call her a step-mother of Chinghiz Khân and not the wife of Sacha Biki. The first of these in describing the feast says Chinghiz gave it to his kindred, including Sihchin Taichu and Sih-chin Pih-ki[53] who came with banners flying and carts bearing *kumis* to the river Onon.[54] De Mailla calls the two Sechin-puco and Sechin-taicheou, and says they were

[44] Douglas, p. 11.
[45] *Op. cit.*, tom. IX, p. 11.
[46] Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 262; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 45.
[47] *Gesch. der Gold. Horde*, p. 60.
[48] Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 52, note.
[49] *i.e.* the grandson of Ukin Barkhakh. *Bigui* according to Remusat is like the Turkish title *Beg* or *Beh* derived from the Chinese *pi* a prince.—D'Ohsson I, p. 54, note.
[50] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, pp. 64 and 65.
[51] This is the transcript of Mr. Douglas (*Op. cit.*, p. 13). Hyacinthe reads it Kholichi (*Op. cit.*, p. 12).
[52] Berezine, vol. II, p. 101; Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 266.
[53] The latter is written Sechen bozia by Hyacinthe.
[54] Douglas, p. 13.

Chinghiz Khân's half-brothers on the father's side, which is of course a mistake, their fathers were first cousins. He says the cause of the quarrel was that the portion sent to Kuactsin was for herself and all her family, while that sent to her rival was for herself alone. Shikiur he calls Signti.[55] Rashidu'd-dîn says the feast was attended among others by Chinghiz Khân's mother Olun Ekhe by his brothers Juchi Khazar and Utjigin Noyan by his step-mothers, and by the descendants of Ukin Barkhakh, the eldest son of Kabul Khakan, and he assigns as the cause of Khahurjin's jealousy that Nemugai was presented with a second helping of *kumis*, while she had only had one offered her.[56] The quarrel just described was soon inflamed by another incident. We read in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* that during the feast Chinghiz Khân ordered his brother Belgutei to go and catch some horses, which, it seems, were in charge of Buri-boko, the son of Khutuktu-Mungur, the son of Kabul Khakan. He was a chief of the Jurkis, *i.e.*, of the tribe of Sachabiki. A man belonging to this tribe, Khadiun, had stolen a bridle, and was arrested by Belgutei. Buri-boko, who took his man's part, struck the latter, and wounded him on the shoulder. Belgutei took little notice of the blow, but when Chinghiz Khân saw the blood flowing, he asked him how he could allow himself to be thus ill-used. He replied that he was not much hurt, and that it was not worth while that they should discuss such a trifling matter. (In the biography of Belgutei in the *Yuan-shi* it is said that he was seriously wounded.) He persuaded Chinghiz not to punish the offender, but the latter, not listening to him, took out a wooden pestle with which mare's milk was beaten and fell upon the Jurkis (*i.e.* the people of Sacha-biki) and overcame them. He also seized Kholichin and Khuurchin. Afterwards the Jurkis went to sue for peace, and the two ladies were restored to them.[57] The *Huang-yuan* says Belgutei was the superintendent of Chinghiz Khân's horses, and Boli (*i e.* Bori) similarly had charge of Sacha Biki's. According to this authority it was the followers of each who came to blows with the pestles used in making *kumis*, and Belgutei's party being successful took the two ladies Khuurchin and Kholichin prisoners, and took them before Chinghiz.[58] In the *Yuan-shi* it is similarly said that it was Belgutei's followers who fell upon the rival shepherds when they saw how their master had been attacked, and that afterwards Sihchin Pihki sued for peace.[59] De Mailla tells the story in a similar way.[60] Rashidu'd-dîn calls the thief Khataka Bai of the tribe Khatakin, and says he was page to the Taijut Buru, a friend of Sacha Biki, and that he stole a chestnut stallion.[61] De Mailla has a paragraph about the Jurki chief Taichu, Sacha-Biki's brother, which contains some statements not mentioned elsewhere. He says he was one of the most powerful princes of his family on account of the number of his vassals. *Inter alios* he was joined by a dependent of Chinghiz Khân's, called Wei, who went over to him with his people. Wetar, Wei's younger brother, tried to dissuade him, and when he failed informed Chinghiz. The latter did not seem surprised, and merely said "Why have you not followed the example of your elder brother?" Afraid that he was suspected, Wetar took an arrow, and broke it, expressing a wish that he might be treated the same way if he should prove faithless. Chinghiz Khân was much pleased at this, changed his name to Sechin, and treated him thenceforward as his friend.[62] This Sechin is apparently the Sacha Biki of the above accounts.

We now reach a notable event in the life of Chinghiz Khân. The emperor of the Kin dynasty who ruled over Northern China sent his Ching-sang or minister Wanian Siang to repress a revolt among the Tartars (*i.e.* the Tartars properly so called, who lived near lake Buyur). The chief of the Tartars was called Megujin Seultu.[63] The *Huang-yuan* calls him Meujin Saolut (*op. cit.*, p. 157). Hyacinthe gives it as Moguzin Soritu,[64] De Mailla as Mekuchin sekul,[65] and Rashidu'd-dîn as Mujin Sultu. According to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* the Tartars had refused to submit in the same way in which the Mongols had already submitted. Palladius says that the war measures adopted by the Kin and the building of another wall or rampart beyond the Great Wall at the end of

[55] *Op. cit.*, tom. IX, pp. 14 and 15.
[56] Berezine, vol. II, p. 101; Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 266.
[57] *Op. cit.*, p. 65.
[58] *Op. cit.*, p. 157.
[59] Douglas, pp. 14 and 15.
[60] *Op. cit.*, pp. 15 and 16.
[61] Berezine, vol. II, p. 102; Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 266.
[62] *Op. cit.*, tom. IX, p. 16.
[63] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, p. 66.
[64] *Op. cit.*, p. 13.
[65] *Op. cit.*, tom. IX, p. 17.

the 12th century must be explained by this outbreak.[66] When Chinghiz Khân heard of the march of the Kin troops he remarked: "We owe the Tartars revenge for the bloody affront they committed in that they destroyed our relatives and killed my father. This is a convenient opportunity, and it will be well to attack the Tartars on two sides." He thereupon sent a messenger to Tughrul, the chief of the Kirais, saying "The Kin have sent Wanian, who is pursuing Megujin and other Tartars along the river Ulja.[67] They are hostile to us and killed my ancestor and my father. Father help me to make war on them," a request which, as Palladius says, shews the strength of the Tartars. Tughrul agreed to assist his friend, collected his men, and in three days set out to join Chinghiz. The latter had also sent a messenger to Sacha Biki and Daichu his relatives, who ruled over the Jurkis, and with whom, as we have seen, he was not on the best terms, explaining to them his wish to avenge his wrong, and asking them for help. He waited six days for them, but they did not arrive. Thereupon, in company with Tughrul, he led his army along the river Ulja, and in conjunction with Wanian attacked the Tartars. The Tartars, we are told, had built a fortress in the place called Khusutu Suiltuyan, which was captured and demolished by Chinghiz and his friend Tughrul, and they also killed the Tartar leader Megujin Suultu and others. The *Huang-yuan* says the fight took place at Silatushitu and Khulatushitu. The Chinese commander Wanian was much pleased with the conduct of his allies. He gave Chinghiz the title of Jaukhuri. Palladius explains this by *Chao-tao-shu*, meaning "the supreme war commissary on the frontier." He adds that Chinghiz was merely given the title without any real authority.[68] Hyacinthe gives the name as Cha-u-tu-lu, and says it means "General leader against the rebels."[69] At the same time Tughrul was given the title of *Wang*, *i. e.* prince. (Palladius says "prince in a limited sense," Khao and Tzio in the sense of a prince of the Kin Empire.[70]) Thenceforward he was styled Wang Khân.[71] Wanian told Chinghiz he should report to his master what he had done, and try and persuade him to confer on him the still grander title of Jaotaoguan. Palladius says that *now* this title is equivalent to that of Chaukhuri, but formerly it may have been different in meaning.[72] Wanian and his friends now returned home. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us that the followers of Chinghiz found in the camp of the Tartars a boy who had a gold ring in his nose and a stomacher lined with sable and with golden tassels, whom the Mongols handed over to their chief's mother Khoilun. She said "he is probably of some family of consequence," and gave him the name Shigikan Khudukhu. She adopted him as her sixth son.[73] Rashidu'd-dîn says that it was a silver cradle with a coverlet of cloth of gold which the Mongols captured, and with which they were much astonished, for they had never seen such precious objects before, and they made a great noise about it.[74] The *Huang-yuan* describes the prize as a pearl embroidered corslet and a cradle with a silver canopy.

While Chinghiz was on this expedition, it would seem the Jurkis made an attack on his people who were encamped on the banks of the lake Khalil, called Khaleanto in the *Huang-yuan* (?lake Kulun). They stripped 50 of them of their clothing, and killed 10.[75] The *Yuan-shi* and the *Huang-yuan*, and the authorities translated by De Mailla, say that during Chinghiz Khân's absence the Naimans plundered some of his tributaries, whereupon he sent 60 of his people to Sacha-biki to demand his help against them, but the latter, to revenge himself for his recent wrongs, set upon them, killed 10 of them, and sent the rest back naked.[76] Rashidu'd-dîn says that it was the messengers whom Chinghiz was sending with a present of a portion of the Tartar booty who were waylaid by a party of Jurkis, in alliance with some enemies.[77] The Mongol chief was naturally enraged when he heard of this act of treachery, and recalled their other acts of hostility in the attack upon Belgutei and the refusal to assist him in his war with the Tartars. He accordingly led his troops against them. He came up with

[66] *Op. cit.*, note, p. 213.
[67] *i.e.* the Uldsa, which flows into lake Tarei, shewing that as Rashidu'd-dîn says the Tartars had withdrawn with their flocks on the approach of the Kin troops, and had retired towards the Mongol country.
[68] *Op. cit.*, pp. 66 and 216, note.
[69] *Op. cit.*, p. 39.
[70] *Op. cit.*, note, p. 217.
[71] *Yuan-shi*, by Douglas, p. 16.
[72] *Op. cit.*, note, p. 218.
[73] *Op. cit.*, p. 67.
[74] Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 267; D'Ohsson, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 46, note 1.
[75] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi shi*, p. 67.
[76] Douglas, p. 15; De Mailla, tom. IX, p. 17.
[77] Berezine, vol. II, p. 104; Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 268.

them at Doloan Boldai near the Kerulon, and overcame them. Sacha-biki and Taichu fled to the gorge De-le-tu, called Tu-li-tu in the *Yuan-shi*, and Tie-lie-to by De Mailla, but Chinghiz overtook and captured them. He asked them what they had promised him formerly (*i. e.* when he was elected Khakan). They both replied, we have not kept our promise, and thereupon extended their necks, and Chinghiz killed them. He then went to the camp of the Jurkis, and carried them off.[78] De Mailla says that Chinghiz crossed the river Saki, and instead of pursuing the Naimans fell upon Sacha-biki and Sacha-taichu, who fled; a month later he captured them at Tielieto, and put them to death.[79] Rashidu'd-dîn calls the place where the two chiefs were put to death Tulan Buldak.[80] As Quatremere long ago suggested, this is doubtless the birthplace of Chinghiz—Deligun Buldak.[81]

In the camp of the Jurkis the Mongols captured a boy named Boroil, whom they made over to Chinghiz Khân's mother. This was the fourth boy he had adopted, the other three being Guchu, Kokochu, and Shigikankhutukhu. In the quaint words of the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* she put them on the same footing as her other sons, supervised them with her eyes by day, and with her ears by night, and educated them.[82]

The same work tells us that the Jurkis originated in a corps of the boldest and strongest and most skilled of his men whom Kabul Khakan had selected, and made over to his eldest son Ukin Barkhakh, and gave them special privileges. From Ukin Barkhakh they passed to his son Khutukhtu Jurki, who perhaps gave them their name, and from him to Sacha-biki and Taichu. The tribe was now completely disintegrated. Chinghiz Khân had a double motive doubtless in crushing its two chiefs. Not only had they been uncivil and behaved badly to himself, but they stood somewhat in his light, for as representing the eldest son of Kabul Khakan they had better claims to the Khanate than he had. Their followers are called Jurkis in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, Yurkin by Berezine and Von Hammer,[83] and Yorkin by De Mailla.[84] D'Ohsson and Erdmann have followed a false reading in giving the name as Burkin or Burgin.[85] The Jurkis were clearly a mere sub-clan of the Kiat Mongols, *i. e.* the Mongols specially subject to Kabul Khân and his family.

At this time, according to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, a man belonging to the tribe Jelair, called Telegetu Boyan, having three sons, ordered the eldest Guunua with his two sons Mukhali and Bukha to go to Chinghiz Khân with the message "Let them always be thy slaves, if they separate from thy doors, draw out the veins from their legs, and cut out their hearts and livers." He also told his second son Chilaun Khaiichi, the Shiligen Buyan of the *Huang-yuan*, with his two sons Tungi and Khashi: the Khuashibadu and Tarkutaya of the *Huang-yuan*, to go to him with the message "Let them take charge of thy golden doors. If they do not cling to thee, put them to death." Lastly, his third son Chebke he gave to Khazar, the brother of Chinghiz.[86] Of the supporters who now joined the Mongol chief, one occurs frequently in his subsequent history, and became very famous. This was Mukali or Mukuli who was decorated some time after with the Chinese title of Guiwang or Kiwang. He commanded the left wing of the Mongol army, and when Chinghiz Khân marched on his famous expedition into the West, as we shall see, he was left behind to conduct the campaign against China. According to Rashid he belonged to the section Jait of the Jelairs.[87]

The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* now introduces one of those anecdotes which have much local colour. We read that "Chinghiz Khân ordered Buri-Bok'o, the son of Khutukhtu Mungur, the third son of Kabul Khân, whom we have already mentioned, to wrestle with his brother Belgutei. Generally speaking, when the two wrestled, Belgutei managed to throw his opponent, and made him lie motionless. On this occasion Buri-Boko, pretending he was yielding to the strength of Belgutei, fell to the earth, Belgutei pressing upon him turned to Chinghiz, who bit his lower lip. Understanding the signal he pressed his knees into Buri Boko's

[78] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, p. 67.
[79] *Op. cit.*, tom. IX, p. 17.
[80] Berezine, p. 104; Erdmann, p. 268.
[81] Quatremere, *Rashidu'd-dîn*, p. 116, note.
[82] *Op. cit.*, p. 68.
[83] *Gesch. der Gold. Horde*, p. 60.
[84] *Op. cit.*, vol. IX, p. 10.
[85] D'Ohsson vol. I, p. 54; Erdmann, *Temudschin*, pp. 265-269.
[86] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, p. 68; *Huang-yuan*, p. 156.
[87] Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 173.

back. Thereupon the latter seized him by the neck with both hands, but in pulling back with all his strength he broke his own back. He then explained that he could have won if he had liked, but that he feared Chinghiz, and had purposely lost, but now his life was sacrificed." We are further told that Boko had separated himself from the descendants of Bartan Baghatur, *i.e.* Chinghiz Khân's grandfather, and had associated himself with the descendants of Barkha, *i.e.* as Palladius argues (note p. 224) of Ukin Barkhakh. He was, as we have seen, a protégé of Sachabiki, and it is hinted that his death was brought about purposely as a punishment for his support of the rebellious Jurkis.[83]

ŚRAMAṆAS.

BY NÂRÂYAṆA AIYENGAR, SHIMOGA.

I have read the Rev. S. Beal's remarks on the word Śramaṇa published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IX p. 122 for May 1880. In support of the conclusion arrived at by him from a survey of Greek and Buddhist works that Śramaṇas were not exclusively Buddhist priests, I attempt to show here that the ancient Brâhmaṇs themselves have used the word in such a sense as would preclude the idea of a Buddhist being thereby meant. The word occurs in several places in the *Râmâyaṇa*.

In the *Balakâṇḍa* in describing the feeding at the sacrifice performed by Daśaratha, this śloka occurs :—

Brâhmaṇâ bhunjate nityam nâthavantaścha bhunjate.

Tâpasâ bhunjate châpi Śramaṇâ bhunjate tathâ.

Every day Brâhmaṇs eat, the well-to-do also eat, Tâpasas eat, and Śramaṇâs also eat.

The commentator says *Śramaṇâh digambarâḥ yadvâ chaturthâśramiṇaḥ.*

In sarga 38 of the *Ayodhyâkâṇḍa* Daśaratha plaintively asks Kaikeyî :—

Iyam hi kasyâpakarôti kinchit tapasvinî râjavarasya kanyâ.

Yâ chîram âsâdya janasya madhye sthitâ visamjñâ Śramaṇîva kâchit.

"What harm has this Tapasvinî (Sîtâ) done, who now stands sadly amidst the people wearing a bark cloth like a Śramaṇî?"

Commentator :—"*Śramaṇî tapasvinî śramu tapasi khede cheti dhâtuḥ.*"

In sarga 73 of the *Araṇyakâṇḍa*, Kabandha tells Râma and Lakshmaṇa to go to Mataṅgâśrama, "where," he said, "lived pious Ṛishîs, the disciples of Mataṅga, and although they went away (died), their long-lived female servant (*parichârini*), a Śramaṇî named Śabarî, is still seen there. On seeing you, Râma, who art godlike and venerated by all creatures, she will go to Svarga." The brothers accordingly went there. She fell at their feet and offered them *pâdya* and *âchamana*. Râma asked her if she fared well in her *tapas*. She said: "By seeing you I have this day secured the fruit of my *tapas —svarga.*" She then shewed them the different parts of the *âsrama*, and having kindled a fire, threw herself into it, went to Svarga, and obtained that happiness which Ṛishîs obtain. Here also the commentator has construed the word *Śramaṇî* to mean *Tâpasî.*

Vâlmîki condemns Chârvâkas in no measured terms, and if Śramaṇas were Buddhists, who rejected the *Vedas* and ridiculed the Vedic rites, it is improbable that he would have honoured them with a dinner at a Vedic sacrifice, and would have considered a female Buddhist to be worthy of Svarga and of that bliss which Ṛishîs there obtain. Śabarî burns herself to death,—a practice which is often alluded to in the literature of the Brâhmaṇs as having been observed by them. It does not appear that the Buddhists ever observed the practice. Mataṅga, whose disciples Śabarî served, was a great Ṛishi. It is to be noted that Râma was saluted by Śabarî although she was a Tâpasî; but the reason seems to be that she was a servant and of inferior caste. Amara classes the Śabaras among Mlechchâs. It therefore appears that at the time when the *Râmâyaṇa* was written, other than Brâhmaṇ females were also members of the Śramaṇa form of asceticism.

In sarga 18 of the *Kishkindhâ Kâṇḍa*, in which Râma justifies his killing Vâli, the following śloka is addressed by Râma to Vâli :—

Âryeṇa mama Mândhâtrâ vyasanam ghoram îpsitam |

[83] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, pp. 68 and 69.

Śramaṇena krite pâpe yathâ pâpam kritam tvayâ |

"My ancestor Mândhâtâ has ordained terrible punishment if a Śramaṇa commits sin, as you have done."

Here the commentator makes the Śramaṇa a Kshapaṇaka, *i.e.* a Buddhist; for as an orthodox Brâhmaṇ he cannot see anything improper in his adversary taking the blows, while, when the same name is mentioned in connection with Brâhmaṇs, sacrifices and Svarga, it should mean a different person. It is true that in the *Dharmaśâstras* Brâhmaṇs enjoy immunity from the more rigorous punishments; but if the Śramaṇas were a kind of ascetics other than the Brâhmaṇs, it is not inappropriate in Râma showing Vâli how even ascetics were liable to punishment for their offences, and how a Vânara king should not grumble at his punishment.

The word occurs in the *Yajurveda Âraṇyaka*, *Brahmayajna praśna*,[1] 7th anuvâka, and as this old work should command great attention in connection with this subject, I quote it fully :—

वातरशना हवा ऋषयः श्रमणा ऊर्ध्वमंथिनो बभूवुस्तानृषयोऽर्थमायँस्तेऽनिलायमचरँस्तेऽनुप्रविशुः कूष्माण्डानि ताँस्तेष्वन्वविन्दञ्छ्रद्धया च तपसा च तानृषयोऽब्रुवन्कया निलायं चरथेति त ऋषीनब्रुवन्नमो वोस्तु भगवन्तोस्मिन्धाम्नि केन वः सपर्यामेति तानृषयोऽब्रुवन्पवित्रन्नो ब्रूत येनारेपस स्यामेति त एतानि सूक्तायपश्यन् "यद्देवा देवहेलनं" "यदीव्यन् नृणमहं बभूवा" "युष्टे विश्वतो दधदि" त्येतैराज्यं जुहुत "वैश्वानराय प्रतिवेदयाम" इत्युपतिष्ठत यदर्वाचीनमेनो भ्रूणहत्यायास्तस्मान्मोक्ष्यध्व इति त एतैरजुहवुस्तेऽ रेपसोऽभवन्कर्मादिष्वेतैर्जुहुयात्पूतो देवलोकान्समश्नुते[2] ॥

"Now there were Rishis (*named*) wind-girt, (*being*) Śramaṇas (*and*) celibates. (*Other*) Rishis solicited them. They (*the Śramaṇas*) observed *anilâya* (living houseless) and they entered into the *Kûshmâṇḍa* (*mantras*). In these they (*the Rishis*) found them by means of devotion and penance. The Rishis asked them, 'Why do you observe *anilâya*?' They said to the Rishis—'Salutation to you, O Bhagavats! in this abode wherewith can we honour you?' The Rishis replied to them—'Tell us of some means of purification whereby we may become sinless.' They (*the Śramaṇas*) saw those hymns (*sûktas*): *Yad dévâ* . . . . , *Yad adîvyan* . . . . . *Âyush te* . . . . . 'With these (*mantras*) do ye offer ghî and with the *mantra-Vaiśvânarâya* . . . . worship (*the fire*) and free yourselves from all sin short of fœtus-killing!' They (*the Rishis*) sacrificed with these, and became sinless. In the beginning of sacrificial acts (*karma*) one should sacrifice with these, and, purified, he obtains the worlds of the Dêvas."

The mantras quoted are to the present day used in a ceremony called *Kûshmâṇḍa homa*, and the *sankalpa*, or the object of it, is repeated in the following words being the same as set forth in the *Âranyaka*:—*Bhrûṇahatyâyâ arvâñchi yâvanty enâmsi mayi sambhavanti tâvatâm enasâm nivrittyartham Kûshmândair hoshyâmi.* It is not necessary here to quote the mantras themselves in full as they are in praise of Agni and other Vedic deities. It will be seen that in the *Âraṇa* Śramaṇas are held in high esteem, and recommend to Rishis the performance of a Vedic ceremony. Surely Śramaṇa here cannot mean a Buddhist.

The word also occurs in the *Bhâgavata Purâṇa* 11th skandha 2nd adhyâya and 20th śloka :—

Navâbhavan mahâbhâgamunayo hy arthaśamsinaḥ | Śramaṇâ vâtaraśanâ âtmavidyâviśâradâḥ.

The next śloka names the nine Munis:—Havis, Hari, Antariksha, Prabuddha, Pippalâyana, Âvirhotra, Dramila, Chamasa, and Karabhâjana.

Commentator: *arthaśamsinaḥ paramârthanirûpakâḥ, Śramaṇâḥ Śramavantaḥ Âtmâbhyâse kritaśramâ ityarthaḥ, vâtaraśanâḥ digambarâḥ.*

Although in the 7th act of the *Mrichchhakaṭika nâṭaka* simply *Śramaṇaka* is mentioned (as an ill omen, if met in the road), still in the 2nd act in which the character is first spoken of, the word *Śâkyaśramaṇaka* occurs,—*aham etena dyûtakarâvamânena śâkyaśramaṇako bhavishyâmi.* The qualifying word *Śâkya* is rather noteworthy, and would be superfluous if Śramaṇa was exclusively Buddhist.

From the uncertainty about the date of the *Râmâyaṇa*, it cannot of course be presumed that

[1] *Taittirîya Âraṇyaka*, 2nd prap. 7th Anuv. *Biblioth. Indica*, vol. I, p. 228.—ED.

[2] The above is copied from a manuscript here. It is recited by the Yajurvedins.

Śâkyaśramaṇas did not then exist. But the *primâ facie* antiquity of the *Yajurveda Áraṇyaka* and the circumstances noticed by the Rev. Mr. Beal, render it almost certain that long before Buddhism, the religious zeal of the miscellaneous classes of ancient India had developed itself into Śramaṇism, if I may use the expression, and it is natural that the name of this form of asceticism was found appropriate to be adopted by or applied to Buddhist Bhikshus, and in course of time, exclusively,—the other classes probably discarding it owing to the notoriety it had in the palmy days of Buddhism. Perhaps the present Bairâgis, who are half naked and wander from place to place from the Himâlayas to Cape Kumârî, are the survivals of the pre-Buddhist Śramaṇas.

Since writing the above, I have read Prof. H. Jacobi's article on "Mahâvîra and his Predecessors" (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. IX, p. 158) and also that portion of the *Bhâgavata Purâṇa* (V. 4) in which the story of Ṛishabha is narrated. In the *Vishṇu Purâṇa*, Ṛishabha is not mentioned as the incarnation of Vishṇu, but is said to have been a great king, who performed various sacrifices, installed his eldest son Bharata, went to the Âsrama of Pulaha, performed *tapas* and sacrifices according to the *Vânaprastha Vidhâna*, and went the *Mahâprasthâna* journey, naked, gagging his mouth with *vîṭâ*-stone (*Kandukasadṛiśamaśmakabalam*, commentator) *Tapasâ karshito'tyartham kriśo dhamanisantataḥ | Nagno vîṭâm mukhe kṛitvâ vîrâdhvânam ito gataḥ |* *Vishṇu Purâṇa*, II, 1, 32.

The *Bhâgavata* says that king Arhan and others fell into bad ways, by presuming to imitate Ṛishabha, an incarnation of Vishṇu. The word Arhan is evidently Jaina, and it is evident, as observed by Prof. Jacobi, that Jainas are meant. But it is said in the latter part of *Bhâgavata* V. 3, that Rishabha was born to teach duties to *vâtaraśanânâm Śramaṇânâm ṛishîṇâm ûrdhvamanthinâm*; the very names by which Śramaṇas are called in the *Áraṇyaka*. And the nine Śramaṇas named in *Bhâgavata* X. 2, 20, are stated in V. 4 of the same, to have been nine of the one hundred sons of Ṛishabha, and also thus: 'These are the nine mahâbhâgavatas, the expounders of the *Bhâgavata dharma*, whose history (*charitam*) illustrative of the greatness of god and occurring in the dialogue between Vasudeva and Nârada will be described by us by and bye.'—The *charita* occurs as far down as the 10th skandha, which is in poetry, while the story of Ṛishabha is in prose, and it may perhaps be suspected that the story was added afterwards, but no conclusive inference can be drawn that its author was different from that of the other portions of the *Purâṇa*. We have therefore in this work the Jainas denounced as heretics, and the Śramaṇas spoken of as holy men. The different ślokas which Nârada puts into the mouth of each of the nine Śramaṇas in the 10th skandha teach *bhakti*. On the theory that Śramaṇism gradually developed itself into Jainism and Buddhism, it is not improbable that before the development took place, it was not decidedly antagonistic to the *Vedas*; that on account of the pious life it taught, even Brâhmaṇs counted its leaders as great men and accepted their teachings, and that the author of the *Bhâgavata* had a tradition of that period, though the particular *bhakti* doctrines attributed to the nine Śramaṇas may have been the work of imagination.

The word Śramaṇa occurs also in the *Arjunavanavâsaparva* of the *Mahâbhârata* (âdiparva, adhyâya 214). The following classes of men followed Arjuna: *Brâhmaṇâ vedapâragâḥ* (1) *Vedavedângavidvâṁsas tathaivâdhyâtmachintakâḥ | Bhaikshâś cha bhagavadbhaktâḥ sûtâḥ paurâṇikâś cha ye* (2) *Kathakâś châpare, Râjan, Śramaṇâś cha vanaukasaḥ | Divyâkhyânâni ye châpi paṭhanti madhuraṁ dvijâḥ* (3). Here Śramaṇas are made to honour a Brâhmaṇical hero with their company in his journey to holy places, along with Brâhmaṇs. It is also to be noted that they, the Śramaṇas, are stated to be dwellers of forests, *vanaukasaḥ*.

BOMBAY BEGGARS AND CRIERS.

BY K. RAGHUNATHJI.

(*Continued from p. 75.*)

Wâghari Dancers.

Wâghari dancing beggars are either boys or girls from Gujarat, both dressed alike in a long red flowing coat and a cap of the same colour, and to their ancles are tied strings of bells. These youngsters are accompanied by

their parents, who play upon a musical one-stringed instrument. These small beggars both dance and sing after the fashion of dancing girls. The person standing behind them may be either a man or a woman; sometimes both attend; they both play and sing along with the dancer. A pice or a handful of grain or old clothes satisfies them.

ROPE-DANCERS.

Men, women and children exhibit their skill in balancing on the rope. It is hardly possible for one who has not seen them to form any conception of the agility, distortion of limb and pliability of body of these people. They represent almost all kinds of animals, in doing which several bodies are so interlaced that the different individuals can scarcely be distinguished. They all perform feats of strength, and one man will bear on his shoulders six others standing two and two above each other.

GOSÂVIS.

Varthema makes mention[1] of Jogi fights. The Jogi king (1450–1510) went about every three or four years with three or four thousand of his followers carrying a little horn suspended from their necks, and which they blew when demanding alms. They also carried an iron ring, *chakra*, which they hurled from a string at any person they wished to hurt, and hence whenever they arrived at a city every one tried to give them more than his neighbour. When Varthema came across the Jogi the second time he had with him three thousand followers. They slew two Portuguese with the *chakra*, and are said to have 'ran upon them and cut open the veins of their throats, and with their hands they drank their blood.' Niebuhr says the Gosâvis travel about armed and in troops of several thousands. Forbes, in his *Memoirs*, says the Gosâvis march in large bodies and levy heavy contributions. They are sometimes hired as auxiliaries, being an athletic race, brave, and hardy, seldom encumbered with drapery, and often entirely naked. In 1789[2] Mâhadji Sindia, among other changes in the constitution of his army, enlisted large numbers of Gosâvis, formed them into a distinct body, and placed them under the charge of Himat Bahâdur, who was both their commander and priest.

Some of the Gosâvis carry a mendicant's staff in their hands, and at their initiation are said to inflict a small incision on the inner part of their knee, and present the blood as an offering to Śiva. They call themselves Brâhmaṇs and are notorious as sturdy beggars.

The Kânphâtes, so called from having their ears bored and huge rings inserted in them, worship Śiva and carry a *liṅga* in their head-dress. They smear themselves with ashes, and dress in a red ochre-coloured frock. They pretend to tell fortunes and cure diseases. They play upon fiddles and sing both Hindustani and Marâṭhi songs in praise of the gods. They teach animals tricks and carry about a monkey or snakes.

Then there are Urdabâhus, distinguished by disgusting deformities. They extend one or both arms above their heads so long that the muscles get rigid and they remain of themselves thus elevated, and they allow their nails to grow till they completely perforate the hand. They tie round their waist a thick hemp or coir rope, or a thick iron chain, and partially cover their privities with an oblong copper covering tucked behind. Not very long ago a Gosâvi, seating himself on a post in the Mumbâdêvî tank, refused to come down unless £500 was given him to feed a number of Brâhmaṇs in Banâras. Only very recently a nearly naked Gosâvi stood on his head with one leg upright in the air and the other doubled back at the knee. These people are said to remain in the same position for days together.

In Bombay Gosâvis and Bairâgis are usually without any fixed habitation, living in dharmaśâlâs, or on the banks of tanks attached to Hindu temples. At particular seasons there is a great influx of wandering beggars, who doubtless find it profitable to take Bombay on their way to Haridwâr, Râmêśwar, Dwârkâ, Jagannâth, and other places of pilgrimage.[3] Many of these have entered the British army. They make excellent hamâls or palanquin-bearers, a considerable number of them being in the service of Europeans. They are degraded idolators, being regarded as outside the pale of

[1] *Travels*, pp. 111 and 274. It is doubtful whom he means by "Ioghe" and "Gioghi."—ED.

[2] Grant Duff's *History*, vol. III, pp. 33, 34.

[3] The *Bom. Quar. Rev.*, vol. IV, p. 258.

Hinduism, and are not allowed to pass the threshold of the temples. These beggars, even at this moment, are greatly feared, and it is seldom that one leaves a Hindu house without receiving alms.

(To be continued.)

FOLKLORE IN THE PANJAB.

COLLECTED BY MRS. F. A. STEEL. WITH NOTES BY LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

(*Continued from p. 82.*)

No. 8.—FOLK-TALE.

The Son of Seven Mothers.[1]

Once upon a time lived a king who had seven wives but no children. At last one day, an old *faqîr*[2] came and said "Your desire shall be fulfilled, and each of your seven wives shall bear a son." At this promise the king was greatly rejoiced, and made great preparations for appropriate festivities throughout the length and breadth of his kingdom.

The seven queens lived in a splendid palace, and were attended by hundreds of servants and feasted on sweetmeats and confectionery. Now one day the king went out hunting, and before he left the palace the Seven Queens said to him: "Dear lord! do not hunt towards the north to-day, or evil will befall you, for we have dreamt bad dreams."[3]

The king to allay their fears promised faithfully not to hunt towards the north, but when he found no sport in the south, the east, and the west, he forgot all about the warning, and set off towards the north. He was just going home in despair of finding any game, when a white hind with golden horns and silver hoofs flashed by him into a thicket.

He scarcely saw it, so quickly did it pass, but he was instantly filled with a desire to follow and capture it. He therefore ordered his attendants to place themselves in a ring round the thicket, so as to encircle the hind. This they did, and as the circle narrowed and narrowed there stood the white hind panting and afraid: but just as they thought to lay hands on her, she leapt right over the king's head and fled to the mountains.

The king set spurs to his horse and followed, soon leaving his suite far behind him.

On, on, he rode till he came to a ravine in the hills where there was nothing to be seen but a small hovel: he was tired with his long ride, so he stopped, entered the hut, and asked for a drink of water. An old woman, ever so old, who was sitting spinning, bid her daughter bring a drink, and when the girl came and held the vessel of water to the king's lips, he looked into her eyes, and knew instantly that she was none other than the white hind with the golden horns and the silver feet.

Then he said to her,—"Come home with me, and be my wife:" but she laughed, saying, "You have seven wives already." Then when he begged and prayed her to be his, she said, "You talk bravely of your love. Give me the eyes of your seven wives, then I will believe you."

So the king went home and had the eyes of his seven wives taken out, and then threw the seven poor blind creatures into a strong tower whence they could not escape. After that he took the fourteen eyes to the White Hind, who strung them as a necklace, and threw it round her mother's neck, saying, "Wear that, little mother, as a keepsake when I am gone."

So the king took the White Hind home as his bride, and gave her the Seven Queens' clothes and the Seven Queens' jewels, and the Seven

---

[1] Told by a Pûrbiâ boy. The ending is not, I think, correct. The narrator hesitated a good deal and seemed to forget. It is certainly lame.—F. A. S.

[2] فقیر *Faqîr* properly a Musalmân devotee, from Arabic فقر poverty+abstinence, but used in the Panjâb for any devotee, Musalmân or Hindu. The Hindu synonyms would be properly سادھو *Sâdhû* (Sansk. साधु) a religious devotee or سنت *sant* (Sansk. सत्) a saint, devotee. A variation of this portion of the story is as follows: A jôgî (see below note [6]) was sitting under a mango tree when the king happened to pass. The king knelt down in great sorrow before him, and told him he had 7 wives and no child, and begged for an heir to the throne. Whereupon the jôgî threw up a stick to knock down some mangos and told the king he would have as many sons as mangos fell. Seven mangos fell which the jôgî told the king to give to his wives;—one each. The king did so, and seven sons were born, one from each wife. Six of the sons died, only one survived, who became the Son of the Seven Mothers. Jôgîs are supposed popularly to have the power of granting offspring to childless persons, as have in fact all the saints or holy personages, according to the popular traditions.—R. C. T.

[3] See vol. IX, p. 302—Story of Princess Aubergine.—R. C. T.

Queens' palace; so she had everything that even a witch[4] could desire.

Now soon after their imprisonment, the first Queen's baby was born and the six other Queens were so hungry that they killed it, divided it into seven portions, and each ate their share.

The next day the second Queen's baby was born, and they did the same with it, and so on every day till the last Queen's baby was born on the seventh day. Now when the other Queens came to the young mother, and said, "Give us your baby to eat as we gave you ours," she answered, "Not so! See here are the six pieces you gave me as my share untouched, eat them, but leave me my child, you cannot complain."

The other Queens were displeased, but could say nothing. They were jealous nevertheless that the young Queen should have preserved her baby's life by her self-denial and forethought.

At first, too, they disliked the handsome little boy, but they soon found out what a treasure he was: before he even began to walk he used to sit in one corner of the prison courtyard and scrape away at the wall. In an incredibly short space of time he had scraped a hole large enough for him to creep through.

Out he went, and soon returned laden with sweetmeats and comfits, which he divided equally amongst the Seven Queens.

As he grew older he made the hole bigger and slipped out two or three times a day to play with the little nobles in the town; and he was so funny, so full of tricks and antics that he was sure to be rewarded by some present or other, and whatever he received, he took home to his "seven mothers" as he called the Seven Queens.

At last one day, when he was quite a big lad, he took his bow and arrow, and went to the palace where the White Hind lived in splendour and magnificence.

Pigeons were fluttering round the white marble turrets, so taking good aim he drew his bow and shot one dead. It came tumbling down past the very window where the White Hind was sitting. She got up to see what was the matter, and looked out. There she saw a handsome young lad, and the moment she set eyes on him, she knew by her arts that he was the king's son—for she was a witch.

She became furious at the sight, and at once determined to destroy the lad. She therefore sent a servant to fetch him, and asked him to sell her the pigeon he had shot.

But the lad answered "Not so. This pigeon is for my seven blind mothers, who live in the dark tower, and would starve unless I brought them food."

Then the white witch said, "Oh poor souls! if they could only get their eyes again! Give me that pigeon, my dear, and I promise to give you back your blind mothers' eyes." At this the Son of Seven Mothers was delighted.

The White Hind then said: "My mother will give you the eyes, for she wears them as a necklace. Take this message from me and she will give them without fail."

Then she gave him a bit of broken potsherd on which was written "Kill the bearer at once, and sprinkle his blood like water."

Now as the boy could not read he took the potsherd cheerfully, and set off to find the White Hind's mother. On the way he passed through a king's city, where every one looked very sad.

"What ails you all?" asked he. Then the people answered, "The king's beautiful young daughter will not marry, so there will be no heir to the throne when the king dies. Every young man in the kingdom has been shown to her, but she will have none but the 'Son of Seven Mothers.' Who ever heard of such a thing? However the king has ordered that every stranger who comes to the town shall be brought before the Princess; so come now with us." Accordingly they led him into the presence, and no sooner had the Princess caught sight of him than she blushed saying, "Dear father, this is my choice."[5]

Everyone rejoiced immensely at these wel-

[4] डायन *Dayan*—a witch. In the Panjâb a woman with the evil eye who knows a charm دائن کا منتر *ḍâîn kâ mantar* for destroying life by taking out the heart. *Dâîn*, *ḍâknî* and *ḍâkin* are synonyms of this word, which represents the Sansk. डाकिनी *ḍâkini*, a female demon attendant on Kâlî, Goddess of Destruction.—R. C. T.

[5] Appears to be an allusion to the long obsolete custom of *Swayamvara* or self-choice of a husband by Hindu princesses—the most popular form of marriage among Vedic Aryans. In the *Mahâbhârata* there is an account of the Swayamvara of Draupadî.—Griffith in his *Idylls from the Sanskrit* gives an admirable metrical account of the Swayamvara of Indumati and Aja from the *Râghuvaṁśa*. The refusal of a princess to choose a husband till a certain man comes is a very common feature in German Folklore.—F. A. S. and R. C. T.

at the lad's feet, saying "Spare me, and I will give you anything you desire, even my beautiful cow." At first the boy pretended he would not listen, but after a while he said, "Well! give me the cow, and I daresay I shall find some other tough old skin that will answer my purpose as well as yours."

Then the Jôgî overwhelmed him with gratitude, and the Son of Seven Mothers drove off the cow.

He marched home as fast as he could, and gave the cow to the Seven Queens, who were delighted to possess so marvellous an animal. They toiled from morning till night making curds and whey, and selling it to the confectioners, and still they could not use all the milk, so they became richer and richer day by day.

Then the prince set off once more to join his dear princess, but as he passed by the White Hind's palace, he saw some pigeons cooing on the turrets, and could not resist sending a bolt after them, and one fell dead just beneath the window where the White Hind was sitting. She looked out, and lo! there was the lad alive and well. She grew whiter than ever with rage and spite. She sent for him, and when he told her how kindly he had been received by her mother she nearly had a fit, she was so angry and furious. However she only smiled sweetly, saying, "I kept my promise, did I not? Give me but this pigeon, and you shall have everything the world contains, for I will give you the million-fold rice that ripens in a night.[11]

The young lad was delighted at the very idea, gave her the pigeon, and received in return a potsherd on which was written—"He has escaped you twice. Kill him this time without fail, and sprinkle his blood like water."

The Son of Seven Mothers set off to find the old witch, but on the way he went to see his dear Princess. She as usual read the potsherd, and gave the lad another in its place, on which was written, "Once again care for the lad, for his blood shall be your blood."

The old hag burst out into a rage when she saw this, and heard what the lad was to get. However, she dared not disobey her daughter, so she bid the lad go towards the north till he came to a rice-field full of golden rice guarded by eighteen millions of demons. "Do not be afraid of them," she said, "look neither to the right nor to the left, but go straight to the very middle of the field, and pluck the tall ear of rice which grows in the centre. Do not take more or less, and above all do not look round."[12]

The lad did as he was bidden, and soon found the field of golden rice guarded by the eighteen millions of demons. He looked neither to the right nor to the left, but walked straight to the middle of the field, plucked the high golden ear which grew in the centre, but as he was returning soft voices called to him saying "Take one more; oh please take one more!" and one voice was so sweet that he turned round to see whence it came. No sooner had he turned than he became a little heap of ashes.

The old hag was terribly frightened when the lad did not return, and dreading her daughter's anger, set out to search for him.

She very soon came upon the heap of ashes, and knowing by witchcraft what had happened, she gathered the ashes together, moistened them with water, and shaped the paste into the image of the lad. Then she put a drop of blood from her little finger into the mouth of the image, and immediately the lad stood before her alive and well. She scolded him soundly for disobeying her orders, adding "I save you this time to please my daughter, but don't try these tricks any more if you please."

Then the Prince went home with the million-fold rice that ripens in a night, and gave it to the Seven Queens, who became so rich that their wealth was noised abroad all through the city. Then the Prince went back to his dear Princess, and married her. When the bridal ceremonies were over, she said, "Take me to your own house, and I will restore you to your father's favour." So he took her home to the Seven Queens. Then she bid him build a palace exactly the same as the King's palace, and when it was finished she bade him ask the King to a feast. The King, who had heard much about the mysterious Son of Seven Mothers, came determined to find out the truth of the matter. What was his astonishment when he found himself in a palace exactly like his own. It was only to be

[11] I have been unable to trace the allusion here. This rice is spoken of in the same way as the nine-lâkh necklace, as something every one knows.—R. C. T.

[12] I have been unable to ascertain the origin of this golden rice also.—R. C. T.

equalled by his wonder when he was received by the young Prince as a revered father, and conducted at once into the presence of the Seven Queens. He was dumb with amazement till the young Princess, his daughter-in-law, stepped forth, and with much grace related to him the whole story. The King's heart was moved, and what with the sight of his Queens' sorrowful faces, and his handsome young son with his beautiful bride, his anger rose against the wicked witch who had wrought all this mischief, and he ordered her to be put to death.

So they buried the witch and ploughed up the ground and the Seven Queens walked over her grave into the palace, where they lived ever after.

The Mother of Seven Sons.

Another similar story current in the Punjab is the following:—

There was a Râjâ who had no children. A *faqîr* came and sat down in his garden, where on the same day the Râjâ in great grief was lying on a dirty and dilapidated old bed. The *faqîr* asked him why such a great Râjâ as he was lying on such a dirty old bed.[13] The Râjâ answered "What are you asking, reverend Sir?" The *faqîr* said "Explain." The Râjâ again asked "What are you asking?" Again the *faqîr* said, "For the third time, Râjâ, tell me the truth."

Then the Râjâ said, "I have no children." The *faqîr* said "Take this stick, and knock down the fruit of that mango tree. The first time five mangos will fall, and the second time two." The Râjâ threw the stick, and the first time five mangos fell, and the second time two. The Râjâ, being very covetous of children, threw the stick yet a third time, when the stick remained in the tree and all the fallen mangos went back. The Râjâ then went to the *faqîr*, who asked him where the stick was, and the Râjâ said, "It is in the tree." Then the *faqîr* said "You must have been throwing the stick more than twice to get a lot of children. But go back, and you will find the stick on the ground." The Râjâ went and found the stick on the ground. He took up the stick, and then threw it at the mangos—the first time five fell, and the second time two. He took the mangos and stick, and went with them to his home. At that time six of his Queens were at home, but the seventh had gone out. He gave each of the six Queens a mango apiece. The seventh mango he put away into a recess, and a mouse bit it. A few moments afterwards the seventh Queen came home, and asked the other Queens what they were eating. They answered "We have been eating a mango each." Then the seventh Queen asked "Where is my mango?" They said "It is in the recess," and she took it out, and ate it. After nine months each of the six Queens had a son, but the seventh Queen had only half a son, who was therefore called Adhiâ or The Half.[14] One day the six brothers went out shooting together, and Adhiâ asked his mother's leave to go out shooting too. But his mother said "You are only half a boy—how can you go out shooting?" Adhiâ answered, "I'll go and play at shooting." The mothers of the six sons made them some sweets to take out shooting, but Adhiâ's mother said she didn't know how to make them, and told her son to go to the other Queens for his sweets. So the other Queens made sweets for Adhiâ too, but they put ashes inside and covered them with sugar, and gave them to Adhiâ. The six brothers and Adhiâ went off to the jangals, and on the road they felt hungry and began to open their sweets and eat. When Adhiâ began to break his sweets he found nothing but ashes inside, and so he went to his brothers, and asked for some of theirs, but they would not give him anything. Poor Adhiâ said nothing, but went on. They at last reached a field of melons. Adhiâ broke down the fence and went inside, but the others could not get inside. Adhiâ began to eat the melons, and when his brothers asked him for some, he said, "Remember the sweets, and when you would give me none." But they entreated him very much, and he threw them the unripe and sour ones. So the brothers shouted and called the owner of the field, who came and caught Adhiâ, and tied him up to a tree. The brothers left him and went on. Then Adhiâ said to the rope: "Break, rope, for my companions have gone on." The rope broke at once, and Adhiâ came up to his brothers. Next

[13] چھکّھی منجی اُتّے پینا *jhikkhî manjî uttê painâ*. Panj. expression "to lie on an old and dirty bed." This, like scratching the ground with the forefinger, is one of the signs of great grief in the Panjâb. The object is to attract the pity of passing *faqîrs*, who are supposed to be able to help the sufferer.

[14] ادھیا *adhiâ* from آدھا *âdhâ*—half. The narrator explained this "half a son" by his having but one eye, one ear, one arm, etc.

they came to a plum tree. Adhiâ climbed up, but the others could not. They asked Adhiâ for the fruit, but he would not give any, saying "Remember the time of the sweets." Again they shouted and called the owner of the plum tree, who seized Adhiâ, and the six brothers went on. Then Adhiâ called to the rope, "Break, rope, my companions have gone on." The rope broke and Adhiâ joined his brothers. Next they came to a well. Adhiâ said "I am thirsty," and began to draw water, but the brothers pushed him from behind, and he fell in. They left him there, and went on. In the well there was a one-eyed demon,[15] a pigeon, and a serpent. In the night the three began to talk and Adhiâ listened. The demon asked the serpent "What is your power?" The serpent said "I have the treasure of seven kings underneath me." And the serpent asked the demon "What is your power?" The demon said "A certain Râjâ's daughter is possessed of me. She is always ill." The demon then asked the pigeon "What is your power?" The pigeon said "Whosoever eats my dung will be cured of his disease whatever it is." Meanwhile the day broke and each of them went off to his own haunt. During the day a camel-driver came and sat down by the well, and went to get water from it. Adhiâ caught hold of the rope, and the camel-driver looked into the well. Adhiâ called out, "I am not an evil spirit, but a mortal man: take me out if you are kind." The camel-driver took him out. Adhiâ took the pigeon's dung out with him, and went off to the Râjâ's city, where the princess was lying ill, and proclaimed that he was a physician. The watchmen[16] stopped him, and asked him, "Who are you? Whence have you come? Where are you going?" Adhiâ said, "I am a physician, come to cure the Princess." The watchmen said, "Be off! A great many doctors like you have come here to lose their heads." And they showed him a string of their heads, but Adhiâ was not at all frightened, and said, "If I cannot cure the Princess, then take my head. If I cure her, then marry me to her and give me half the kingdom, as the King has proclaimed." Adhiâ gave her the medicine, but first made his conditions sure. In a few days the Princess got well and was married to Adhiâ, and he got half the kingdom. The six brothers heard of this, and came to the Râjâ and told him a wicked story about Adhiâ, and said "Adhiâ is of low caste."[17] The Râjâ, hearing this, ordered him to be turned out of the kingdom. But Adhiâ said "I am a king's son, and have the treasure of seven kings. Come with me and I'll show you." The Râjâ gave Adhiâ mules to fetch the treasure, and Adhiâ went and fetched the treasure. The King was very pleased, and gave him back his share of the kingdom. The six brothers then began to say to each other, "Adhiâ got the treasure by falling into the well, so let us throw ourselves in too." So they threw themselves in, and in the night the serpent, the pigeon, and the demon came together. The pigeon saw its dung was not there, and said "Feel round and see if any one is here." The six brothers were found inside, and the demons said, "These are the thieves!" and ate them up.[18]

R. C. T.

---

[15] The word used for demon here is curious. It is دے *dê*, a Panj. form. There are two words of similar form, but different sense, current in India, which have probably really become mixed among the illiterate:—(1) ديو *dev* or *deo* also دئي *dai* and ديئو *daiv*, Hindî from Sanskrit देव *deva* and दैव *daiva*, a god, deity. Prâk. *devvam*, *daivam* and *daivam*, Lat *deus* and *divus*, Gr. θεός theos; and (2) ديو *dev* (vulgo *deo*), Persian, a giant, monster, demon. The latter is obviously the sense here. Regarding the evil spirits in the well; this is a common belief in the Panjab about wells in the jangal or country. Town and village wells are not supposed to be thus possessed, except those haunted by *churêls*, a particular kind of ghost, of which more anon.

[16] The word used in the original tale for "watchman" is very remarkable, as showing the gradual incorporation of certain English terms into the common parlance of the country folk; it is سنتري *santri*, our "sentry" with a regularly formed plural سنتريان *santriân*. In this connection I may mention another peculiar word *bârak* with plu. *bârakhâi*, barracks, used in most Cantonment Courts.

[17] When the brothers traduced Adhiâ by saying he was of "low caste," the word used is چميار *chumyâr* (Hindî چمار, *chammâr*—any worker or dealer in leather), a leather-dealer, but frequently in the Panjâb a sweeper, scavenger, lowcaste creature.

[18] As before remarked, the narrator of this tale, too, seemed to forget towards the end, and said there was something about a witch which he could not remember. The fact is, I think, that there are current several tales with incidents like those in the present one, which have either become mixed up or have been fastened on to this "Seventh Son." The title "The Mother of Seven Sons" is that given by the narrator, who insisted on the title of the tale being in his vernacular "*Sat Bachyân dyân Mâwân*." A more appropriate title would be "Adhiâ or the Seventh Son."

MISCELLANEA.

BUDDHIST CHRONOLOGY.

It is generally assumed that the chronology of the Southern Buddhists, according to which the *Nirvâṇa of Gotama Buddha* fell in the year 543 B.C., is sixty or sixty-six years at fault, and that *Nirvâṇa* is an equivalent for death.

The earliest Buddhist texts, however, show that *Nirvâṇa* does not mean 'death,' but the "cessation of lust, delusion, and ignorance." We learn from the *Buddhavaṁsa* and other books, that Gotama led a householder's life for 29 years, then set out and attained *Nirvâṇa* under the sacred tree. The *Buddhavaṁsa* further states that Gotama did not live to a hundred years.

The difference of 60 years in these two chronologies may be therefore explained in this way—that in the rock inscriptions the date given is that of Gotama's death, the date of the Southern chronology being that of his attaining to *Nirvâṇa*.

We have thus three dates fixed in the history of Buddhism—viz.,

Gotama's birth in	572 B.C.
His Nirvâṇa in	543 „
And his death according to the inscriptions in	483 „

Oxford: March 14, 1881. Oscar Frankfurter.[1]

BUDDHAGOSHA AND THE *MILINDAPAÑHA*.

In the preface to the *Milindapañha*, the learned editor makes the following remarks respecting the date of his author:—"It [the *Milindapañha*] is older than the beginning of the fifth century, for it is quoted by Buddhagosha, who, besides it, mentions no writings but those of commentators, and to have acquired sufficient authority it cannot then have been of recent production." Doubtless Dr. Trenckner is in a position to be able to furnish chapter and verse in support of his interesting statement; but it seems a pity that he did not give, in a foot-note, the exact passage in which Buddhagosha quotes the *Milindapañha*. In the absence of any such reference, it may indeed be open to doubt whether Buddhagosha ever makes mention of any writing or composition by the name of *Milindapañha*. That acute commentator may merely refer to some *traditional* conversations between the sage Nâgasena and king Milinda, much in the same way as the *Proverbs of Alfred* were once quoted, long before, perhaps, there was any written collection of sayings bearing his name.

Dr. Trenckner promises us a supplement to his edition, which will, no doubt, supply the lacking reference. In the meantime it may not be deemed presumptuous on the part of one who has learnt much from the *Milindapañha* to call attention to a conversation between Nâgasena and Milinda, quoted by Buddhagosha in his commentary on the *Brahmâya-sutta* (*Majjhima-nickâya* ii, 5, i) and which I identify with the substance of the conversation recorded on pp. 168, 169, of the *Milindapañha*:—

"Na mahârâja Bhagavâ guyham dasseti, châyam Bhagavâ dassetî ti" Commentary—(Turnour MS. fol. nì, line 6*a*). "Na mahârâja Bhagavâ guyham dassesi, iddhiyâ pana châyam dassesi ti" (*Milindapañha*, p. 169). Two other similar passages on p. 169 might be quoted, but the identification is complete without them. It is noteworthy that no mention is here made of a work called the *Milindapañha*; all that Buddhagosha says is "vuttam etaṁ *Nagasena-heren*'eva *Milindarañña* puṭṭhena" (fol. nì, line 4*a*).

The *Brahmâya-sutta* deals with the thirty-two superior characteristics of a great man. (See Hardy's *Manual*, pp. 334-87.)

The quotation from the *Milindapañha* treats only of one of these characteristics. (See Hardy, p. 382; Burnouf's *Lotus*, p. 572.)

The subject is one that does not admit of any fuller discussion in the pages of the *Academy*.[2]

Richard Morris.

Lordship Lodge, Wood Green, London N., Dec. 28, 1880.

CURIOUS CAVE NEAR KANDAHAR.

It is called the Garh Semshed, and is situated about sixteen miles to the south-west, in the Panch-bhai range of hills, close to the left bank of the Argandâb river. The entrance is about 300 feet above the water. Near to the entrance the cave gets narrow, but after passing this it widens out into an ample space. In places there are deep chasms, where a stone, if thrown down, sounds as it falls from side to side in its descent. In some places the roof is fretted as if carved by the human hand; in other parts there are masses of stone which, although described as natural, are so like figures, that the natives call them "bûts," or idols. Streams of water run through parts of this far-extending cave. The tradition connected with this cave will be of interest to those who study the subject of Serpent Worship. The people of Kandahar believe that in former times a great serpent lived in the hills, and devoured the people. Hazrat Ali, whose name the Muhammadans have connected with everything wonderful in Afghanistan—and that too in spite of its being impossible he ever was in that part of the world—having heard of this scourge, came to destroy him. As soon as the serpent saw Hazrat Ali, he desired to

[1] From *The Academy*, March 19, 1881, p. 209.

[2] From *The Academy*, Jan. 15, 1881.

hide himself from the godlike gaze of the holy man, and forced his body into the hill, making a passage through to the other side, at which he came out. Here Ali was ready, it seems, with his eye, and the serpent gave up the contest, and became stone, his body in this form still remaining on the top of the rock. Hazrat Ali then went over to the Khaibar district, and on his return he converted all the people of Kandahar to the faith of Islâm. The name of "Garh Semshed" attached to this shows that it had a legendary character before the time of the Muhammadans, and the name of the hills, "Panch-bhai,"—that is, the Five Pandu Brothers, which the Hindus associate with all natural wonders—is in itself clear evidence that they also had traditions connected with this very remarkable cave. The celebrated Begging Bowl of Buddha is said to be preserved at Kandahar. This sacred vessel became a kind of Sangrail to the Buddhist, and was kept at one time in Peshâwar. The reputed bowl at Kandahar might require the eye of faith to accept it as the veritable dish, for it is made of porphyry, and is four feet wide, and two feet deep. Bellew, in his work, *From the Indus to the Tigris* (p. 143), describes it, and says that under the rim there is an indistinct inscription of two lines, in Persian, in which can be made out the words *Shahryâr* (or Prince) *Jalâlu'd-dîn*, also the word *târîkh* or "date." That is on the inside; the outside is covered with Arabic letters in four lines. It is kept in the shrine of the Sultan Wais. Kandahar is supposed by some to have been derived from Sekandar, the name by which Alexander the Great is known in India, and that he built the city, and that it was called after him; but Gandhara is a name we find on the Indus in the Buddhist period. The district round the present Peshâwar has this name, and it is more probable that Kandahar comes from this word than any other.—*Correspondent, Daily News, August 2, 1880.*

NOTES AND QUERIES.

3. SHEIKH FARID SHAKAR GANJ (*ante*, p. 93). In vol. II. p. 448 seq. of the *Akbar-nâmah* (Lucknow lithogr. Ed. printed by order of the Mahârâja of Patiâlâ) there is a notice of Sheikh Farid Shakar Ganj, to whose tomb at Pák Pattan the emperor Akbar himself also paid a visit in the 15th year of his reign. The heading of the notice is this:—

ذکر مجملي از احوال حضرت شيخ فريد شکر
گنج قدس سره

E. REHATSEK.

6. CINERARY URNS, ANCIENT OR MODERN.—In Gen. Cunningham's *Archæological Report*, vol. VI, Mr. Carlleyle gives the following account of the finding of some urns at the foot of the Bairât rock (p. 100):—

"I have now to mention a curious discovery I made in the ground immediately in front of the rock on which the inscriptions are, and close under the larger inscription. There were two large boulder stones half-buried in the ground, directly under the larger inscription; and as the lowest line of this inscription was at the height of only one foot from the ground, I found the boulder stones very much in my way in standing to take an impression of the inscription. I consequently ordered my men to dig the earth away from the boulder stones, and then to roll them out of the way . . . . . I found a layer of smaller boulder stones underneath them, amounting to perhaps half a dozen or more altogether. After removing these smaller stones I came to earth; and finding a small fragment of old pottery, I dug still deeper into the earth, and at a depth of about 2 feet below the original position of the bottom of the larger boulder stones, or about 2′-9″ to 3′ below the surface of the ground, I discovered four earthen vessels, which, on examination, I found to be cinerary urns containing human bones. These vessels were placed regularly in a line, all on the same level. Two of these earthen vessels were large and wide-mouthed; another was smaller or middle-sized, and had a narrow neck; and the fourth was very small, and very narrow-mouthed. Could it be possible that these cinerary urns and human bones might be in some way connected with the purpose of the inscriptions immediately above them?"

Mr. Carlleyle then states his reasons for thinking the boulder stones could not have been placed there by human agency, but by some flood, "and consequently that the cinerary urns and bones may be of very great and unknown antiquity."

It is to be feared that antiquaries are occasionally led by a lively imagination into mistakes similar to Jonathan Oldbuck's. The placing of cinerary remains in earthen vessels and burying them in some well marked spot until they can be taken to the Ganges, is a well known practice among Hindus. They may remain so buried for two, three or even more years, but it is a solemn duty of their surviving relatives to carry these remains at length to the sacred river. Were not these urns, dug up at the Bairât rock, then, the temporary burials of the preceding 3 or 4 years? Probably they each bore rudely scratched writing indicating whose son, brother, or wife each contained the remains of. That they were such is borne out by the testimony of the neighbouring villagers who complained shortly after of the sacrilege committed by the white visitor who dug up the relics of their dead. I.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE BOMBAY GAZETTEER: Vol. XII. Khandesh. Bombay Government Central Press, 1880.

The Gazetteer volume under review is certainly the worthiest of notice in these columns which has yet appeared in Bombay. Of the previous volumes, only that on Ahmadabad has dealt with so interesting a region or been nearly so well compiled. And contributors and editor have in this instance had advantages denied even to those who described the Queen of Gujarât.

The opening passages on Physical Geography are weak. Take, for instance, the unscientific treatment of the basin of the Tapti, as a part of the Deccan plateau and the curious description of the south-eastern (Berar and Nimâr) frontier as not having any marked natural boundary; whereas the greater part of it is defined by the deep and wide Purnâ River and the bluff face of the Hatti Hills.

The paragraphs upon the Flora and Fauna which follow are also meagre, and in places inaccurate,—which is the more to be regretted, as the field is very rich.

But when we come to the ethnology we find a great deal of careful compilation, and some very valuable and original remarks, especially those relating to the Ahir basis of the population, now for the first time published.

In Archæology and History the writers of this volume have been fortunate, not only in their province, but in the fact that part of it has been recently worked over by the Archæological Survey and Mr. Griffiths of the School of Art. They are much to be congratulated on having overleapt their official boundary so far as to include Ajaṇṭâ, Ghatotkach and Asirgarh in the scope of their work; and it is only to be regretted that they have not extended the trespass to the caves of the Pitalkhorâ; to which they were equally entitled upon geographical grounds; and because, until the arrival of the Archæological Survey, all our knowledge of these remains was due to Khandesh officers. These caves are only incidentally mentioned; and the detailed account of the caves of Bhâmûr is poor, and it is only from a casual remark that we learn their true value as Jaina remains.

Caves are mentioned at Balsâne in Nizâmpur, but not described. When the present writer was there nine years ago, he found none. But there ought to be some in the neighbourhood, as there are two villages called Vehargaum; a name which in many cases indicates the former existence of a Vihâra.

The truth is that the more remote parts of Khandesh still remain to be explored in an archæological sense.

But the present volume is welcome as showing how much has been done in the interval alluded to; and above all, for the great improvement in the manner of treating such subjects in official papers visible by a comparison of it with, for instance, the Bombay Census Report for 1872.

A SKETCH of the HINDUSTANI LANGUAGE. By E. G. LYALL, M.A., C.I.E., of the Bengal Civil Service. (Edinburgh, A. and C. Black: 1880.)

This pamphlet was written as an article for the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Brittanica*, but the treatment of the subject being too minute and detailed for the purpose of that work, the article has been issued in a separate form. The author does not profess to have advanced much that is new or original; but if he has not contributed new matter, he at least deserves the credit of having written a careful and accurate digest of the results which have been reached in a department of philology which has only quite recently engaged the attention of scholars such as Trumpp, Hoernle, Beames, and Kellog, and in which very much yet remains to be done.

The relation of the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars to the Sanskrit and the Prakrit, and the influence which non-Aryan languages have had on their development, are interesting subjects of study to Indian philologists. It is the historical development of one of these vernaculars, viz. Hindustani, which Mr. Lyall discusses in his sketch, and we can heartily recommend the perusal of it to all students of this very important and widely spoken Indian language. Hindustani, as the term is used by Mr. Lyall, includes both Hindi, or, as it is called in its literary form by the natives of India, *Bhdshd*, and also Urdû, which is substantially the same as Hindî in its grammatical structure, but derives a large number of its vocables from the Persian, and through the Persian from the Arabic. Taken in this wide sense, Hindustani is the mother tongue of no fewer than one hundred millions of the people of India, while no other language spoken in that country can claim more than one-third of that number.

Of Hindi there are twelve typical dialects all spoken at the present day, while there are others no longer spoken, but preserved to us in the poetical works of Chand, Kabir, Sûr Dâs, and Tûlsi Dâs. Many of these spoken dialects have no literature, and it is mainly to the literary Hindî, or the high Hindi as it is called, and to

Urdû, that reference is made in this sketch in discussing the formation and development of the Hindustâni. It is not consistent with the limits and purpose of this notice to enter into details. For this we must refer our readers to the sketch itself. We may, however, remark that in the first half of his pamphlet, Mr. Lyall discusses the numerous and important phonetic changes which have taken place in the organic structure of Hindi words, derived from the Sanskrit and Prakrit. The comparative philologist will find much that is interesting here, and also in the latter half of the sketch, in which the author discusses the changes which the grammatical forms, chiefly as seen in the inflexion of nouns and conjugation of verbs, have undergone. We warmly commend the pamphlet to all interested in the vernaculars of India.

R.

VEDICA UND LINGUISTICA. VON THEODOR BENFEY, Strassburg and London: 1880.

In this little volume the veteran philologist presents us with fourteen papers on various subjects connected with Vedic and linguistic studies, which were originally published in the *Göttinger Nachrichten* during the last four years; and all of which will no doubt prove more or less interesting and instructive to Sanskritists and comparative philologists. Though some few of our readers may have seen the papers, as they originally appeared, scholars generally will be glad to get them in their present collected form, and will probably concur in our wish that the example set by the author and a few other scholars, in throwing together, from time to time, papers contributed by them to different journals, were more generally followed. This would no doubt enable a considerable number of students who rarely have an opportunity of seeing foreign journals, to keep up to some extent with the progress of philological and comparative research. Thus, we have often wondered why Professor Roth and Dr. A. Kuhn have never thought of reprinting, in a collected form, their important essays on mythological and philological subjects which have so materially contributed to our knowledge of Indian and Indo-European antiquity, and most of which can scarcely be said to be accessible, except to comparatively few scholars. How many students had ever seen any of the late Professor Goldstücker's papers, before they were republished after the author's death, that is, in the case of most of them, some fifteen or twenty years after they originally appeared in periodicals and encyclopædias?

In one of his papers, Professor Benfey deals with the problem of the origin of language from what may be called the naturalist point of view. To him—and in this a good many linguistic scholars will probably go with him—the difference between articulate human speech and inarticulate animal language generally is merely one of degree, and not one of kind; and is much the same, as for instance, that between the upright gait of man and the horizontal gait of animals. Hence, in regard to the origin of language, we should not have to deal at all with a special human problem, but the solution should be sought for much further back, and the question becomes rather one of a higher or lower development of organism. As to the first beginnings of articulate speech, Professor Benfey seems to be inclined to assign to it an interjectional, or emotional, origin.

Another paper deals with the interesting question as to the original accentuation of the present indicative of the verbs *as* (ἐσ, εἰμί) to be, and *bhâ* (φα, φημί) to shine or speak. Professor Benfey's opinion is that these, as other verbs, had originally the accent on the radical syllable; and not, as in Sanskrit, on the radical syllable in the singular (or gunated), and on the personal terminations in the dual and plural (or weak) forms. We very much doubt, however, whether his argumentation will convince many linguistic students, and whether they will not rather adhere to the prevalent opinion that in this respect, as in many others, the Sanskrit has preserved the original state of Indo-European accentuation. Professor Benfey seems to us to lay far too great stress on the accentuations of the third person plural in Greek, where the original termination *ánti* has practically been reduced to syllable σί; and to the second person singular imperative (which in Greek has irregularly the accent on the penultimate), since this form, like the vocative of nouns, might easily be assumed to be liable to an exceptional treatment on account of its quasi-interjectional nature. Like Professor Benfey, we consider the personal terminations as enclitics; but we further believe that the dual and plural, as well as the middle, terminations containing (at least) two pronominal elements, an accentual law similar to that applying to Greek enclitics, asserted itself, and the first of the two pronominal elements received the word accent. Professor Benfey's suggestions in regard to single passages and words of the Rigveda will, most of them, probably meet with general approval; but we must forbear at present to enter on any other of the questions raised by the author.

J. E.

A NEW KSHATRAPA INSCRIPTION.

BY DR. G. BÜHLER, C.I.E.

THE new Kshatrapa inscription which I publish below, was discovered last year by Major J. Watson, President of the Râjasthânik Court of Kâṭhiâvâḍ, whose services to ancient history I have had to acknowledge so frequently. The stone on which it is incised, was found at G û n d a in Kâṭhiâvâḍ, at the bottom of an old unused well. Major Watson caused it to be taken to Rajkoṭ, and an eye-copy as well as a transcript into Devanâgarî to be prepared by his able assistant, Paṇḍit Vallabhâchârya. The Paṇḍit had done his work so well that when Major Watson sent the inscription to me for consideration, I could find but one important mistake, which occurred both in the copy and the transcript of the passage containing the date. This he had rendered as . . *yuttaraśatetaraḥ vaiśâkha*, etc. I at once informed Major Watson that *varshe dvyuttaraśate saṁ* ꠹: (102) had to be read. On comparing the passage again with the original, the Paṇḍit admitted the correctness of my conjecture, and later, when I received a paper impression of the first three lines of the inscription, I personally satisfied myself that the signs following . . . . *śate* are really ꠸ ꠹: i. e. *Sa*(*ṁ*) 102, while the first portion of the combination *dvyu*[*ttara*] is very indistinct. I have now no hesitation in publishing the document, though I am not able to furnish a facsimile, and thereby to settle the exact spelling of a few words, and to show exactly the stage which the Kshatrapa alphabet had reached in the year 102. As far as I can judge from the eye-copy, the letters resemble those of the J a s d a n pillar inscription much more closely than those of the Junâgaḍh edict.

The preamble of the new inscription confirms the information given by the three already published Śâsanas regarding the first four Kshatrapa rulers. We have again the same order,—

1. C h a s h ṭ a n a,
2. J a y a d â m a n,
3. R u d r a d â m a n,
4. R u d r a s i ṁ h a,

and the assertion that each of the three last kings was the son of his predecessor. The only difference observable lies in the spelling of R u d r a s i ṁ h a's name. The form *sîha* is, however, a very common substitute for *siṁha*.

The date Saṁ 102 is not a new one, as it occurs on several of R u d r a s i ṁ h a's coins. It must be noted that no earlier year has hitherto been found on the coins of this king, while the latest is Saṁ 117. It is, therefore, very probable that our inscription was incised soon after R u d r a s i ṁ h a's accession to the throne. Provisionally the date may be referred with Mr. Bhâû Dâjî and others to the Saka era and be taken to be equivalent to 180 A.D.

The fact that the person who caused the inscription to be incised, Senâpati (general) R u d r a b h û t i, son of Senâpati B â h a k a, was an Â b h î r a by caste, possesses some interest, as it shows that the Âbhîras, though belonging to a tribe which the Brâhmaṇas pretend to despise, rose under the Kshatrapas to high offices, and that they assumed distinctly Aryan names.

Transcript.

(1) सिद्धं राज्ञो[1] महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामिचष्टनप्रपौत्रस्य राज्ञो क्षत्रपस्य स्वामिजयदामपौत्रस्य
(2) राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामिरुद्रदामपुत्रस्य राज्ञो क्षत्रपस्य स्वामिरुद्र-
(3) सीहस्य वर्षे द्व्युत्तरशते स ꠹: वैशाखशुद्धपंचमी धन्यातिथौ श्रवणनक्ष-
(4) त्रमुहूर्ते आभीरण सेनापतिबाहकस्य पुत्रेण सेनापतिरुद्रभूतिना ग्रमरसो-
(5) पद्रे हूदार्थे खनित बंन्धापितश्च सर्व्वसत्वाना हितसुखार्थमिति ॥

Translation.

Hail! In the year one hundred and two, Saṁvat 102, of the king Kshatrapa Svâmi R u d r a s î h a (Rudrasiṁha), son of the king Mahâkshatrapa Svâmi R u d r a d â m a n, grandson of the king Kshatrapa Svâmi J a y a d â m a n, and great-grandson of the king Mahâkshatrapa Svâmi C h a s h ṭ a n a, on the fifth day of the light half of the month Vaiśâkha, on the lunar day (called) Dhanya, in the Śravaṇa-nakshatra-

[1] L. 1, read राज्ञः क्षत्रपस्य. L. 2, read राज्ञः क्षत्रपस्य स्वामिरुद्र. L. 3, read सिहस्य ;—सं. L. 4 read ग्रामरसों°. L. 5, read खनितं बंधापितं च ; सत्त्वानां.

muhûrta, Senâpati (general) Rudrabhûti, son of Senâpati Bâhaka, an Âbhira, caused an excavation to be made and an embankment to be thrown up for a tank in the village Rasopadra, for the welfare and comfort of all living beings.

SANSKRIT GRANTS AND INSCRIPTIONS OF GUJARÂT KINGS.

No. I.—THE DOHAD INSCRIPTION OF THE CHAULUKYA KING JAYASIMHA-DEVA.

BY H. H. DHRUVA, B.A., DAKSHINÂ FELLOW, GUJARÂT COLLEGE;
WITH NOTE BY DR. G. BÜHLER, C.I.E.

During the late famine in the Panch Mahâls, when relief works were carried on at Dohad and other places, some small Jaina images were turned up at the Chhâbuâ tank with two or three lines of inscription at their feet, bearing date Saṁvat 1231 (A. D. 1175).

Thus No. 1 reads:— ॥ संवत् १२३१ अद्येह ...... देसी नेमिनाथस्य ...... करापितः ऽमहंत
2:—प्रतिमां .... परमाचार्य ....
3:— आनंदसुरी [सूरि] प्रतिष्ठितः हर्षसुर [सूरि] वंशोद्भव .... नत्त्वा ......)

They were fixed on the bank of the tank in a prominent position, and the discovery of these led to that of an inscription, lying unnoticed, and almost buried in a heap of rubbish, by a nephew of the Mâmlatdâr's, Mr. D. P. Derâsarî, who prepared copies of it for me. I also personally visited the place and made rubbings and tracings of the same.

The inscription is lying close to the *Âvaṇá*, or sluice of the tank. It is about a foot and a half or so high, and carved on a stone-pillar, buried in the embankment, among a mass of cattle dung. But, protected as it is almost on all sides by the high banks from exposure to the effacing action of the rains, it has suffered but little. The only effacements we find are about the close of the line 3, and the middle of lines 5 and 6, but they are not at all serious.

It is in plain Sanskrit, with no touch of the grandiloquence so usual in such cases. About a half of it is in metre, the verses being all *anushṭubh* except the third, which is an *áryá* measure; and the rest is in prose. The characters are clear, bold, Kâyastha-Nâgarî. The language is correct, with some few irregularities in grammar in lines 3 and 6. The first I am inclined to read as proposed by Dr. Bühler, *śesheva* meant for *śeshâmiva*. *Seshá* (Gujarati *śesha* f.) is the remnant of the offerings to a deity, distributed among the worshippers as a *Prasâdi*—a special gift of favour, which they touch their foreheads with, and treasure up as sacred. Then *ájñá* means 'commands, behests,' Gujarati *âṇa*, which Col. Tod in his *Rajasthan* translates, by the phrase, *oath of allegiance*, indicative of the suzerainty of the King whose *ân* it is—a mark of his supremacy, "the Northern Kings are made to bear on their heads like the sacred *Śeshâ* (*ájñám śirasi śesheva váhitá uttaré nripaḥ*), with which it is compared."

The second irregularity is in l. 6. Prof. Kâthvate is inclined to read it *senâpatitvamaprâpi*, where the form *aprâpi* is used in the active sense,—of *prâpat*, which it cannot have, being the passive form of the aorist of *âp* with *pra*; and it has the sign of the aorist *a* before the preposition *pra* of the verb *â-p*, which is not grammatical. The writer may have taken *prâp*—though wrongly—as one word. But the mark over *ma*—probably an *anusvâra* disfigured, inclined me to read सेनापति कमं प्रापि. And the reading *pra* instead of *tva* is perhaps countenanced by a like form of कृ—which is very frequently a mislection for क—observable in Dr. Bühler's Mûlarâja grant. And with this reading the second irregularity disappears, though the grammar of the verbal form *prâpi* is faulty in sense.

In the latter part of the line 9 there occurs *godrahakety-a-mahâmaṇḍaleśvara*, &c. The *tya* is an affix indicative of place. The whole may be considered a compound—*Godrahaketya*, formed like *manasija*, &c., or it may be taken as a derivative like *amâtya*, *dâkshiṇâtya*, *pâurastya*, *pâśchâtya*, formed by *tya* with *Godrahake*.[1] In that case *Godrahaketya* may stand as an attributive to *Mahâmaṁḍalêśvara*, &c., meaning the great Maṇḍaleśvara, or Viceroy of Jayasiṁhadêva, stationed at Godrahaka (Godhrâ). I was inclined to read it as *Godrahaketra*, &c.—"at Godhra, this day, Saṁvat 1202, Râṇâ

[1] Compare *Luṇḍâvasanetya vâṭikâ* and *Rûpâpuretya vâṭikâ* in Visaladiva's Grant, p. II, l. 3,—*Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 211.

with the favour of the Viceroy, &c." But I am not positive about it. It may be read so, or the other reading be preferred.

The inscription purports to be a grant of land—three *halas*, (ploughs,) a measure frequently met with in the Chaulukya grants,—by a Râṇâ towards the religious services of a temple of the god Goga Nârâyaṇa, instituted six years previously by a Governor resident at D a d h i p a d r a (Dohad) for the well-being of his mother. This Nârâyaṇa may be placed in the same category with Ballâla and Rûpa Nârâyaṇa of Vîsaldêva's Inscription, No 11 of Dr. Bühler's Chaulukya grants. The site of the temple is reported to have been at G o v â l i o-c h o t r o,—at the confluence of the K h â r w o and the river D e h m a î, at a short distance from the Chhâbuâ Tank. Such Chotras may be seen scattered all over the country. The Chotra in question marks, as the people report, the remains of a temple of Lakshmî-Nârâyaṇa, and it corresponds with the indications in the inscription. G o d r a h a k a is obviously G o d h r a written in Gujarati, G o d h a r â, the *drahaka* of it having for its vernacular *dhará*. This town is mentioned also in a Valabhi grant noticed by Dr. Bühler, and in the *Kirttikaumudî* recording the history of Viradhaval, and his ministers. Dadhipadra is our modern D o h a d—Dohad not being a derivative of the Sanskrit form, though it means "Of the two frontiers," situated as it is on the skirts of Gujarât and Mâlwâ, the vernacular representative of D a d h i p a d r a being D e h v a d a—D â h o d a. The name has a parallel in S â ṭ h o d a near Dabhoi which Śâstrî Vrijlal Kâlidâs traces to Sanskrit *Shaṭ-padra*, and which gives its name to the community of S â ṭ h o d r â N â g a r s. Dohad is also called D a d h i p u r a in the inscriptions of the last two centuries found there. The town is like Ahmadâbâd, rich in traditions about the Rishi D a d h î c h î of mythic celebrity. Its Pauranik topography may be gathered from the *Harishchandra Purâṇa*, which I chanced to see there. The district of Û b h l o ḍ takes its name from the modern A b h l o d, about twelve miles from Dohad. Â s v i l i y â is perhaps represented by the modern N î m a n â l i â R â b ḍ â l, and K o ḍ â-g r â m a by the present G a d o i,—a *kos* or so to the south of Dohad. K s h â r a v a h a is the stream K h â r w o, and the D a d h i m a t î the river D e h m a î.

The Dohad Inscription of Jayasimha-deva.

[1] ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीजयसिंहदेवोस्ति भू-
[2] पो गूर्ज्जरमंडले । येन कारागृहे क्षिप्तौ सुराष्ट्रमालवेश्वरौ ॥१॥
[3] अन्येप्युत्सादिता येन सिंधुराजादयो नृपाः । आज्ञां शिरसि शेषेव (sic) वा-[2]
[4] हिता उत्तरे नृपाः[3] ॥२॥ अणहिलपाटकनगरं सुरमंदिररुद्धतरणिहय-
[5] मार्गं । यस्यास्ति राजधानी राज्ञोयोध्येव रामस्य ॥३॥ एतस्यां पृथिवीना-
[6] थात् केशवो वाहिनीपतिः । सेनापतिक्रमं(?)प्रापि (sic) दधिपद्रादिमंडले ॥४॥
[7] अनेन दधिपद्रेस्मिन्नियुक्तो मंत्रिदीक्षितः । गोगनारायणं चक्रे जन-
[8] न्याः श्रेयसे कृती ॥५॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् ११९६ श्रीगोगनारायण-
[9] देवः प्रतिष्ठितः । अस्य देवस्य पूजार्थं सं० १२०२ गोद्रहकेत्यमहामंड-
[10] लेश्वरश्रीवापनदेवप्रसादादवाप्तप्रभ्वा० राण० सांकरसीहेन ऊंभ-
[11] लोडपथकमध्ये आश्विलिया कोडाग्रामे हलत्रयस्य भूमिः प्र-
[12] दत्ता । अस्याघाटाः पूर्वस्यां दिशि दधिमती नाम नदी उत्तरस्यां दि-
[13] शि क्षारवहः ॥

[2] Line 3 ought to read शेषामिव.

[3] (a). मूर्द्धि्न शेषा-खा-मिवन्यास्थन्निजामाज्ञां महीपतिः Mûrddhni Seshâ-Khâ-miva nyâsthaunijâmâjñâm mahipatih. (Verse 520, Canto III, of *Kumârapâla bhupâla Charita Mahâkâvya* of Śrî Jayasimhadeva Sûri); and also

(b) तदागत्य तदाज्ञात्वं शीर्षेशेषात्वमापय Tadâgatya tadâjña (*sic*) tvam Śishe Śeshâtvamâpaya. V. 89, Canto VIII, of the same. The above can be rendered thus:—

(a) "The King planted, placed, or deposited his âjñâ-aṇa on the head like the Sêshâ or Sekhâ."

(b) "Do thou cause his âjñâ to be borne on the head, having then come up to him."

The poem is an old poem by a Jaina writer. I have lately laid my hands upon it. I hope to give some day an analysis of it.—H. H. D.

Translation.

Om! Om! Salutation to the worshipful Vâsudêva! (1) The Illustrious Jayasiṁhadêva is the ruler in the land of Gûrjara, who threw into prison the Lords of Surâshṭrâ and Mâlava. (2) He who destroyed other kings as Sindhurâja and others, (*and*) made the Kings of the North bear his commands (*respectfully*) on their heads, like the Seshâ—the remnants of offerings.[4] (3) He, whose metropolis is the city Aṇahilapâṭaka, in which city the temples of the gods are so high as to obstruct the path of the horse of the Sun; as Ayodhyâ is that of Râma! (4) There Vâhinîpati Keśava obtained from the King the commission (?) of a Senâpati over the provinces of Dadhipadra, &c. (5) The wise and good Mantrî, appointed by him at this Dadhipadra established (*the temple of*) Goga-Nârâyaṇa for the good of his mother.

The divine Goga-Nârâyaṇa was instituted in the year Saṁvat 1196 of King Vikrama's era (A. D. 1140). In Saṁvat 1202 (A. D. 1146) Râṇa Sânkarasîha, who attained to greatness under the good graces of the Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara Śrî Vâpana-dêva, residing at Godrahaka, gave three ploughs of land in the village of Âśviliyâ-Kôḍâ, in the district of Ûbhloḍ, for (*the expenses of*) the worship of this god. The land is bounded on the east by the River Dadhimatî and on the north by the Ksharavâha.

Again there is a *praśasti* on the Arjuna-bârî of the Sameḷâ Tank at Warnagaḍh (Vaḍnagar) said to be dated in Saṁ. 1208, by the court poet Śripâla, who styles himself—

श्रीसिद्धराजप्रतिपन्नबन्धुः

श्रीपालनामा कविचक्रवर्ती

But of this inscription anon. The present one furnishes us with a contemporary record of the extent of the conquests of Srî Jayasiṁhadêva. He has already cast into prison the rulers of Surâshṭra and Mâlwâ: destroyed the kings of Sindhu-deśa—and others, and has for his *feudal vassals* the kings of the North! Keśava his commissioner for Dadhipadra and other districts is in military command at Dohad, Saṁ. 1196 (A. D. 1140),—and appoints a Mantrî under himself. There is a Viceroy at Godrahaka (?) Śrî Vâpanadêva, Saṁ. 1202 (A. D. 1146). Feudatories like Râṇâ Saṁkarasîha are also on the best terms with his agents and representatives in the conquered provinces. There is general peace about this time. The version of the inscription may be read in the light of the account of the reign of the king by Somêśvaradêva, the author of *Kîrttikaumudî* which Prof. Kathvate of the Gujarât College is now editing —from which the following verses (sarga ii) are here transcribed :—

अभिरामगुणग्रामो रामो दशरथादिव
सूनुः श्रीजयसिंहोऽस्माज्जायतेस्म जगज्जयी ॥ २३ ॥
शिशुनापि सुनासीरवीरवृत्तिमतीयुषा
रुषा भुजिष्यतां नीताः पिशुना येन भूभुजः ॥ २४ ।
अपारपौरुषोद्गारं खंगारं गुरुमत्सरम्
सौराष्ट्रं पिष्टवानाजौ करिणं केसरीव यः ॥ २५ ॥
असंख्यहरिसैन्येन प्रक्षिप्तानेकभूभृता
वद्धः सिन्धुपतिर्येन वैदेहीदयितेन वा ॥ २६ ॥
अमर्षणं मनः कुर्वन् विपक्षोर्विभृदुन्नतौ
अगस्त्य इव यस्तूर्णमर्णोराजमशोषयत् ॥ २७ ॥
गृहीता दुहिता तूर्णमर्णोराजस्य विष्णुना
दत्तानेन पुनस्तस्मै भेदोभूदुभयोरयं ॥ २८ ॥
द्विषां शीर्षाणि लूनानि दृष्ट्वा तत्पादयोः पुरः
चक्रे शाकंभरीशोऽपि शंकितः प्रणतं शिरः ॥ २९ ॥
मालवस्वामिनः प्रौढलक्ष्मीपरिवृढः स्वयं
समित्यपरमारो यः परमारानमारयत् ॥ ३० ॥
क्षिप्त्वा धारापतिं राजशुकवत्काष्ठपंजरे
यः काष्ठपंजरे कीर्त्तिराजहंसीं न्यवीविशत् ॥ ३१ ॥
एकैव जगृहे धारानगरी नरवर्म्मणः
दत्ता येनाश्रुधारास्तु तद्वधूनां सहस्रशः ॥ ३२ ॥

Verse 23.—"From him (*king Karṇa*) was born a son, the glorious Jayasiṁha, the conqueror of the world, a world of the most excellent qualities, like Râma *from Daśaratha*."[5] v. 24.—"He, who out of anger reduced to vassalage the slanderous kings, excelling even when young the heroism of Sunâsira." 25.—"He, who reduced to atoms in war the very imperious King of Soraṭh, Khangâra, of abundant valour, as

[4] Offered to a god and distributed among his devotees, that cannot be refused and that are received with great respect.

[5] Here mark the parallel simile of Râma and Jayasiṁhadêva as in the inscription, verse 3.

the lion does the elephant." 26.—"Either he or the Lord of Vaidehi bound the Lord of the Sindhus or rivers,[6] or the lord of Sindhu-deśa, with a countless host of Haris[7] (*i. e. cavalry,*) casting down many *bhûbhrits*,[8] or kings."[9] 27.—"Not relenting in his mind in the matter of the hostile king's rise[10]—he like the sage Agastya instantaneously dried up or destroyed Arṇo Râja."[11] 28.—"This was the only difference between him and Vishṇu. The daughter of Arnorâja—(*the ocean*)—Lakshmî was *taken* to wife by Vishṇu, and Arnorâja the king *gave* her in marriage to him." 29.—"Seeing the decapitated heads of enemies lying at his feet the lord of Śâkambharî (Sambhar) too, out of fear, bowed down his head to him." 30.—"He beat down in battle the Paramâras, another Mâra, Aparamâra, as he was, the betrothed of the regal fortune of the ruler of Mâlavâ." 31.—"He threw the Lord of Dhârâ into a wooden cage like a royal parrot, and at the same time he made the royal swan of his fame enter the cage of the universe—all the directions." 32.—"He took but a single Dhârâ, the city of Naravarman—but he gave thousands of *dhârâs* (streams) of tears by it to his wives."

We thus see how closely the two accounts of the acts of Jayasimhadeva agree with that of the contemporaneous inscription and the poem of a century later or more.

So this Inscription notes that in Saṁ. 1202 (A. D. 1146) "king Jayasimhadeva was alive." The date of the death of the same king according to the *Râsa Mâlâ* is Saṁ. 1199, while Tod mentions Sid Rao as ruling over Gujarat from Samvat 1150 to 1201.[12] In the Kumârapâla Inscription that Tod quotes in an appendix the year is read as Saṁ. 1207, while it is mentioned in the work itself[13] as bearing date Saṁ. 1206.

So far as the present inscription goes, we may safely hold that King Jayasimhadêva was the ruler of Gujarât and other countries in Saṁ. 1202 or A. D. 1145-6.

I have only to add here the expression of my obligation to Dr. Bühler for his valuable suggestions and assistance, and also to R. S. Ochhavrâm Mâdhavrâm, late Mâmlatdâr of Dohad.

In *Goga Nârâyana*, *Goga* appears to be a name of some one of the ancestors of the Mantri, the founder of the temple; as Goga is a name very common with the Rajputs of the times, such as that of the Goga who with his forty-seven sons fell fighting bravely in defending the passage of the Satlej against Mahmud's invasion, a short notice and a representation of whose statue we have in Tod's *Rájasthána*, vol. I, p. 720. And giving names to gods or temples of gods newly instituted by the founder from his own name or from that of his ancestor is a practice not uncommon in this country.

NOTE ON THE DOHAD INSCRIPTION.

BY DR. G. BÜHLER, C.I.E.

Mr. Dhruva has rendered an important service to those interested in the history of Gujarât by the publication of the Dohad inscription given above. The inscription not only reveals the ancient name of the western frontier town of the Panch Mahals, but throws some light on the connexion of the Chaulukya rulers with the whole Zilla. We learn that in the twelfth century, just as now Godhrâ (Godrahaka) was the chief town of the district and the seat of a Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara, a great feudatory or baron, under whom Thakors, like Râna Sânkarasîha of Úbhloḍ, held smaller districts. We, further, hear that the Chaulukya lord paramount appointed a *Senâpati* or military commander to the district, including in that charge the town of Dadhipadra (Dehvad-Dohad). This fact indicates that the Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara of Godhrâ was not left altogether free, and that, very probably, *Ṭhâṇâs*, held by Chaulukya soldiers, existed all through the district. The object of this arrangement is not doubtful, if it is borne in mind that one of the great routes from Gujarât into Mâlvâ passes through the Panch Mahals, that Dohad lies just on the frontier of Mâlvâ, and that the relations between Mâlvâ

[6] *i. e.* the ocean in the case of Râma.

[7] *i. e.* monkeys forming the army of Râma.

[8] *i. e.* mountains in the case of Râma.

[9] Cf. verse 2 of our inscription.

[10] In the rise of the mountain Vindhya, that had made obeisance to the sage and was told by the latter to remain so till he returned, bereft as Vindya was of his *Pakshas* or wings.

[11] *Lord of the waters in the case of Agastya, a king of* that name in that of Jayasimha.

[12] Vide *Annals of Rajasthan*, vol. I, p. 98, note.

[13] *Ibid.* pp. 256 and 803.

and Gujarât were during the whole period of the Chaulukya rule exceedingly hostile.

From the reign of Châmuṇḍa down to the times of Vîsaladêva, the chronicles and inscriptions speak of constant wars and inroads of the Pramâras into Gujarât and of the Chaulukyas into Mâlvâ. During the reigns of Bhîmadeva I, Karṇadeva I, Jayasiṁha and Kumârapâla the Chaulukyas had the best of it in this contest, and succeeded almost in destroying the Pramâra power and annexing their country to Gujarât. If we now hear that Jayasiṁha appointed a *senâpati* for the province of Dadhipadra and other districts, it is clear that he did it in order to protect the highroad to Mâṇḍu and Dhâr, to keep it clear for his own troops and to guard against incursions from this side.

This is, in my opinion, the chief value of the inscription. I do not agree with Mr. Dhruva in thinking that it throws a new light on the length of Jayasiṁha's reign, and proves him to have been living in Saṁvat 1202. Merutunga states in the *Prabhandhachintámaṇi* that Jayasiṁha died in Saṁvat 1199. In the *Vichâraśreṇî* the same author gives the date of Jayasiṁha's death as Saṁvat 1199, Kârttika sudi 3, and that of his successor's coronation as Saṁvat 1199 Mârgaśira sudi 4. These detailed statements of a writer who drew his information from the writings of Râmachandra and other contemporaries of Siddharâja and Kumârapâla can, in my opinion, be discredited only by much stronger evidence than that furnished by the Dohad inscription. The latter contains two distinct parts, a metrical and a prose one, and two different dates, Saṁvat 1196 and Saṁvat 1202. The statement that 'The illustrious Jayasiṁhadêva *is* king of Gujarât,' occurs in the metrical portion which treats only of the dedication of the temple of Goganârâyaṇa in Saṁvat 1196. Considering the repeated statements of Merutunga regarding Jayasiṁha's death, it seems to me advisable to connect the sentence 'The illustrious Jayasiṁha *is* the ruler of Gujarât,' with this date only. This can be done without imputing to the author of the inscription any laxity in the use of the tenses, by assuming that the first part of the inscription down to *pratishṭhitaḥ* (l. 10), was originally a separate document, written in 1196, to which the second part was added in 1202 when Râṇâ Sânkarasîha made his donation. Similar instances of additions to older documents are not uncommon, and they are made either by simply adding a few lines to the older inscription or by copying the latter afresh together with the addition containing the new facts. A careful examination of the stone and of the letters would be necessary in order to decide if the pillar on which the Dohad inscription is engraved belonged to the temple of Goganârâyaṇa or not, and if the letters of the last lines show any little differences from those of the first ten.[1] But, however this may be, I feel no hesitation in giving it as my decided opinion that we have here an inscription consisting of two parts composed or written in different years, and that the inscription asserts nothing more about Jayasiṁha's reign, but that he ruled over Gujarât in 1196 Vikrama, a statement which quite agrees with Merutunga.

In conclusion I must state that I differ from Mr. Dhruva in the interpretation of v. 5, and that I translate it as follows, 'The virtuous (*man*) who was appointed to this (*town of*) Dadhipadra and made a Mantrî by him (*i. e. Jayasiṁha*) built for the good of his mother (*the temple of*) Goga-Nârâyaṇa.' In my opinion *senâpati* Keśava was the builder of the temple, not some underling of his. *Mantridîkshitaḥ* means either *mantrî asau dîkshitaścha*, 'who was a Mantrî and a Dîkshita (Soma-sacrificer or a descendant of a Soma sacrificer)' or *mantritre dîkshitaḥ*, 'who was initiated as *i.e.* made a Mantrî (by the king).' Mr. Dhruva's rendering does not seem to me admissible.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C. S., M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from p. 132.*)

No. XCIX.

Paṭṭadakal, the ancient Kisuvoḷal or Paṭṭada-Kisuvoḷal, was, though not a capital city, a place of considerable importance

[1] The rubbing shows no marked difference; but it is apparently made with a pencil, and is not quite satisfactory.—Ed.

in the time of the Western Chalukyas. It is situated in Lat. 15° 57′ N. and Long. 75° 52′ E., on the left bank of the Malaprabhâ, in the Bâdâmi Tâlukâ of the Kalâdgi District, about eight miles to the east by north from Bâdâmi. As regards its ancient name,—*paṭṭada* means 'of the (*regal*) fillet or turban,' *i. e.*, as we should say, 'of the crown,' or 'of the anointing (*of the king*),' *i. e.*, as we should say, 'of the coronation.' *Hoḷal* or *hoḷalu* means 'a city.' And, in Kisuvoḷal, the first two syllables may perhaps be *kisu*, 'a ruby.' In the Biḍi Tâlukâ of the Belgaum District, there is a village called Mâṇikwâḍ, *i. e.* Mâṇikyavâḍa, 'the town of rubies'; and, according to inscriptions, the ancient name of Maṇugoḷḷi, the 'Mungolee' of the maps, in the Iṇḍi or the Bâgewâḍi Tâlukâ of the Kalâdgi District, was Maṇigavaḷḷi in Canarese[1] and Mâṇikyavaḷḷi in Sanskrit,[2] both meaning 'the hamlet of rubies'; and probably many similar names might be found by searching the maps. In the modern name, Pattadakal, *kal* is probably, not an abbreviation of Kisuvoḷal, but *kallu*, 'a stone', which enters into the names of so many villages in the Canarese country; and the word then means 'the stone of the anointing or coronation.'

The architectural remains at Paṭṭadakal have already been described by Mr. Burgess in the *First Archæological Report*, pp. 28 &c. In the present paper I shall give an account of all the inscriptions known to be extant here, nearly all of which were examined by me in person in the season of 1876-7.

The largest, though not the oldest, temple is that of the god Virûpâksha, or, as we learn from the inscriptions, originally of Lôkêśvara. And the present inscription and the next tell us that it was built by the *Sûtradhâri*[3] Guṇḍa for Lôkamahâdêvî, the queen-consort of the Western Chalukya king Vikramâditya II. in commemoration of her husband having three times conquered Kâñchî, or the Pallava king whose capital was at Kâñchî.

The present Old-Canarese inscription is in the eastern gateway of the courtyard of the temple, on the front face of a pilaster on the right or north side of the doorway. The writing covers a space of 3′ 3″ high by 2′ 1½″ broad. A facsimile,[4] from the estampage taken by myself, is published herewith. From the type of the characters, the engraving of the inscription was evidently synchronous with the building of the temple. Dr. Burnell has stated that "a feature common to all the later inscriptions of the Western Chalukyas, but which does not occur in any others, is a marked slope of the letters to the right. The Eastern Chalukya character is, on the other hand, remarkably square and upright; this distinction is quite sufficient, after A. D. 650" (Śaka 572) "to show the origin of an inscription."[5] This slope of the letters to the right is certainly a characteristic of the Western Chalukya copper-plate grants after about the above date. But the facsimiles which I am now publishing show that, as regards the inscriptions on stone, it depends entirely upon the idiosyncracy of the individual engraver, and that, therefore, even in the copper-plate grants, it is not to be taken as indicating any radical change in the type of the Western Chalukya alphabet. In stone-tablets, for instance, it is discernible in No. CI. below, an inscription of Vijayâditya and Vikramâditya II., and in Nos. CII. and CV. below, other inscriptions of Vikramâditya II. But it is not discernible at all in the present and the next inscription, or in No. LVIII. at Vol. VIII., p. 285, which are inscriptions of the same king; or in No. XCIV. at p. 102 above, and in No. LVII. at Vol. VIII., p. 284, which are other inscriptions of Vijayâditya; in these instances the characters are of the square and upright type which Dr. Burnell considers to have become, at that period, the distinctive characteristic of the Eastern Chalukya alphabet.

In addition to recording the name of Guṇḍa as the builder of the temple, this inscription, as also the next, seems to be intended to record the readmission into caste of the artisans of the locality, who had been outcasted for some act which is not stated. The purport of this portion hinges entirely upon the meaning to be given to the word *baḷḷigavârte*, or perhaps, as it is written in line 6 of No. C., *baḷḷigavarte*. It is not a dictionary word, and I cannot find anything approaching to it in the dictionaries. Therefore,—though Mr. Veṅkaṭ Raṅgô Kaṭṭi

[1] Elliot, *MS. Collection*, vol. I., p. 746.
[2] *Id.*, vol. II., p. 370.
[3] The *Sûtradhârî* or *Sûtragrâhî*, 'the holder of the thread; the measurer,' was the assistant of the *Sthapati*, 'the master-carpenter, or master-mason; the architect.'
[4] *Pâli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions*, No. 58.
[5] *South-Indian Palæography*, p. 20.

says that it sounds to him like the Drâviḍian equivalent of the Sanskṛit *bahishkâra*, and conveys to him the meaning of that word; and though this meaning suits the context,—yet this interpretation must not be accepted as altogether certain.

Transcription.

[1] Svasti Vikramâditya-śrî-
[2] pri(pṛi)thivîvallabha-mahâdêvi-
[3] yarâ dêgulamân ma(mâ)ḍida sûtradhâri
[4] Śrî-Gunḍan anivârit-âchâri-
[5] ge mûme-perjjerepu-paṭṭamu Tribhuvanâchâri-
[6] y=endu pesar=ittu prasâdaṅ-geydâ pri(pṛi)dhi(thi)viyâ
[7] binnâṇigaḷâ balligavârtte illa dôsiga-
[8] na kavardd=uḷidorge parihâ[ra*]m [॥*] Idân aḷi-
[9] von=Vâraṇâsiya sâsirâ kavileyum sâsirvva-
[10] r=ppârvvarumân kondona(râ) lôkakke sandon=akkü[m*] [॥*]

Translation.

Hail! There is no excommunication from caste[6] of the skilful people[7] of the world who have attained the favour (*of the god*), having given the *paṭṭa*[8] called *mûme-perjjerepu* (*and*) the name of Tribhuvanâchârya to Śrî-Guṇḍa, whose (*observance of the*) established rules of conduct was unimpeded, the *Sûtradhârî* who made the temple of the queen of Vikramâditya, the favourite of the world; (*and there is*) immunity[9] to the others who united themselves with the guilty man.[10]

(L. 8.)—May he, who destroys this, be on an equality with people who kill a thousand tawny-coloured cows and a thousand Brâhmaṇs of Vâraṇâsi!

No. C.

The following Old-Canarese inscription is in the corresponding position to the preceding, viz. on the front face of a pilaster on the left or south side of the doorway in the eastern gateway. It was uncovered by me for the first time, having been previously almost entirely concealed by a rubble masonry wall built up in front of it as an additional support to the roof. The writing covers a space of about 2′ 8½″ high by 2′ 4″ broad. A facsimile,[11] from the estampage taken by myself, is published herewith.

In addition to recording that the temple was built for Lôkamahâdêvî in celebration of her husband Vikramâditya II. having three times conquered Kâñchî, and to recording the readmission into caste of the artisans of the locality, this inscription gives several titles of the builder of the temple. Among them is that of *Sarvasiddhi-Âchârya.* The *Sarvasiddhi-Âchâryas* are mentioned again in No. CXIV. below, and seem to have been some celebrated guild of architects or builders. The characters of this inscription are of the same standard as those of the preceding; and, in both cases, they are of the same bold and deep type, with the edges rounded off, as those of the inscription, No. XCV. at page 104 above, in the porch of the temple of Mahâkûṭa near Bâdâmi.

Transcription.

[1] Svasti Śrî-Vikramâditya-
[2] bhaṭârar=mmûme Ka(kâ)ṁchiyân=mûme parâ-
[3] jisidorâ Śrî-Lôkamahâdêviyarâ
[4] î Lôkêśvara mâḍida sûtradhârige
[5] mûme-perjjerepu geyda-baḷikke î visha-
[6] yada vinnâṇigaḷâ balligavartteyan=uḷi-

[6] *Balligavârte.*

[7] Sanderson gives *binnâṇa* as an Old-Canarese word meaning 'care, affection, skill,' and *binnaṇi* (the second syllable short) as an Old-Canarese word meaning, 'a clever man; cleverness, skill, ability,'—and also *vinnâṇa* as a Canarese word meaning, 'worthy; worth.' And C. P. Brown gives *vinnâṇa* or *binnâṇa*, marking the word properly as a corruption of the Sanskṛit *vijñâna*, as meaning 'capacity, dexterity; art, skill, craft, cunning; grace, beauty; graceful, handsome.' *Vinnâṇi* or *binnâṇi* is from the Sanskṛit *vijñânin*, 'possessed of *vijñâna*, or knowledge, science, wisdom, business, employment, &c.' Sanderson gives to *vijñâna* the special meaning of '*conversance with painting or architecture*,' but I do not know what authority there is for this; it is not borne out by Prof. Monier Williams' *Sanskṛit Dictionary*.

[8] *Paṭṭa*, 'a patent, royal grant or order, fillet or turban of honour.'

[9] *Parihâra.*

[10] *Dôsiga; sc., dôshika.*

[11] *P., S., and O-C., Inscriptions*, No. 59.

INSCRIBED PILLARS IN THE ENTRANCE GATE OF THE TEMPLE OF VIRUPÂKSHA AT PAṬṬADAKAL

1.

3.

FROM IMPRESSIONS BY J. F. FLEET, BO. C. S.

SCALE ⅙ OF ORIGINALS

IN THE ENCLOSURE OF THE TEMPLE OF VIRUPAKSHA, AT PATTADAKAL.

FROM AN IMPRESSION BY J. F. FLEET, BO. C. S.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITHO, LONDON.

ON A PILLAR IN THE EAST PORCH OF THE TEMPLE OF VIRUPAKSHA, AT PATTADAKAL.

FROM AN IMPRESSION BY J. BURGESS.

[7] pida âchâriya pesar=ivan=arimi[12] [|*]
[8] Svasti Śrî-Sarvvasidhi-âchâri sakala-guṇ-âśraya
[9] anêka-rapu(sc. pura)-vâstu-Pitâmahan sakala-nishkala-sû-
[10] kshm-âtibhâshitan va(vâ)stu-prâsâda-yân-âsana-sa(śa)ya-
[11] na-maṇimakuṭa-ratnachûḍâmaṇi te[ṁ*]kaṇa di-
[12] śeyâ sûtradhâri [|| *]

Translation.

Hail! Let it be known that these are the names of the *Áchârya* who averted the excommunication[13] of the skilful people of this district, after that they had given the *mûme-perjerepu* to the *Sûtradhârî* who made this temple of Lôkêśvara of Lôkamahâdêvî, (*the queen*) of Vikramâditya, the worshipful one, who three times conquered Kâñchî:—

(L. 8.)—Hail! :—*Śrî-Sarvasiddhi-âchârya*; the asylum of all virtuous qualities; the Pitâmaha[14] of many cities and houses; he whose conversation is entirely perfect and refined; he who has for a jewelled diadem and crest-jewel the houses and palaces and vehicles and seats and couches (*that he has constructed*); the (*most eminent*) *Sûtradhârî* of the southern country.

No. CI.

In an open cell in the back or western wall of the courtyard of the same temple, I have had placed, for safety, a rather roughly-shaped red-sandstone tablet that was found in the fields about half a mile away to the west of the village. The tablet is 4′ 10″ high, of which the writing covers 2′ 9″, by 1′ 8½″ broad. A facsimile,[15] from the estampage taken by myself, is published herewith. The only emblem at the top of the stone is a figure of Nandî, couchant to the proper left; this is the earliest stone-tablet known to me that has this emblem on it. And it is, in fact, the earliest stone-tablet but one, known to me, that has any emblem at all; the exception is the stone-tablet of the Western Chalukya king Vinayâditya and the Sêndraka king Pogilli, which has at the top an elephant, standing to the proper left.[16]

The inscription is in the Old-Canarese language, and is of the time of the Western Chalukya king Vijayâditya and his son Vikramâditya II.; it is therefore not later than Śaka 655 (A.D. 733-4), and is of a somewhat earlier date than the preceding two. It records the grant of apparently a stone throne or pedestal and of a bracelet or bangle to the idol of the temple of the god Lôkapâlêśvara, which had been built by Anantaguṇa. If any traces of this temple now remain, they cannot be identified. Lôkapâlêśvara is probably the same god as Lôkêśvara, under a slightly different name. They are both names or forms of Śiva.

Transcription.

[1] Svasti Śrî-Vijayâditya Vikramâditya
[2] śrîprithu(thi)vîvallabha mahârâj-âdhirâja
[3] paramêśvara bhaṭârarâ koṭṭa datti A[na]-
[4] ntaguṇarâ dêgulakke koṭṭudu datti
[5] Añjanâchârya-bhagavantarâ cthâ-
[6] namân=Dêvâchârya-bhagavantargge koṭṭu
[7] Śrî-Lôkapâlêśvarakam=pâre baḷḷi [||*] [Sva]-
[8] datta(ttâ)[ṁ] para-datta(ttâ)ṁ vâ yô harêti(ta) vasundha[râṁ]
[9] shashṭiṁ varisha(sc. varsha)-sahasrâṇi vi[shṭâ]-
[10] yâṁ jâyatê krimi[ḥ*] [||*] Î dharmmakke a[hitaṁ]-
[11] bevvon=Vâra[ṇâ]siyâ sâsi[r*]vva[r*]=pârvva[ruṁ]
[12] sâsirâ kavileyuṁ konda lôkakke sa-
[13] n[do]n=akkuṁ [|*] Î dharmmakke ahitaṁ-bevvon=pañcha[ma]-
[14] hâpâtakan=akkum ||*

[12] This letter *mi*, is on the countersunk surface of the pilaster,—not on the shaped part of it that stands out in relief and contains the body of the inscription.

[13] *Baḷḷigavarte.*

[14] Brahmâ; *i. e.* "the creator, the maker."

[15] *P., S., and O-C., Inscriptions*, No. 53.

[16] *Id.*, No. 152.

Translation.

Hail! The grant that was given of Śrî-Vijayâditya and Vikramâditya, the favourites of the world, the great kings, the supreme kings, the supreme lords, the worshipful ones,—the grant that was given to the temple of (*the architect*) Anantaguṇa,—(*was*) a stone seat (?)[17] and a bracelet (?) to the temple of (*the god*) Śrî-Lôkapâlêśvara, after having given the office[18] of the holy Añjanâchârya to the holy Dêvâchârya.

(L. 7.)—He is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years, who takes away land that has been given, whether by himself or by another! May he, who does harm to this (*act of*) religion, be on an equality with people who kill a thousand Brâhmaṇs and a thousand tawny-coloured cows of Vâraṇasi! May he, who does harm to this (*act of*) religion, incur the guilt of the five great sins!

No. CII.

The majority of the inscriptions at the temple of Lôkêśvara or Virûpaksha are in the east porch. The present is on the front face of the front pillar in the right or north side of the porch. The writing covers a space of 1′ 8″ high by 2′ 2″ broad. A facsimile,[19] prepared under my own supervision from the estampage taken by Mr. Burgess, is published herewith.

It is another Old-Canarese inscription of Vikramâditya II., and records that his queen-consort, Lôkamahâdêvî, confirmed the singers of the locality in the enjoyment of the grants and privileges that had been conferred on them by Vijayâditya.

Transcription.

[1] Svasti Śrî-Vijayâditya-Satyâśraya-śrîpṛithu(thi)vivallabha-mahâ-
[2] râj-âdhirâja-paramêśvara-bhaṭârarâ gândharvvargge niṛi-
[3] sidâ pûrvva-maryyâdegaḷân Śrî-Vikrâ(kra)mâditya-bhaṭâ-
[4] rarâ Lôkamaha(hâ)dêviyar gândharvvargge nittâr [‖ *]
[5] Idân=aḷivon Bâraṇâsiya sâsira kavile-
[6] yuṁ sâsirvvar pârvvarumân konda lôkakke sa-
[7] ndon=akkuṁ [‖ *] Eṛeyadi Śrî-Guppaduggadi Duggamâra idâ[n*]
[8] paḍedâr [‖ *]

Translation.

Hail! Lôkamahâdêvî, (*the queen*) of Śrî-Vikramâditya, the worshipful one, confirmed[20] to the singers the covenants[21] of former times, which had been granted to the singers by Śrî-Vijayâditya-Satyâśraya, the favourite of the world, the great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the worshipful one.

(L. 5.)—May he, who destroys this, be on an equality with people who kill a thousand tawny-coloured cows and a thousand Brâhmaṇs of Bâraṇâsi!

(L. 7.)—Duggamâra, of Śrî-Guppadugga in (*the country of*) Eṛeya, obtained this (*concession*).[22]

No. CIII.

On the same pillar, below the preceding inscription there is the following short inscription[23] in characters of about the ninth or tenth century A.D. The language appears to be Old-Canarese; but the meaning is not apparent, except that it seems to record the name of a certain Dhuliprabhu, who may have been a visitor to the temple. The writing covers a space of 10″ high by 1′ 8″ broad.

Transcription.

[1] Śrî-Keḷavarâḷ-Dhuliprabhu-
[2] dêva goṁṭha(?)deranitti e
[3] dôshon [‖*]

No. CIV.

On the corresponding back face of the pillar, on the front face of which is No. CII. above, there is the following inscription,[24] consisting of two Sanskrit verses in praise of Achalada-Bharata, the author of a work on dramatic composition. The characters are of the eighth or ninth century A.D.

[17] *Pâṛe*; see Sanderson's *Canarese Dictionary*, under *pâṛu* and *pâṛe*.

[18] *Sthâna* may mean either the 'office' of the priest of the temple, or the 'locality,' *i. e.* 'allotment of land', belonging to the holder of that office.

[19] *P., S., and O.-C., Inscriptions*, No. 54.

[20] *Nittâr*, Mr. V. R. Katti considers, must be the irregular past tense of *niṛisu*, 'set up, establish, fix, determine, give', which occurs in the present inscription, and also in the Sinda inscriptions in *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XI., p. 224, ll. 51, 53, 55, and 57, and p. 239, l. 41.

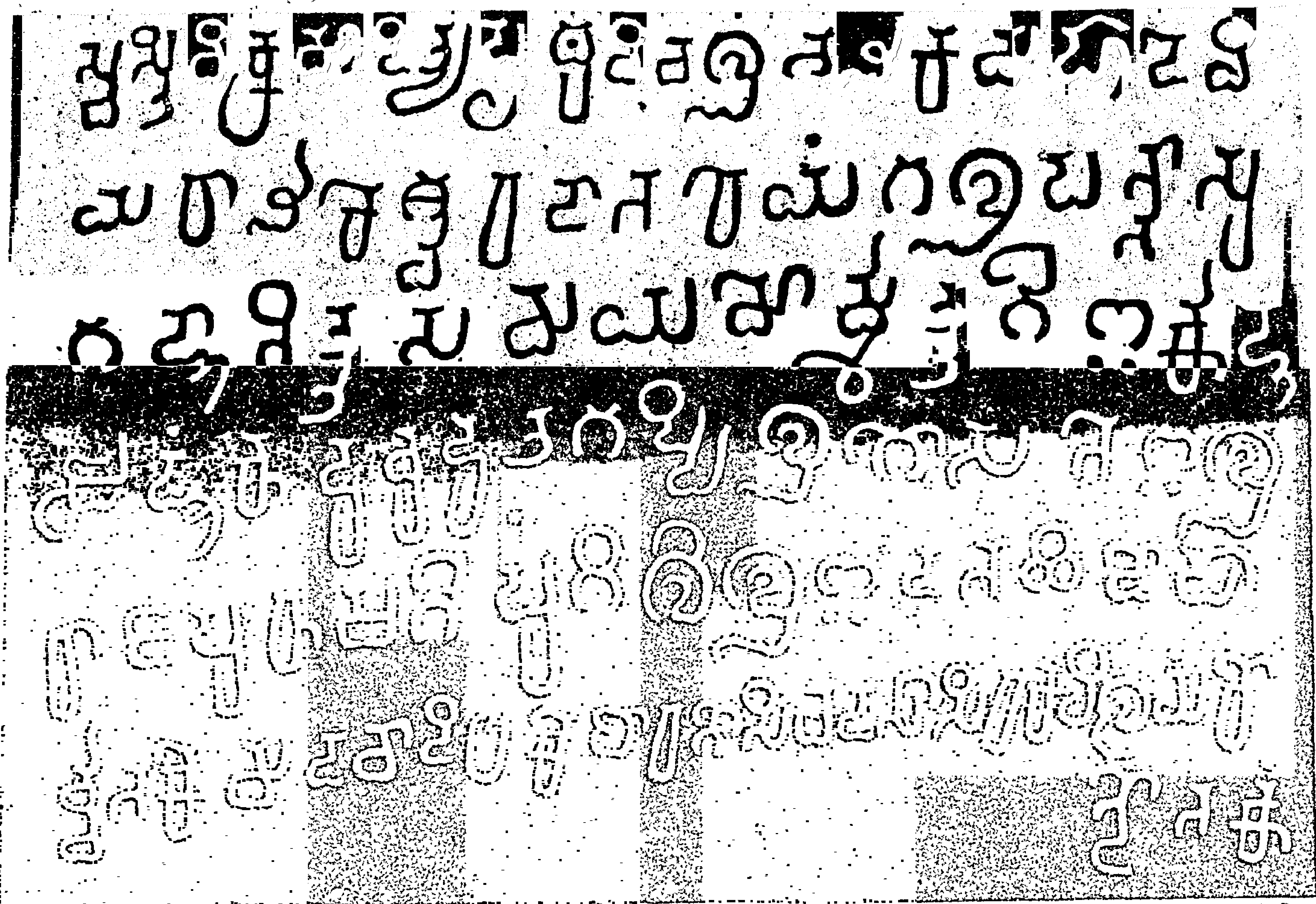
[21] *Maryâde, maryâdâ*, 'bounds of morality or propriety; established rule or custom; covenant, agreement, contract.'

[22] This translation of the last two lines is not altogether satisfactory; but it is the best that I can offer.

[23] *P., S., and O.-C., Inscriptions*, No. 55.

[24] *Id.*, No. 56.

ON A PILLAR IN THE EAST PORCH OF THE TEMPLE OF VIRUPAKSHA, AT PATTADAKAL



FROM AN IMPRESSION BY J. BURGESS.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITHO, LONDON.

ON A PILLAR IN THE TEMPLE OF SAMGAMESVARA, AT PATTADAKAL.

OM AN IMPRESSION BY J. F. FLEET, BO. C. S.

ON A PILLAR IN THE TEMPLE OF SAMGAMESVARA, AT PATTADAKAL.

ROM AN IMPRESSION BY J. F. FLEET, BO. C. S.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITHO.

Transcription.

[1] Bharata-nuta-vachana-rachanâ-virachita-natu(ṭa)-sêvya-
[2] simgha(ha)-nâdêna para-naṭa-madândha-hastî parihîna-madô
[3] bhavaty=êva ||* Naṭa-sêvya-Bharata-mata-yuta-paṭuta-
[4] ra-vachan-âśani-prapâtêna kuṭil-ônnata-naṭa-śaila[ḥ*]
[5] spu(sphu)ṭit-ânata-mastakaḥ=patati ||* Achalada [||*]

Translation.

The elephant, blind with rut, which is an actor of another school, is deprived of his frenzy by the lion's roar of (*the rules*) that are to be observed of actors, framed in accordance with the arrangement of the celebrated sentences of Bharata. The mountain, which is an insincere or proud actor, falls down, having its summit (*which is the actor's head*) broken open and bowed down by the thunderbolt, which is a most skilful composition imbued with the opinions of Bharata, which are worthy to be followed by actors. Achalada.

No. CV.

This inscription is in the corresponding position to No. CII., above, viz. on the front face of the front pillar in the left or south side of the east porch. The writing covers a space of 1′ 10″ high by 2′ 3″ broad. A facsimile,[25] prepared under my own superintendence from the estampage made by Mr. Burgess, is published herewith.

It is another Old-Canarese inscription of V i k r a m â d i t y a II., and records the grant, to the temple of Lôkêśvara, of the district called the Nareyaṅgal Fifty, and of a contribution of grain. This Nareyaṅgal is in all probability the modern Narêgal in the Dhârwâḍ District, about twenty-five miles almost due south of Paṭṭadakal.

Transcription.

[1] Svasti Vikkra(kra)mâditya-pṛithu(thi)vivallabha-Lôkamahâdêvi-
[2] yarâ Lôkêśvaradâ Nareyamgalla pannâsu-
[3] gaḷân[26]=itta samayam=or-mmattarge ir-kkuḷa
[4] jôḷam kuḍuvudu [||*] Tagapp=illa gôsane illa
[5] râja-purusharge pugil=illa [||*] Ida(dâ)n=aḷido[n*] pâ-
[6] rvvan=akke mada-vâdi akke Bâraṇa(ṇâ)sivada[27] sâsira kavileyam kondon=akkum [||*]

Translation.

Hail! At the time of giving the Nareyaṅgal Fifty, (*which was the grant*) of the temple of Lôkêśvara of L ô k a m a h â d ê v î (*the queen*) of V i k r a m â d i t y a, the favourite of the world,—(*it was settled that*) people will give two *kuḷas*[28] of millet on (*each*) one *mattar* (*of land*). There is no peremptory demand;[29] there is no (*obligation of*) presenting cattle;[30] there is no right of perquisites[31] (*allowed*) to the king's servants.

(L. 5.)—May he, who destroys this,—whether he be a Brâhmaṇ, or whether he be a heretic,—be as one who kills a thousand tawny-coloured cows of Bâraṇâsi.

No. CVI.

On the north or inner face of one of the pillars on the south side in the same porch there is the following short inscription,[32] in the Old-Canarese language, and in characters of the eighth or ninth century A.D. It seems to record the names of two visitors to the temple.

Transcription.

[1] Svasti Śrî-Sakarêsivâdiga-
[2] ḷa pâda Dhûli Lôkêśvarada
[3] môl-gaṇḍu geydon [||*] Âditya
[4] Śrî-Haḍadêva-putran [||*].

Translation.

Hail! Dhûli, (*the disciple at*) the foot of Śrî-Sakarêsivâdi, saw the excellence of the temple of Lôkêśvara. Âditya, the son of Śrî-Haḍadêva.

No. CVII.

On one of the front pillars in the north porch of the same temple of Lôkêśvara or Virûpâksha,

[25] *Id.*, No. 57.

[26] The occurrence of this Prâkṛit word *pannâs*, 'fifty,' in an Old-Canarese inscription of this date, is worthy of note. We have had it in a still earlier inscription,—No. XXVIII., l. 39. at vol. VI., p. 77.

[27] These two letters, *vadu*, are a mistake of the engraver for *ya*.

[28] *Kuḷa* is the same as *koḷaga*, *i. e.* sixteen *pailis* or sixty-four *seers*.

[29] *Tagappu* is evidently the old form of *tagavu*, 'peremptory demand for payment.'

[30] *Gôsane* seems to be a corruption of the Vêdic *gôshaṇi*, *gôsani*, 'acquiring or presenting with cattle.'

[31] *Pugilu* is the equivalent of the Hindustâni *phaski*, 'a claim to perquisites.'

[32] *P., S., and O.-C., Inscriptions*, No. 61.

there is an undated Old-Canarese inscription[33] of the reign of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Dhârâvarsha, Kalivallabha, or Dhruva, whose date was about Śaka 700 (A.D. 778-9). This will be published in detail by me in a separate paper on the Râshṭrakûṭa dynasty.

Over a figure of the god Śiva, near the west end of the north face of the temple, there is one line of writing in the Old-Canarese and Sanskrit languages, and in characters of the seventh or eighth century A.D. It was not shown to me at my visit; but a lithographic copy of it has been published elsewhere.[34] The lithograph is not a good one; but it suffices, two syllables only being doubtful, to show that the original runs,—*Śrî-Pullappan Śrî(?)-Mâ(?)-ṇadêva- līka(ka)ṭita-pratimâ*;—Śrî-Pullappa; the image made by (?)Śrî-Māṇadêva. The reference is evidently to some sculpture on the temple, and *Pullappa* is probably for *Pulaha*, the name of an ancient sage, one of the mindborn sons of Brahmâ, and also a name of Śiva.

No. CVIII.

On the south or front face of a pillar in the west side of the south porch of the same temple, there is an Old-Canarese inscription of three lines, in characters of the eighth or early in the ninth century A. D., over the sculptured figure of some god. It was late when I saw this inscription, and I had no time to copy it, and the photograph[35] does not enable it to be read with any accuracy; but it contains nothing of historical purport.

No. CIX.

On the south face of the same temple, there is an Old-Canarese inscription[36] in two lines, in characters of about the same age, under a figure of Śiva, who is represented with very bushy hair and with his left foot on the back of a dwarf figure.

Transcription.

[1] Śrî-Cheṁ(? veṁ)gamma î pratime-
[2] yaṁ kaṭṭidon [॥*]

Translation.

Śrî-Cheṅgamma made this image.

No. CX.

Finally, inside the same temple of Lôkêśvara or Virûpâksha, on the south side of the nave, there is a pillar[37] with four compartments of sculptures representing scenes from the *Râmâyaṇa*. Each compartment has a line of writing above it, in characters of about the period of the building of the temple, giving the names, usually in corrupt or Prâkṛit forms, of the figures represented in the sculptures.

Transcription.

[1] Kara[38]-Dûshaṇam Suppaṇagi[39] Lakkaṇa[40] Suppaṇagi Lakkaṇan Râman Site[41]
[2] Râvaṇan Suppaṇagi Kara-Dûshaṇan Râman Lakkaṇan Site
[3] Pochchaṛi[42] Râma Pochchaṛi Râma Pochchaṛi Lakkaṇa Râma Site Marichchan[43] Marichchan Râvaṇan
[4] Supârśva[44] Râvaṇa Jaṭâyu Râvaṇa Site Râvaṇan Site Lakkaṇa Site

No. CXI.

On the north side of the enclosure of the temple there is the house of Parappa Pûjâri, in which there stands a monolith pillar, apparently of red-sandstone. The pillar is called *Lakshmî-kambha*, or "the pillar of the goddess Lakshmî," and is worshipped as a god. The result of this delicate attention is that it is very much smeared with oil, and the two inscriptions on it have been rendered very difficult to decipher. I had the pillar cleaned to a certain extent; but chemical means, with which to clean it sufficiently to make the inscriptions legible enough for editing, or even for estampages to be successfully taken, were wanting.

The upper part of the pillar is octagonal. The north-west, west, south-west, and south faces, have on them a Sanskrit inscription in the early Old-Canarese characters. It consists of twenty-five lines of writing, each line commencing on the north-west face, and running round to the south face; each face of the pillar

[33] *Id.*, No. 60.
[34] *First Archæological Report*, Plate xliv., No. 27.
[35] *P., S., and O-C., Inscriptions*, No. 62.
[36] *Id.*, No. 63.
[37] *Id.*, No. 64.
[38] Khara,—a brother of Râvaṇa. Dûshaṇa was one of generals of Râvaṇa.
[39] Śûrpanakhâ, or Śûrpaṇakhâ,—the sister of Râvana.
[40] Lakshmaṇa.
[41] Sîtâ.
[42] Equivalent not known; perhaps it is connected with the Canarese *pochcharu*, 'to shine, struggle,' and is an epithet of Râma and Lakshmaṇa. The reading is quite clear, and as I have given it; though Dr. Bhau Dâji (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IX., p. 320) read Pollathi, and conjectured it to mean Paulastya, or Râvaṇa.
[43] Mârîcha,—one of the demons.
[44] Supârśva,—a minister of Râvaṇa.

INSCRIPTION ON THE FRONT FACE OF THE TEMPLE OF PÂPANÂTHA AT PAṬṬADAKAL.

FROM IMPRESSIONS BY J. F. FLEET, BO. C. S.

SCALE $\frac{3}{6}$ OF ORIGINAL

ON THE SIDE WALL OF THE TEMPLE OF PAPANATHA, AT PATTADAKAL.

has about eight letters in the line. Enough of the inscription was made legible to show that it records that a large stone temple of the god Lôkêśvara was built by the queen-consort[45] of Vikramâditya-Satyâśraya or Vikramâdityadêva, the son of Vijayâditya-Satyâśraya,—that she was of the Haihaya family,—that the temple so built was placed on the south of a temple of the god Vijayêśvara, which had been built by Vijayâditya-Satyâśraya,—and that certain lands, measured by *nivartanas*, were granted to it.

The south-east face of the pillar is blank. On the east, north-east, and north faces there is another Sanskrit inscription, of twenty-eight lines, of eight or nine letters in the line on each face. The characters are an early form of Dêvanâgarî, somewhat like No. 7 of Plate XXXIX. of Thomas' Edition of Prinsep's *Antiquities*, Vol. II. This inscription has been still more injured than the other, and so little light falls on it that I could not decipher much of it. But I made out the same names as in the other inscriptions, and the general purport of it seems to be the same.

Below the octagonal part of the pillar there is a square four-sided division. On the west face are remains of twelve lines of about twenty-one letters each, apparently in continuation of the inscription in Old-Canarese characters above. And on the east face are traces of eight lines of about twenty-one letters each, apparently in continuation of the Dêvanâgarî inscription above.

No. CXII.

We learn from the preceding inscription that the temple of Lôkêśvara or Virûpâksha was built on the south of a temple of the god Vijayêśvara, which had been previously built by the Western Chalukya king Vijayâditya. This latter temple still exists, and is identified by the inscriptions inside it, as well as by its position, though it is now known as the temple of Saṁgamêśvara.[46]

At this temple there is a large stone-tablet, with an Old-Canarese inscription on it, which stood originally in a dark corner against the west wall of the centre hall of the temple, on the south side of the door leading into the shrine. Col. Biggs had it brought outside, for the purpose of photographing it; but I had it taken inside the building again and placed against one of the pillars. The tablet is 8′ 6½″ high, of which the body of the inscription covers 4′ 6½″, by 2′ 6″ broad. The stone is then blank for about two inches. Then comes another short inscription, which is very illegible, in the original as well as in the photograph; it seems, indeed, to have suffered a good deal from exposure to the weather since the time when the photograph was taken. The emblems at the top of the tablet are:—In the centre, a *liṅga* and priest; on their right, a figure of Nandî or Basava, with the sun above it; and on their left, a cow and calf, with the moon above them. I have edited the body of the inscription elsewhere.[47] It is a Sinda inscription, of the time of Châvuṇḍa II., the feudatory of the Western Châlukya king Taila III. It is dated Śaka 1084 for 1085 (A. D. 1163-4), the Subhânu *saṁvatsara*, and records grants made to the temple of the god Vijayêśvara of Kisuvoḷal or Paṭṭada-Kisuvoḷal, by Châvuṇḍa's chief wife, Dêmaladêvi, and his eldest son Âchi II., who were governing at the capital of Paṭṭada-Kisuvoḷal.

On a stone in the west wall of the centre hall of the temple, on the right or north side of the door leading into the shrine, there is an inscription of seven lines of about twenty letters each, in characters of about the period to which the construction of the temple belongs; but the stone was so besmeared with grease and dirt that I found it impossible at my visit to clean it sufficiently to read the inscription, or to take an estampage successfully.

On the corresponding stone in the wall on the left or south side of the same door, there are the traces of another inscription of six lines of about thirty-five letters each, in characters of the same period. But this inscription has at some time or other been intentionally defaced with the chisel and mallet, so that it is now almost entirely illegible.

On the north face of a pillar on the south side of the nave in the centre hall, there are the words *Svasti Śrî-Vidyâśivara kaṁbha*, in char-

[45] I could not find her name in either of these two inscriptions; she is only spoken of as the *mahâdêvî*, or 'queen-consort.'

[46] It is the temple mentioned by Mr. Burgess in the *First Archæol. Report*, p. 33, para. 4.

[47] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. XI., p. 259.

acters of the same standard as those of the inscription now published, but rather better engraved, marking it as the votive pillar of a certain man named Vidyâśiva.

On the east face of a pillar on the north side of the nave in the centre hall, there is the following Old-Canarese inscription, of which a facsimile[48] is now given from the estampage taken by myself. The pillar is an original one, an integral part of the building. The writing covers a space of 4″ high by 2′ 0″ broad. The inscription speaks of this and some other pillar as the votive offering of a certain Mâtibhodamma.

Transcription.

[1] Svasti Śrî-Bhi(vi)jayêsva(śva)rada mane [||*] Mâtibhodamma-

[2] n=î yeraḍu kâ(ka)mbhada alaṁkâra-nivvâ(rmmâ)ṇa-kâra Pâka [||*]

Translation.

Hail! The house of the temple of (*the god*) Śrî-Vijayêśvara. Pâka (*was*) the fashioner of the ornamentation of these two pillars of Mâtibhodamma.

No. CXIII.

On the north face of another pillar on the south side of the nave in the centre hall of the same temple, there is the following Old-Canarese inscription, of which a facsimile[49] is given from the estampage taken by myself. This pillar also is one of the original pillars of the building. The writing covers a space of 8″ high by 2′ 1½″ broad. The inscription speaks of this and some other two pillars as the votive offering of Chalabbe, a harlot of the temple.

Transcription.

[1] Svasti Śri(śrî)-Bijêsvarada(*sc.* Vijayêśvarada) sûḷe Chalabbeya

[2] kamba mu(mû)ṛu [||*]

Translation.

Hail! The three pillars of Chalabbe, the harlot of the temple of (*the god*) Śrî-Vijayêśvara.

No. CXIV.

At the south-east corner of the village is an elaborately sculptured temple of the god Pâpanâtha, which Mr. Burgess considers to be one of the oldest structural temples yet examined, and which he seems inclined to attribute to the fifth century A.D.

Many of the sculptures on the north and south faces of the temple represent scenes from the *Râmâyaṇa*, and have the names of the characters engraved over or against them, usually in a corrupt or Prâkṛit form,—such as Râman, Site, Sîte, Lakkaṇa, Jaṭayu,[50] Sugrîvan, Bâli, Aṅgajan, Ravaṇan,[51] Suppaṇaki,[52] Kara-Dusaṇan,[53] Bhîmasêna, Śrî-Baladêva, Naḷan, Vibhishaṇan,[54] and Kumbharnnan.[55] The characters do not seem to me to be as early, by at least a century, as Mr. Burgess considers.

On the face of one of the pilasters in the north wall of the centre hall of the temple, there are a few letters in Old-Canarese characters, but I could not make anything out of them; they at any rate contain nothing of historical import.

High up on the front or east face of the temple, on the south side of the door, is the following short Old-Canarese inscription, of which a facsimile,[56] from the estampage taken by myself, is published herewith. The writing covers a space of 10½″ high by 9″ broad. The characters seem to me to be not much, if at all, earlier than the seventh century A.D. The inscription is in praise of a certain Chaṭṭara-Revadi-Ovajja, who, it is said, 'made the southern country', *i. e.* who was the builder of the most celebrated temples in the southern country. It is hardly to be doubted that it is implied that he was the builder of this particular temple. We find, also, that he was of the guild of the *Sarvasiddhi-Âchâryas*, to which, as we learn from No. C. above, the builder of the temple of Lôkêśvara or Virûpâksha belonged.

Transcription.

[1] Svasti Śrî-Silêmnddara
[2] marmmân Sarvvasiddhi-Â-
[3] chârjya(ryya)ra Chaṭṭara-Reva-
[4] di-Ovajjar temka-
[5] ṇa dise mâḍidor [|| *]

---

[48] *P., S., and O-C., Inscriptions*, No. 65.
[49] *Id.*, No. 66.
[50] Jaṭâyuḥ.
[51] Râvaṇa.
[52] Śûrpaṇakhî.
[53] Khara-Dûshaṇa.
[54] Vibhîshaṇa.
[55] Kumbhakarṇṇa.
[56] *P., S., O-C., Inscriptions*, No. 68.

Translation.

Hail! Chattara-Revadi-Ovajja[57] of the *Sarvasiddhi-Âchâryas*, who was acquainted with the secrets of the Śrî-Śilêmuddas,[58] made the southern country.

No. CXV.

The last of the Pattadakal inscriptions is the following one, in Sanskrit, on three stones in the north face of the same temple of Pâpanâtha. A facsimile[59] is published herewith, from the estampage taken by myself. The characters are of much the same age as those of the preceding inscription. The writing covers altogether a space of 1′ 3½″ high by 1′ 1″ broad. I could not find any sculpture to indicate what the inscription refers to.

Transcription.

[1] Bhô bhô purusha-śârddha(rddû)lâ[h*] parvvatê gandha-mâ-
[2] mâtalaṁ . . . . . gâtrâṇi kôna mê sûkaraṁ mu[khaṁ*] [||*]
[3] Mayâ dattâni dhâ(dâ)-
[4] nâni bahûni vividâ(dhâ)-
[5] ni cha adattam=aduraṁt-âkhya[ṁ]
[6] tôna mê sûkaraṁ mukhaṁ [||*]
[7] Gandhamâtan [||*]

Translation.

Ho!, ye tigers of men!, on the mountain . . . . bodies . . . . ; why have I the face of a hog? Many and various gifts were given by me, but that which is called (*the gift to commemorate*) a time which is not one of misery was not given; therefore have I the face of a hog. Gandhamâta.

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(*Continued from p. 143.*)

VIII.

We have seen how the rivalry between Chinghiz Khân and Chamukha arose, and how the former controlled the tribes living upon the Onon, the kernel of the Mongol race, while the latter's influence was apparently chiefly confined to the tribes living on the Argun. We must now turn to the results of this rivalry, which eventually led to Chinghiz being accepted as their master by all the tribes of Northern Mongolia.

We are told in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* that in the year of the Hen, *i. e.* in the year 1201 A. D., the Ulusses Khatagin and others, to the number of eleven altogether, assembled at Alkhuibulaa, and after consultation agreed to ask Chamukha to be their head. Having killed a horse and sworn a pact, they set off down the river Argun, and at the island of the river Kan Muran they proclaimed Chamukha as their ruler, and determined to make war upon Chinghiz and Wang Khân.[1] First, let us consider the locality of these proceedings. The Alkhuibulaa of the above notice is called Arubulak in the *Yuan-shi*, as translated by Hyacinthe, and "The Alai Springs" in Mr. Douglas's translation. It is clear it was near the Argun, and I am disposed to identify it with the Uro-bulak, which falls into the Argun near New Zurukhaitu.[2] Palladius quotes a suggestion of Siu Sun that it is a feeder of the Argun called Imu, which at its outfall is called Jou, *i. e.* island,[3] but I would remark that a river falling into the Argun on its right bank near New Zurukhaitu, almost opposite the Uro-bulak is called Gan or Han.[4] In the *Yuan-shi* this river is said to be in the district of Khulan-ergi, *i. e.* the Red Cliffs.[5] Hyacinthe reads this last name Tula-biri, *i. e.* the river Tula,[6] while Gaubil gives it from the *Yuan-shi-lei-pien* as Tulu-pir, and identifies it with the Toropira, a tributary of the Nonni in Northern Manchuria. I prefer to follow Palladius's reading.

Having fixed the locality, let us now try and

[57] *Ovajja* is perhaps the Canarese *ojja*, 'a priest, preceptor.'

[58] *Sile* is the Canarese form of the Sanskrit *śilâ*, 'a stone,' and *muddı* is a Jaṅgam or Liṅgâyat name. Śilêmudda must be the name of some particular guild of stonemasons.

[59] *P., S., and O.-C., Inscriptions*, No. 69.

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 69 and 70.

[2] The river Kan of the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* is called Kem by Rashidu'd-dîn. The *Yuan-shi* calls it Keen; Douglas, p. 28.

[3] *Op. cit.*, note. p. 230.

[4] Pallas, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 627; Petermann, *Mittheilungen*, 1861, map 16.

[5] Palladius, 230, note.

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

discriminate who the confederates were who sided with Chamukha. In the Chinese translation of the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* these are given as "the Khatagin with others, 11 Ulusses altogether," but in the original Mongol text, according to Palladius, the names are set out as follows:—The Khatagin, Sajiu,[7] Dorbian-Tatar, Tatalun, Ikilesun,[8] Ungila,[9] Kholola,[10] Naima,[11] Merki, Oila[12] and Daiichiu.[13] Palladius says very truly that only some of these tribes, namely, the Khatagins, Saljiut, Taijut, and Uirat were of Mongol blood.

The Tatalun of this notice are probably to be identified with a section of the Tartars named Tutukeliut by Rashidu'd-dîn, who are said by him to have been the most important section of the race, whence a male Tartar was styled sometimes Tutukultai, or Tutukhelina, and a female one Tutukuljin. We are further told that they took part with the various enemies of Chinghiz Khân, and that the race was nearly exterminated.[14]

In the *Yuan-shi* the tribes mentioned as supporting Chamukha were the Ha-ta-kin, Sa-li-choo-tih, Too-urh-pun Ta-ta-urh, E-ke-la-sze, Hung-kei-le, and Ho-ur-la-sze,[15] *i. e.* the Katagin, Saljiut, Durban-Tartar, Inkirasses, Kongurut and Khurulas, which comprise merely the tribes on the Argun. Rashidu'd-dîn also only names the Katakins, Saljiut, Durban-Tartar and Kongurut as the supporters of Chamukha.[16] The *Yuan-shi-lei-pien*, however, expressly says that the league formed by Chamukha was much fortified by the adhesion of Pu-lu yu,[17] king of the Naimans,[18] while the mention of Buiruk by name in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* as assisting Chamukha,[19] makes it tolerably certain that the Naimans formed part of the confederacy. The Naimans were a very important race at this time in Central Asia, and we must make a digression to describe them. Rashidu'd-dîn tells us they were divided into several tribes, some of whom living in the plains or steppes, and others in the mountains. He says they occupied the districts Eke or Yeke Altai, *i. e.* Great Altai; Karakorum, where Ogotai afterwards fixed his capital; the mountains Alui Serasa and Kuk Irtish or Gul Irtish,[20] where the Kankalis also lived, the Irtish Muran, (*i. e.* the river Irtish;) the districts between it and the country of the Kirghises, (where they were often at strife with Wang Khân,) and as far as the steppes which border on the land of the Uighurs; that is, they occupied Northern Sungaria, from the upper waters of the Irtish to Karakorum. They were powerful and their army was well appointed. Their customs and mode of living were similar to those of the Mongols.[21] I have argued in the first volume of my *History of the Mongols* that they were Turks, a view which is now generally held. The Naimans form to this day the most important section of the middle horde of the Kirghiz Kazaks, and an important branch of the Uzbegs, and I believe that these Naimans are directly descended from the Naimans, who occupied Northern Sungaria in the days of Chinghiz. Abu'lghâzi tells us, I don't know on what authority, that they once had a ruler named Karkish, who left his throne to his son Inat.[22] Rashidu'd-dîn says their ruler in former times was called Kushluk, *i. e.* powerful and mighty, and also Buiruk, *i.e.* commander.[23] They acquired this latter title from the fact that their Padishah or ruler ruled equally over Jins[24] and men, and acquired such power that he could milk the Jins, and used to make thick and sour milk and *kumiz* from what he got from them, which he drank. Besides these titles, their princes had also personal names. The earliest of their princes, whose name is recorded by Rashidu'd-dîn, was Inanj Belgeh Buku Khân, or as Berezine reads it, Inanj Eke Tuka Khân.[25] Inanj, according to Rashidu'd-dîn, means a believer. Belgeh is probably a corrupt reading; if Eke be right it means merely great, and Buku Khân was a title borne in early times by the rulers of the Uighurs and other peoples.

Inanj's eldest son was called Baibuka, but bore the Chinese title of Tai Wang, *i. e.* Great King, which was corrupted by the Mongols into Tayang. His second son was called Buiruk. On their father's death they quarrelled and

[7] *i e.* Saljiut.
[8] *i. e.* Inkirasses.
[9] Kongurut.
[10] *i. e.* Khorlud or Khuralas.
[11] *i. e.* Naiman.
[12] *i. e.* Uirat.
[13] *i. e.* Taijut; *op. cit.*, note 227.
[14] Berezine, vol. I, p. 51; Erdmann, pp. 179 and 180.
[15] Douglas, *op. cit.*, pp. 26 and 28.
[16] Berezine, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 120.
[17] *i. e.* the Buiruk of other authors.
[18] Gaubil, p. 3.
[19] *Vide infra.*
[20] *i. e.* Lake Irtish, the modern Lake Saissan.
[21] Berezine, vol. I, p. 108; Erdmann, p. 238; D'Ohsson, tom. I. p. 56 notes.
[22] *Op. cit.*, p. 47.
[23] Berezine, vol. I, p. 109; Erdmann, p. 238.
[24] Or spirits.
[25] Erdmann, p. 239; Berezine, vol. I, p. 111.

separated. The former occupied the steppe country, and the latter the mountains. They had a long strife. Their father described Buiruk as "a lion which does not bestir itself until a wolf has torn out half its loins."[26]

It was this B u i r u k who was now in alliance with C h a m u k h a. With the Naimans are mentioned the Merkis and also the Uirat. The last of these were led by their chief Khutukha or Khotuka Biki, who was a dependent of Buiruk, the Naiman chief. Rashidu'd-dîn tells us the Uirat formed several tribes, each with a separate name. Although he says their language was Mongol, it was slightly different from that of the other Mongol peoples. Thus they called a knife, which in standard Mongol was called *kutuga*, *khudga*, etc. etc.[27]

The U i r a t still survive as a powerful community. Schmidt says the favourite name the Kalmuks of the Volgá give themselves is Uirat or Mongol-Uirat.[28] Durban Uirat, or the Four Uirat, is the name by which the Kalmuks were known to Ssanang Setzen, in whose pages they occur very frequently. He also speaks of the Uirat Buriat and the Gol Minggan of the Uirat.[29] The Chinese writers of the Ming period call the Kalmuks, Wala, which is their transcription of Uirat, the Chinese having no letter *r*. Rashidu'd-dîn says they lived on the Sekiz Muran. *Sekiz*, in Turkish, means eight, and *muran* in Mongol means river. The name, therefore, as Abu'lghâzi says, means the eight rivers. These eight rivers, he says, fall into the Angara, which is the head stream of the Kem or Yenissei. This is confirmed by the names of the eight rivers as given by Rashidu'd-dîn and Abu'lghâzi.[30] Thus the Ukhut Muran is doubtless the Irkut, the Uk Muran is no doubt the Oka. The Chaghan Muran, or white river, doubtless survives in the Biela, which is a new name given to one of the tributaries of the Oka by the Russians, and which means white. The Jurja or Khorkha Muran is probably the upper Tunguska, the Mongols call the Tungus of Manchuria Jurji. Of the other four rivers the Kara Ussun is still the name of a tributary of the Oka. The On Muran is probably the modern Unga. The Kok Muran or blue river and the Ibei Usun Sijitun or Sanbikun, I cannot identify, but these will suffice to fix the district called Sekiz Muran by Rashidu'd-din. This author says the Tumat, by whom, as I shall shew further on, he probably meant the Buriats, formerly occupied this area, but had moved further on, and it is not improbable that the U i r a t, who were clients of the Naimans, lived at this time about Lake Kosso Gol. Their name is interesting. Pallas and Remusat both say it means allies, Durban Uirat meaning the four allies.[31] Bansarof explains the name as derived from *Ouarat*, meaning forest people or woodlanders.[32] Vambery would give it a Turkish etymology, and says *oyurat* means a grey horse, which has a plausible support from a statement of Marco Polo, who says that the Kaan, *i.e.* K h u b i l a i, kept an immense stud of *white horses* and mares, more than 10,000 in all, and all pure white and without a speck. The milk of these mares was drunk by himself and his family, and by none else, except by those of one great tribe that had also the privilege of drinking it. This privilege was granted them by C h i n g h i z K h â n on account of a certain victory that they helped him to win long ago. The name of the tribe was *Horiad*.[33] Abulfaraj calls them Averathaei, and says they excelled the rest of Chinghiz Khan's subjects in valour. He accordingly honoured them, and made a law that the daughters of their chiefs should marry into his family, and *vice versâ*, which he says was the rule when he wrote.[34] This is confirmed when we find that Turalji, the son of Khutuka Bigi, their chief, married a daughter of Chinghiz Khân, while Turalji's sister married M a n g u K h â k a n. The form of the name as given by Abulfaraj reminds us of another etymology, to which I in fact lean. The *t* in U i r a t, I believe, is merely the form of the plural. The rest of the word is then similar in form to Avar or Var, as the name occurs in the Byzantine authors. There are many other considerations which favour the identification of the Kalmuks with the A v a r s, which we cannot enter into here. This will suffice at least

[26] Erdmann, p. 240.
[27] Berezine, vol. I, p. 79; Erdmann, p. 188.
[28] *Forsch. in Geb. der alt. rel.* etc., *der Volk. Mitt. Asien*, p. 48 note.
[29] *Op. cit.* pp. 87, 139, 143, 145, 147, 153, 155, 157, 167, 169, etc.

[30] Berezine, p. 79; Erdmann, p. 187; Abu'lghâzi, p. 45.
[31] Pallas, *Saml. Hist. Nach.*, vol. I, p. 6; Remusat, *Les Langues Tartares* p. 238.
[32] Berezine, vol. I, note 128.
[33] Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 291.
[34] *Chron. Syr.*, p. 148.

to point the way. It is not our suggestion, but one made long ago by Fischer, the historian of Siberia. Let us now revert again. The only important Mongol tribes in the confederacy controlled by Chamukha were the Khatagins and the Saljiut, who would seem to have had an independent organization from early times, pointed out in the genealogies, by their being made to descend from two several sons of Alun-Goa, and not from her eldest son, Budantsar. Rashidu'd-dîn has a curious statement about them, *viz.* that, some years before this, Chinghiz Khân had sent an envoy to them asking for their alliance. It was the fashion, he says, among the Mongols on these occasions to send enigmatical messages framed in artistically arranged phrases. Such was the message Chinghiz Khân now sent them. They could not understand it, but a young man volunteered to explain it as meaning that as Mongol tribes who were strangers had united themselves with him, it was the more reason why they, who were relatives, should also be his friends. They did not heed these advances, treated the messenger with contumely, and having boiled a sheep's intestine filled with blood into a sausage, struck him with it over the face and ears. Chinghiz Khân was naturally enraged at this treatment of his envoy, but he postponed his revenge.[35]

Let us now revert to our narrative. Rashidu'd-dîn and the *Yuan-shi* make the confederates first swear a common purpose and then swear allegiance to Chamukha. The former tells us that in the former instance they killed a stallion, a bull, a ram, a dog and a he-goat, and striking with their swords said: "Heaven and earth, listen to our oaths, we swear by the blood of these animals, which are the heads of their kinds, that we wish to die like them if we break our oath."[36] The *Yuan-shi* tells us they gave Chamukha the title of Gurkhan, and in swearing allegiance to him on the banks of the river Keen said, "Whoso betrays our plans, may he be broken like the banks of this river and cut down like these trees," and as they repeated the words, they stamped down the banks and cut down the trees with their hatchets.[37] Let us now turn again to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*. When the confederacy was formed against Wang Khân and Chinghiz Khân, that Kuridai, who belonged to the tribe Khurulas, went to the latter's camp at Gulyalgu, and informed him. He in turn sent to inform Wang Khân, who collected an army and joined his friend. They went down the Kerulon together to meet Chamukha. Chinghiz Khân sent on his relatives Altan, Khuchar and Daritai to reconnoitre, and Wang Khân similarly despatched his son, Sankun, with two companions. They went forward as videttes, and explored the districts of Yenegianguilitu, Cheksal[38] and Chukhurkhu. When Altan reached Ukitia or Utkia, those who had gone out to reconnoitre at Chukhurkhu returned with the news that the enemy was advancing, and it was speedily discovered it was Chamukha, Anchubaatur the chief of the Taijut, and others. It was then late. The following day the two armies approached one another at a place called Koitian. Thereupon Buiruk, (*i.e.* the chief of the Naimans) and Khudukha, (*i.e.* the chief of the Uirat), two of Chamukha's allies, proceeded with their incantations to cause wind and rain, but contrary to their expectations the elements went against their own people. The air became dark, and Chamukha's soldiers, not being able to see, fell into holes. He thereupon remarked that the heavens were unpropitious and his army scattered. The Naimans and other tribes, eleven in all, went home to their own *ulusses*.[39] The *Yuan-shi* makes two campaigns out of this one, in one of which Dain, a Kongurut chief, *i. e.* Dai Setzen, his father-in-law, informed Chinghiz Khân of the impending danger, who thereupon attacked the enemy at Baili-gol, and completely defeated him.[40] Rashidu'd-dîn also speaks of two fights. He tells us that Chinghiz Khân was warned of the plot by his father-in-law, Dai Setzen, the chief of the Kongurut.[41] He also speaks of the two allies setting out from Khutun Nor or Lake Khutun, near the Onon, and says the fight took place at Boir Nur,[42] no doubt the Baili-gol of the *Yuan-shi* and the well known Lake Buyur, into which the river Khalka falls. The Khutun lake is perhaps lake Tarei. According to the *Yuan-shi*, after this fight Dain Noyan set out with his people to join Chinghiz Khân, when the latter's brother, Khazar, unaware of

[35] Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 276; D'Ohsson, tom. I, p. 61 note.
[36] Erdmann, *op. cit.*, p. 277; D'Ohsson, tom. I, p. 61.
[37] Douglas, p. 28.
[38] ? Chekser.
[39] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, pp. 70 and 71.
[40] Douglas, p. 28; Hyacinthe, p. 19.
[41] Berezine, vol. I, p. 120.
[42] Id.

his purpose, attacked him, and plundered his tribe, whereupon he joined Chamukha.[43] It was after these events that, according to the *Yuan-shi*, Chamukha was elected Gurkhan, whereupon he meditated a fresh attack, of which Chinghiz was warned by one whose wife was a relative of his, named Chor or Chau-urh. Another fight took place—this time at Khaliartai Kharog, in which he was again victorious. Whereupon the Kongurut definitely joined him.[44] The *Yuan-shi* mentions a third struggle at Khoitan or Choitan in which Chamukha had the Merkis and Naimans for allies, and in which a magician, who was with the Naimans, made snow and rain, as above described.[45] This struggle is also mentioned by Rashidu'd-dîn. On this occasion he calls the man who warned Chinghiz Khân of his danger Khuridai. He having overheard the plans of the confederates, reported them to his brother-in-law Merkita, of the tribe Khurula, who was there on his own business, and who persuaded him to go and report the matter to Chinghiz Khân. He also gave him his white horse with cropped ears, on which to ride. On the way he hit upon a Guran,[46] which was moving in the form of a square, under the command of Khulan Bakhadur. A scout attached to this army, named Kara Mergitai, who was a Khurula, captured him. He recognised him and proved very friendly towards Chinghiz, supplying him with a beautiful stallion to continue his journey upon, and telling him that when mounted on it, if he was pursued, the enemy would not be able to overtake him, while if he wished to overtake any one, he could easily do so. He went on again, and presently came across a party who were escorting the [illegible] to Chamukha. They tried [illegible] he gallopped on and reached his goal in safety. When Chinghiz had been warned of his danger, he marched against the confederates, and fought a battle with and defeated them in the place Ede Korgan or Yedi Kurgan. One result of the battle was the subjection of the Kongurut.[47]

The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us that after his defeat Chamukha, having collected the people who had elected him their ruler, set off on his return down the river Argun. Wang Khân went in pursuit of him, while Chinghiz Khân followed Anchubaatur, the chief of the Taijut, who, having reached his *ulus*, crossed the Onon, and drew up his army in expectation of an attack from Chinghiz. The latter at once joined issue and made several prisoners. Towards evening, both sides rested for the night close to one another and in the place where the battle had been fought. Chinghiz himself was wounded in the neck in the struggle, and from the loss of blood fell into a deep swoon. We are told that thereupon Jelmi sucked out the clotted blood from the wound, and when at midnight he felt thirsty, he went off naked into the enemy's camp, and searching about for *kumiz* found a bucket full of cream or curds, which he carried off. Having mixed some water with it, he gave it to Chinghiz to drink. After taking three draughts, the latter said "I begin to see again and feel invigorated." He now asked his faithful friend various questions, *inter alia* how he could dare to trust himself naked in the enemy's camp, where, if he had been captured, he would have had to confess that he was wounded, when they would have gone and seized him. Jelmi said: "I should have told them that the reason for my strange appearance was that I meditated deserting to them, but had been caught and stripped of my clothes, and that while preparations were being made to kill me I had torn myself away and run to them. They would certainly have believed my words, would have clothed me and put me to work, and when once seated on one of their horses, I should easily have escaped." Chinghiz recalled Jelmi's other services to him in the Merkit campaign, and he promised not to forget him.[48] De Mailla seems to refer to this adventure, but with other names. He tells us that being now master of several hordes, Chinghiz endeavoured also to subdue the Kieliei, by whom he means the Inkirasses, but he was defeated. Having lost his horse during the fight, he would have been captured had not Porchi, *i.e.* Boorchu, given him his own. It snowed very much, and our hero, who was a fugitive, found himself without provisions or a tent to cover him. Thereupon Muholi, *i.e.* Mukuli and

[43] Douglas, p. 27.
[44] Hyacinthe, pp. 20 and 21; Douglas, p. 28.
[45] Hyacinthe, p. 22; Douglas, p. 30.
[46] *i.e.* a division of the enemy's army.
[47] Berezine, vol. II, pp. 124 and 125; Erdmann, pp. 279 and 280; D'Ohsson, tom. I, pp. 63 and 64. The Yedi Kurgan has been explained as meaning the 'place of the grave mounds.' Wolff, *Gesch. der Mong. od. Tataren*, p. 41, note 54.
[48] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, pp. 71 and 72.

Porchi looked out a spot where the grass was thick where he lay down, while they covered him with their felts. They lay beside him, and in the morning they were covered with more than a foot of snow. As they were returning home with only a few companions, there appeared a band of robbers who threatened to attack them. Chinghiz Khân was accompanied by a famous archer named Soo,[49] to whom he was much attached, and had given the *sobriquet* of Mergen. When the robbers drew near enough to hear, Chinghiz called Mergen's attention to two ducks which were flying overhead, and bade him kill one. Mergen asked—which, the male or the female? "The male," said Chinghiz. Hardly had he said this when Mergen let fly his arrow and brought down the duck. The robbers were thereupon frightened and withdrew. On another day when crossing some very rugged mountains with but 30 or 40 horsemen, he asked his officers what they should do in case they met bands of robbers there. "I should not doubt being able to resist them," said Mukuli. Whereupon there proceeded a shower of arrows from the forests, with which these mountains were covered. Mukuli at once advanced and killed three of the robbers with three successive arrows. He was so famous that when they learnt who it was, they withdrew.[50] Mr. Douglas has translated another version of this Saga. It is apparently taken from the *She Wei*, or Woof of History by Chin-Yun-seih, as it is not contained in either of the other two authorities on which his work is founded. It describes how on one occasion Temujin was defeated by the Kelais.[51] He was accompanied, it says, in his flight by Muhuli, the son of Kungwunkuhwa. We are told that the latter was in constant attendance on Temujin. One day when on a campaign against the Naimans he with five others formed his body-guard, and when he had ridden hard and was faint and hungry, Kungwunkuhwa killed a camel by the river side, and having dressed and cooked some of its flesh, he gave it to Temujin to eat. Presently the latter's horse broke down, whereupon he dismounted and ran beside his master, until he dropped down dead. On his death he left five sons, of whom Muhuli was the third. It was reported that when the latter was born, a white vapour filled the tent, which was accepted as an augury that he was no common child. He became distinguished for his intelligence and skill in archery, and was one of Chinghiz Khân's four famous champions. It was he who accompanied Chinghiz when he fled before the Kelais. As they journeyed, a storm of snow and wind came on, and when night drew nigh, there being no shelter at hand, he stretched a mat on the ground, and while Chinghiz slept on it, he with another officer placed himself to the windward of him, so as to protect him from the snow. In the morning they went on, and their road took them through a narrow defile shut in between high hills, covered with trees, whence there came a flight of arrows. The robbers dispersed, as I have mentioned.[52] Rashidu'd-dîn reports the same events, and assigns them to Boorchi,[53] and Burgul or Bura ghul Noyan, *i. e.* the chief of the tribe Uishin or Hushin.[54]

He does not say who the struggle was against, but that Chinghiz was wounded in the mouth and throat, and very weak; that Burgul led his horse with his hand, and having heated a stone, put it in water so as to make steam with which to get the clotted blood out of his throat, and make him breathe more easily. He also held his mantle with both hands over his head so as to ward off the snow. He stood by him till the snow reached to his own girdle, and eventually saw him safely to his *ordu*.[55] Rashid reports how on another occasion Chinghiz, having been separated from his people, and being pursued in the mountains by the enemy, had only Bugurji and Burgul for companions. These two went out to forage, but found nothing. They had a fishhook with them which they put into the river, and caught a great fish. Burgul tried in vain to drag it out. Hunger and weakness paralysed him, and he fell into the stream.[56] These stories are interesting. They prove to us by what hardships Chinghiz and his nearest companions, who answered to Napoleon's bevy of marshals, were trained to face all kinds of

[49] I identified him in my *History of the Mongols* with Subutai Behadur, but he was perhaps Chepe Noyan.

[50] De Mailla, tom. IX, pp. 18 and 19.

[51] ? The Inkirasses; but the account may refer to some later incidents, and by the Kelais he in fact meant the Kirais.

[52] Douglas, pp. 19-21.

[53] Bugurji or Bughurjin as he calls him.

[54] Berezine, vol. I, pp. 166, 167; Erdmann, p. 209.

[55] Berezine, vol. I, pp. 161 and 162; Erdmann, pp. 205 and 206; D'Ohsson, tom. I, pp. 43 and 44.

[56] Berezine, vol. I, p. 162; Erdmann, p. 206.

difficulty and danger with the imperturbable courage and endurance which characterized them. They illustrate further how Chinghiz acquired that knowledge of detail and of the minor tactics of war which is the main feature of a great commander, namely, by adventures in which personal courage, tact and presence of mind had to be shewn under critical circumstances of various kinds on a small scale. It was this training which prepared the great leader for those feats of masterly strategy which we shall describe later on. Chinghiz had another characteristic of great commanders, namely, the power of uniting his dependents close to himself and securing their unswerving loyalty. Bugurji is reported to have said to his master in his later days of prosperity, "When the raven's cry is at fault I am not misled. When the kite becomes confused I do not lose my head. When the dust covers the roads I lose not my way. This is why men have deemed me infallible."[57] Let us now revert to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*. Although we are there told that Chinghiz Khân was wounded, it does not appear that he was actually defeated: on the contrary we read, that on the day after the battle with the Taijut, Chinghiz noticed that the enemy's army had scattered during the night and went in pursuit. On his way he saw a woman on a hill who kept shouting out Temujin. Chinghiz sent a man to inquire what was the matter. She said she was Khadaan, the daughter of Sorkhanshir;[58] that the soldiers wanted to kill her husband, and that she was shouting to Temujin to go and rescue him. Chinghiz on hearing this, rode on to try and save him, but he had already been killed. Having pitched his camp there, he summoned Khadaan, and gave her a seat by his side. On the following day Sorkhanshir and Jebe or Chepe presented themselves before him. They had both been in the service of Todogai of the Taijut tribe. Chinghiz recalled to the former how he and his children had once befriended him when in great peril, and asked him why he had not gone to join him before. He replied "In my heart I was disposed towards you, but if I had come sooner it is probable the Taijut would have killed my wives. Chinghiz then turned to Jebe and asked him who it was that in the battle at Kiutan had shot an arrow from a hill which had pierced his horse's neck. Jebe confessed that he had done so, and went on to say, "If you order me to be killed, you will soil a piece of earth not larger than my palm, but if you spare me I will prove my devotion to you. I will stem the deep water and break in pieces the hard stone." Chinghiz enlisted him among his people. Hitherto he had been styled Churkhoadai, but inasmuch as he had shot his horse, Chinghiz called him Jebe, "and he used him as a war horse." Jebe is also the name of a military weapon.[59] He became one of his most famous commanders, and we shall have more to say about him further on.

Chinghiz having destroyed all the family of Auchubaatur of the Taijut, with all his people, moved to the district of Khubakhaya, where he passed the winter.[60] By this place Kubukhai, on the right bank of the Onon, not far from Tarei Nor, is probably meant.[61]

The Taijut chief, Tarkhutai Kiriltuk, had taken refuge in the woods. His old dependent, Shirguetu, with his two sons, Alakh and Nayaa, determined to surrender him to Chinghiz, and as he was stout and could not sit on a horse, they therefore took him in a kibitka or cart. His brothers and sons, having heard of this, went in pursuit and overtook them. Thereupon the old man Shirguetu pulled out his knife, saying, "Whether I kill you or no, I shall die; it is better therefore to kill you and then die." Tarkhutai then shouted out to his relatives to stop as Shirguetu wanted to kill him. "My corpse," he said, "will not be of any value to you. Let them take me to Temujin: he will not kill me, for I in former years did him service."[62] When the party reached the district of Khutukhu, Nayaa said to his father, "If we take him to Temujin, the latter will certainly accuse us of having laid hands on our lawful master, and will put us to death. It would be better to set Tarkhutai free and to tell Temujin that we had seized him, but as he was our lawful master, we had repented and therefore gave him his liberty." They thereupon released him. When they report-

[57] Erdmann, p. 207.
[58] Surghan Shireh of Rashidu'd-dîn.
[59] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, pp. 73 and 74.
[60] Id., p. 74.
[61] See the Map in Petermann's *Mittheilungen* for 1861, already cited.
[62] Palladius says this was probably an invention to frighten his conductors, so that they should not injure him. *Op. cit.*, note 239.

ed what they had done to Chinghiz, he said to them, "If you had brought him to me, I would certainly have killed you. You have done well in setting him free;" and he thereupon rewarded Nayaa.[63] This incident is a curious proof of the rigid loyalty which was inculcated by the Mongol polity. It does not stand alone, but other cases are known in which traitors to their masters, instead of being rewarded, were immediately punished even when the treachery was incited by the Mongol chief himself. This feature was in marked contrast with the easy allegiance of the tribes of Central Asia and Persia generally, among whom treachery was an every-day form of tactics.

The campaign against the Taijut, described in such detail in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* as above, is only referred to in a very short paragraph of the *Yuan-shi*, where we read that Chinghiz Khân, in alliance with Wang Khân, defeated Hang-hu or Khankhu, as the name is written by Hyacinthe, on the river Onon, and captured a great number of men.[64] Rashidu'd-dîn has more details. He tells us that Chinghiz and his friend and patron, Wang Khân, met together in a *kuriltai* at Sari Keber in the year of the monkey (596 A.H., 1200 A.D.) and concerted a campaign against the Taijut. The latter, he says, were assembled on the Onon, with their chiefs Angkhu Uguju, (meaning, according to Rashid, the very hot-tempered) Koril, Tarkhutai Kiriltuk and Khududar, together with a contingent of Merkis, who had been sent by their chief, Tuktai, under the command of his brothers Khudu and Orchinga.[65] The two allies allowed them short respite. They marched against them and defeated them. They pursued Tarkhutai Kiriltuk and Khududar as far as Engut Turas,[66] where they killed them both. Angkhu and the two brothers of Tuktai found shelter in Bargujin. Koril perished among the Naimans.[67] This campaign was an important one. It virtually settled the allegiance of the various tribes of purely Mongol race. In future the struggles of Chinghiz Khân were almost entirely with foreign tribes. We must now go on with our story.

We read in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* that in the year of the dog,[68] in the autumn, Chinghiz Khân fought in the district of Dalannimurgesi against the four hordes of Tartars, that is, the Chaan Tartars and others. Before the battle he issued an order to his army, instructing them in case of victory not to run after the plunder, which should be divided fairly, and that, if driven back to their old quarters, they must take fresh heart and make a new attack. Those who shrank behind and did not again advance were to be decapitated. The Tartars were duly beaten, and Chinghiz and his people advanced to the river Ulkhui to the place Shilugiljit, and took all the *auls, i.e.* the camps of the Four Hordes. In the beginning of the battle Altan and others in defiance of the orders of Chinghiz began to plunder, whereupon Chinghiz ordered Jebe and Khubilai to take the booty they had secured from them.[69] In the *Yuan-shi* the opponents of Chinghiz are called Angtsi and Chagan Tartars, Chagan meaning white. Hyacinthe gives the name of the place where the struggle took place as Urkhu Saltsa gol.[70] Palladius, who is a much better authority, reads it from the same authority as the springs of the river Khalkha, which falls into Lake Buyur,[71] which was as we know in the Tartar country.

The two Tartar tribes attacked on this occasion were called Anchi, (or as Erdmann reads it Alji,) and Chagan by Rashidu'd-dîn, who says there were four other divisions of the race called respectively Tutukulait Kiuin,[72] Nereit,[73] and Bargui.[74] There was another section of Tartars in the Inshan mountains, who were otherwise known as Ongut, to whom we shall refer presently.

Let us now return to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*. We there read that having subdued the four Tartar hordes, Chinghiz secretly consulted with his people, and urged that since the Tartars had earned his revenge by treacherously betraying his ancestors, it was a suitable occasion on which to kill all their males who were higher than an axle tree,[75] and to divide and

---

[63] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, pp. 74 and 75.

[64] Douglas. p. 25; Hyacinthe, p. 18.

[65] Called Khudun and Rejaneg by Erdmann.

[66] Called Elenkut Turash by D'Ohsson and Lengut Nuramen by Erdmann.

[67] Berezine, pp. 118 and 119; Erdmann, p. 275; D'Ohsson, tom. I, pp. 59 and 60.

[68] *i. e.* in 1202.

[69] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, p. 77.

[70] *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

[71] *Op. cit.*, note 250.

[72] Written Kuyin by D'Ohsson; Guisin by Erdmann.

[73] Written Terat by D'Ohsson and Nezait by Erdmann.

[74] Written Berkui by D'Ohsson; Yerkhui by Erdmann. Berezine, vol. I. p. 51; *Erdmann, p. 179; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 424.*

[75] Palladius illustrates this by a corresponding order issued by the Kin general, who at the siege of Sunchai in 1140

make slaves of the remainder. After the consultation Belgutei, who had been present, was accosted by a Tartar named Yekejeryan, who asked him what their business had been. Upon which either in bravado or thoughtlessness he frankly told him. The news was speedily conveyed to the Tartars, who took possession of their mountain stronghold. Chinghiz ordered it to be destroyed—a work which cost his people much trouble, but when it was captured they duly put to death all the men not less than an axle wheel, but as each of the Tartars had armed himself with a knife, in the process the Mongols lost a *considerable number of lives.* Chinghiz was naturally much irritated with Belgutei, whose rash disclosures had caused the death of so many people, and he ordered that in future he was not to be admitted to council meetings when important business was being discussed, but to remain outside and decide in brawls and quarrels and in matters of stealing. He and Chinghiz Khân's uncle Daritai (who had perhaps shared in the indiscretion) were only to be admitted after the other councillors had drunk a skin of *kumiz*. At this time Chinghiz married Yesugan, the daughter of Yekejeryan, who obtained considerable influence over him. She told him she had an elder sister called Yesui, who was worthy to be a king's wife. She said further that the latter had been recently married, and that she did not know her whereabouts. Chinghiz replied, "If she be really a beauty I will order her to be found; but when she is found, will you surrender to her your place?"[76] She said she would. Chinghiz thereupon ordered Yesui to be searched for. She was found in a wood, where she had hidden herself with her husband. The latter fled, and she became one of Chinghiz Khân's wives.[77] On one occasion Chinghiz was drinking outside his tent with Yesui and Yesugan, when he heard a deep sigh. He became suspicious that one of his wives was love-making, and ordered Mukuli and his other companions to their tents. After they had gone, there remained behind a young man. Chinghiz asked him who he was. "I am the husband of Yesui, who escaped when she was captured." He said "I thought I should not have been noticed in the crowd." Chinghiz said "You are a descendant of my enemies, and have come here to spy," and he chopped off his head.[78] Neither the *Yuan-shi* nor the *Kang-mu* give any additional facts about this Tartar campaign. Rashidu'd-din dates it in the same year, *i.e.* 598 A. H., 1202 A. D. He puts the battle on the river Olkhui Seljiljut, on which site D'Ohsson has a valuable note. He says the river Ulkui takes its rise in lat. 47° on Mount Soyolki or Soyolji, which is a branch of the Khinghan range separating Mongolia and Manchuria. Before losing itself in a small lake of the Gobi, the Ulkui receives a tributary called the Soyolji.[79] This small lake is the Chantu Nor of the maps. In his special article on the Tartars, Rashidu'd-din would have us believe that Chinghiz Khân made a general slaughter of the hated tribe, and even ordered pregnant women to be cut open. He calls the Tartar wives of Chinghiz respectively Mesulun and Mesuket or Bisulun and Besukat.[80] Ssanang Setzen calls them Jissu and Jissuken and says they were daughters of the Tartar Yeke Tsoro.[81] Many of Chinghiz Khân's followers also married Tartar maidens and adopted Tartar children. Chinghiz gave his brother 1,000 Tartars to put to death. He only killed 500, and at the request of his wife spared the rest. Among those who escaped the general massacre many became famous afterwards. One of these was called Khutukhu Noyan, also known as Shiki Khutukhu. He was adopted by Chinghiz Khân's favourite wife Burtê and used to call her Terigun-eke or Beriganegeh and Sain-egeh, while he called Chinghiz Echige or Ijeh. Chinghiz called him Arik beki or Akha, and gave him a rank co-ordinate with that of his sons. As we shall see, he caused the Mongols a severe defeat near Bamian, but he survived this many years and lived to the age of 82. His favourite motto was "Fear not, and speak the truth;" and his reputation for justice was quoted by judges even down to the 14th century. When he was only a boy of 11 or 12, or as others said of 15, he secured the special favour of Chinghiz by a

ordered that in the event of the town being captured all the inhabitants higher than an axle tree should be killed; or as another version has it, all the males above 3 years old. *Op. cit.*, note 252.

[76] *i. e.* as to an elder sister.

[77] Palladius says that according to usage Yesui is called Khanshi of the third Horde; and Yesugan, Khanshi of the fourth or last.

[78] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, pp. 79 and 80.

[79] *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 64 note.

[80] Berezine, vol. I, p. 57; Erdmann, p. 180.

[81] *Op. cit.*, p. 83.

bold action. Chinghiz was moving to his winter quarters and the snow was thick on the ground, and he saw some stags in the distance. These the boy went after, and succeeded in killing 27 out of 30, which greatly delighted his patron. On another occasion he helped to rescue Chinghiz Khân's youngest son Tului, who was then only four or six years, from a Taijut robber, who was carrying him off.[82] Two brothers named Khulu and Khara Menggetu Ukha were saved by Chinghiz Khân's Tartar wives. They joined their household. They and their descendants afterwards became famous.[83] We are told that at the instance of his two wives just named, Chinghiz ordered the two brothers Khulu and Menggetu, to collect the Tartar families who survived. Of these he got together 30, out of whom was formed a *hazara*. Another Tartar named Khutukut became a great amir and commander of a *hazara* in the left wing of the army. Chinghiz also had a Tartar concubine, whose name has not reached us, who was the mother of Shaganor, who died young. Other more or less famous men in the Mongol army of Tartar origin are mentioned by Rashidu'd-dîn.[84] There can be small doubt that he greatly exaggerated the number of Tartars who were destroyed. This was assuredly so if the modern Daurians are, as we have argued, the descendants of the Tartars.

M. SENART ON THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

Translated from the French.[1]

(*Continued from p. 85.*)

Sixth Edict.[2]

Transcription of Girnar version.

(1) . . . . si[3] râjâ evaṁ âha[.] atikâtaṁ aṁ . .[4]

(2) na bhûtapuva sava . . la[5] athakaṁme va paṭivedanâ vâ[.] ta mayâ evaṁ *kataṁ*[6]

(3) save kâle bhuṁjamânasa me orodhanamhi gabhâgârambi vachamhi va

(4) vinitamhi cha uyânesu cha savatra paṭivedakâ sṭitâ athe me janasa

(5) paṭivedetha iti sarvatra[7] cha janasa athe[8] karomi ya cha kiṁchi mukhatâ[7]

(6) âñapayâmi svayaṁ dâpakaṁ vâ srâvâpakaṁ[7] vâ ya vâ puna mahâmâtesu[7]

(7) âchâyika[7] aropitaṁ bhavati[.] tâya athâya vivâdo nikati[9] va saṁto[7] parisâyaṁ

(8) ânaṁtaraṁ paṭivedetayaṁ[7] me sarvatâ[7] sarve kâle evaṁ mayâ âñapitaṁ[7][.] nâsti hi me tosâ[7]

(9) usṭânamhi[7] athasaṁtiraṇâya[7] va [.] katavya matehi me sarvalokahitaṁ

(10) tasa[7] cha punâ esa mûle usṭânaṁ[7] cha athasaṁtîraṇâ cha nâsti hi kaṁmataraṁ

(11) savalokahitatpâ [.]ya[7] cha kiṁchi parâkramâmi[7] ahaṁ kiṁti bhûtânaṁ ânaṁṇaṁ[10] gachheyaṁ

(12) idha cha nâni[11] sukhâpayâmi paratrâ cha svagaṁ ârâdhayaṁtu[.] ta etâya[7] athâya

(13) ayaṁ dhaṁmalipî[7] lekhâpitâ kiṁti[7] chiraṁ tisṭeya iti tathâ cha me putrâ[7] potâ cha prapotâ cha

(14) anuvataraṁ[12] savalokahitâya[.] dukaraṁ[7] tu idaṁ añata agena parâkramena[7][.]

Translation.

Thus saith king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods: In the past [*they have*] not [*given heed*] at all times [to] the despatch of business and hearing reports (K.: at all times hearing reports on business). For myself, this is what I have done. At all times whether I am eating, [*whether I am*] in the harem, in the inner apartments, even in the secret retreat and in the place of religious retirement (??) and in the garden, everywhere the officers may enter charged with reports, with the command to report to me the concerns of the people, and everyway I des-

---

[82] Berezine, vol. I, pp. 58 and 59; Erdmann, pp. 180-182.

[83] Berezine, vol. I, p. 61; Erdmann, pp. 182 and 183.

[84] Berezine, vol. I, p. 64; Erdmann, pp. 184 and 185.

[1] *Jour. Asiatique*, VIIième Sér. t. XVI, pp. 289ff.

[2] Prinsep, *J. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. VII, p. 254f.; Wilson, *J. R. A. S.* vol. XII, p. 190f. Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* II. p. 255 n. 1, 2; p. 256, n. 1, has translated nearly the whole edict, not without serious mistakes. M. Kern, *Jaartell. d. zuydel. Buddh.* p. 71f. has examined only the part of the Girnar and Dhauli versions, which correspond, for five lines from the beginning. Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 654, has only dealt in detail with the last phrase.

[3] The words obliterated are *Devânaṅpiye piyadasi.*

[4] Read aṁ*taraṁ*; C. has *aṁtaraṁ na°*.

[5] Read sava*kâ*la.

[6] C. reads *echaṁ kataṁ sa°*; *evaṁ kataṁ* is indistinct on facsimile B. and perhaps not quite beyond doubt.

[7] In these places the readings of Gen. Cunningham's plate differ from facsimile B.

[8] For *athaṁ*, as elsewhere; *e.g. mâgadhe* for *mâgadhaṁ* in the first line of the Bhabra inscription.

[9] C. has *°nijhati°*; in the facsimile *°ka°* is indistinct.

[10] For *ânaṁñaṁ*.

[11] To be corrected into *cha kâni*, the reading of Dhauli Jaugada and Khâlsi, equivalent to *cha khu* or *chu kho*.

[12] Read *anuvateraṁ*.

patch the concerns of the people (K.(*b*): the concerns of the people, the concerns of the faithful) quite as much, in that I myself, with my own mouth, direct to give or to make known, as by the opportunities which the Superintendents of Religion afford (K.: to the people). Thus it is that I have commanded that, everywhere, and always, a division, a quarrel (K. (*b*): every quarrel ?) being raised in the assembly of the clergy, it be reported to me immediately. For I am never satisfied to have shewn sufficient activity in the administration of justice. It is my duty by my counsels to procure the public good: now the source of it is in activity and in the administration of justice; for there is nothing more effective for the public welfare. All my efforts have only one object: to discharge that debt [*of duty*] with respect to the creatures; I make them as happy as possible here below; may they be able to attain heaven in the other world! It is with this idea that I have caused this edict to be engraved, may it long endure! and may my sons, my grandsons, and my great-grandsons (Dh. and J.: my sons and my great-grandsons; Kh.: my sons and my wives; K.: *my sons, my grandsons*) follow my example (Dh., J., Kh., K.: make all the efforts they can) for the public welfare. But that is difficult without much effort (K.: but this wise conduct could not be attained but by much effort).

Seventh Edict.[13]

Transcription.

(1) Devânampiyo piyadasi râjâ sarvata[14] ichhati save pâsamḍâ vaseyu[.] savo te samyamam[15] cha

(2) bhâvasudhim cha ichhati jano tu uchâvachachhamdo uchâvacharâgo [.] te sarvam va[16] kâsamti ekadesam va kâsamti[17]

(3) vipûle tu pi dâne yasa nâsti sayame bhâvasudhitâ va katamñatâ va daḍhabhatitâ cha nichâ[18] bâdham [.]

Translation.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, wishes that all sects may be able to live [*at freedom*] in all places. All, indeed, propose [*alike*] the subjugation of the senses and purity of the mind; but man is inconstant in his wishes, inconstant *in his attachments.* Thus they put in practice either entirely or [*only*] in part [*the ideal which they have in view*]; but even such as do not give large alms, practise the control over the senses, the purity of the mind, gratitude, constancy in the affections, which is nevertheless good.

Eighth Edict.[19]

Transcription.

(1) Atikâtam amtaram râjâno viharayâtâm[20] ñayâsu [.] eta magavyâ[20] aññi cha etârisâni[20]

(2) abhîramakâni ahumsu [.] so devânampriyo[20] priyadasi râjâ dasavasâbhisito samto amyâya[21] sambodhi [.]

(3) tenesâ[20] dhammayâtâ eta[20] yam hoti bâmhaṇasamaṇânam dasaṇe cha dâne cha thairânam dasaṇe cha

(4) hiramṇapratividhâno[22] cha janapadasa cha[20] janasa darsanam dhammânusasṭi cha dhamaparipuchhâ cha [.]

(5) tadopayâ esâ bhuya[23] rati bhavati devânampiyasa priyadasino râño bhâge amñe [.]

The following translation differs less than any of the others yet examined from that of my predecessors:—

Translation.

In the past, kings went out for (Dh. K.: for what is called) courses of enjoyment. The chase and other [*amusements*] of that sort formed their pleasures in this world. I [*who speak*] king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, in the thirteenth year of my consecration, have attained [*true*] knowledge. So, too, [*my courses in this world are such as are*] religious courses; that is to say: visiting and giving alms to Brâhmaṇs and Śramaṇas, visiting the old (*wanting in* Dh. *and* J.), distribution of money, visiting the people of the empire, their religious instruction, conversations about the things of religion. It is thus, that, in exchange [*for past pleasures*], king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, since then enjoys the pleasures which procure these [*virtuous*] actions.

[13] *Jour. Asiatique, u. s.* p. 319f.; Prinsep, *u. s.* p. 255f. Wilson, *J. R. As. Soc.* vol. VIII, p. 308f., and XII, p. 198f. Lassen, p. 264, n. 2, 5; p. 265, n. 1; Burnouf, p. 754f.

[14] Cunningham's plate reads °*savata*°.

[15] C. °*saya.*° The reading *samyamam* of the facsimile puts an end to the doubt of Burnouf, ... wished to alter it to *svayama*; *samya*... for 'dominion over the senses.'

[16] C. °*sava va.*°

[17] C. °*kasam*°. The other texts have *kachamti.*

[18] For *nicham.*

[19] *Jour. As. u. s.* p. 327f.; Prinsep, p. 256; Wilson p. 199f.; Lassen, p. 227, n. 3; Burnouf, p. 757f. Kern, p. 55f.

[20] In these places the readings of Cunningham's plate differ from those of the facsimile B.

[21] C. has *ayâya*; the facsimile B. appears distinctly to have *amyâya.*

[22] Read *pratividhâne.*

[23] For *bhûyo.*

Ninth Edict.[24]

Transcription.

(1) Devânampriyo[25] priyadasi râjâ eva[26] âha [.] asti jano uchâvachaṁ maṁgalaṁ karote[25] âbâdhesu vâ

(2) âvâhavivâhesu vâ putralâbhesu[25] vâ pravâsaṁmhi vâ[25][.] etamhî cha añamhi cha jano uchâvachaṁ maṁgalaṁ karote [.]

(3) eta tu mahâḍâyo[27] bahukaṁ cha bahuvidhaṁ cha chhudaṁ[25] cha niratham cha maṁgalem[25] karote[.] ta katavyam eva tu[28] maṁgalaṁ [.] apaphalaṁ tu kho

(4) etarisaṁ maṁgalaṁ ayaṁ tu mahaphale[25] maṁgale ya dhaṁmamaṁgale[.] tata[29] dâsabhatakamhi samyapratipatî gujûnaṁ apachiti[25] sâdhu

(5) pâṇesu sayamo[25] sâdhu bamhaṇasamaṇânaṁ sâdhu dânaṁ [.] etâ[30] cha[25] añe cha etârisaṁ dhaṁmamaṁgalaṁ nâma [.] ta vatavyaṁ[25] pitâ va

(6) putrenâ[25] vâ bhâtâ vâ svâmikena[25] vâ idaṁ sâdhu idaṁ katavya maṁgalaṁ âva tasa athasa nisṭânâya [.] asti cha pi vutaṁ

(7) sâdhu dana iti na tu etârisaṁ asti dânaṁ va[25] anagaho[25] va yârisaṁ dhaṁmadânaṁ va dhamanugaho va [.] ta tu kho mitrena[25] va suhadayena

(8) ñatikena va sahâyana va ovâditavyaṁ[25] tamhi tamhi pakaraṇe[25] idaṁ kachaṁ idaṁ sâdha iti [.] imini saka

(9) svagaṁ ârâdhetu iti kicha[25] iminâ katavyataraṁ yathâ svagâradhî[31] [.]

Translation.

Thus saith king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods: Men observe various practices [*according to circumstances*] in sickness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter [G. *and* Dh. *have the plural*], at the birth of a son (Dh., Kh., K.: of a child), at the time of starting on a journey. In these circumstances and other similar ones, men observe various practices. But these ceremonies, which great numbers observes (Dh., Kh., K.: which they observe), (Dh., K.: like women [*such as they appeared to Buddha*]; Kh.: are like the juice of the mango fruit), at once numerous and varied (*these two epithets are awanting in* Dh.), are useless (Dh., K.: a heap of corruption) and vain. It is necessary, however, to observe these practices. But such practices (Kh. K.: those) produce only small fruits; the practice of religion, on the contrary produces very great ones. That is to say: regard for slaves and servants, respect for relatives and masters, are good (*these two words omitted in* Dh., J., Kh., K.), good (*this word wanting in* Dh., J., Kh.), gentleness towards living creatures, good (*this word omitted in* Dh., J., Kh., K.), alms to Śramaṇas and to Brâhmans. These [*virtues*] and others similar are what I call the practice of religion. A father ought, or a son, or a brother, or a master (Kh., K.: or a friend, a comrade, or even a neighbour) to say:—This is good, this is the practice which should be observed that the object may be attained (K.: which is necessary for the faithful to observe so that it may lead to their substantial advantage). It has been said: alms is a good thing; but there is no such alms, no such charity, like the almsgiving of religion, the charitable gift of religion. Therefore it is that a friend, a relative, a comrade should give these counsels: 'In such or such a case, thus it should be done: this is good.' Convinced that it is by this conduct that it is possible to merit heaven, one ought to follow it with zeal as the means of meriting heaven (Dh., J.: one ought to practise with zeal the means of meriting heaven). Kh. and K. *replace all this passage from*: 'It has been said' &c., *by the following*. The ordinary [*practices*] of this kind (Kh.: practices without solidity) are of doubtful effect. Thus, either they produce or they do not produce the result [*which was in view*]; and [*in every case*] their power is limited to the present life. The practice of the law on the contrary is not limited to time. If it does not produce the result intended—the earthly result, it assures for the other world an infinite harvest of merit; but if it produces that result [K.: immediately perceivable in this world?] then it has a double efficacy. In this world [*we obtain*] that result, and in the other world is prepared a harvest of infinite merit, [all] thanks to the practice of religion). (*To be continued.*)

[24] *Jour. As.* *u. s.* p. 342f.; Prinsep, p. 257f.; Wilson, p. 203f.; Lassen, p. 263, n. 1; Burnouf, pp. 666, 722, 735; Kern, p. 82f.

[25] C. differs in the readings in these words.

[26] Read °*evaṁ â*°; *karote* is a variant spelling of *karoti*.

[27] Read *mahâkâyo*.

[28] For *taṁ*; *tad maṁgalaṁ*.

[29] C. has °*tateta dâ*; the facsimile B. appears to present the additional marks which account for this reading, but do not, I think, justify it. Read *tateta*, *i. e.* *tatra etad*.

[30] *Etâ*=*etaṁ*.

[31] For *svagârâdhî*.

MISCELLANEA.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

8. CROW LANGUAGE.—There is among European children born in India a quasi-secret dialect called the "Crow Language," which consists in dividing the vowel sound of each syllable by a "p." For example: "How do you do?" would in Crow language be pronounced *How-p-ow do-p-o you-p-ou do-p-o?* and "Quite well" as *Qui-p-ite we-p-ell.* I have hitherto regarded it merely as a childish trick of speech, and was therefore much astonished and amused to find the following sentence in a paper "On the Non-Aryan Languages of India," by E. L. Brandreth, Esq. (*Journal R. A. S.*, N. S., vol. X, p. 8):—"Kolarian Grammar apparently recognizes none of the root changes of the Dravidian, but derivative forms are not always indicated by affixed particles only, but occasionally by infixes—thus in Santâli a noun may be formed by infixing *t, p,* or *n* with the same vowel as that of the root; for instance: *ra-pa-j,* a collection of kings, from *raj,* a king, *u-nu-m,* immersion, from *um* to bathe. The reciprocal active voice is formed in a similar manner by the insertion of *p*: thus *da-pa-l,* strike together, from *dal,* to strike."

Can the interjected *p* of the so-called "Crow language" have been borrowed as a disguise to ordinary English from any of the Indian languages? Do any of the Indian peoples use "secret" languages formed in this manner?

A. M. FERGUSON, JR.

Abbotsford Estate, Lindula, Ceylon,
14th March 1881.

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

The *Journal Asiatique,* Oct.—Déc. 1880, contains the continuation of M. Senart's study of the Piyadasi inscriptions from the sixth to the twelfth edict inclusive. The last two of these are not found at Dhauli and Jaugada, and of the twelfth only a few letters are preserved in the Kapur-di-giri version.

M. Cl. Huart follows with a paper on Ottoman Bibliography, containing a list of the books, in Turkish, Arabic and Persian, printed at Constantinople in A. H. 1294-1296 (A.D. 1877-79).

M. Leon Rodet has a paper on the correct meaning of the Numeral Notation devised by Âryabhaṭa. The principle of this notation is expressed in the mnemonical śloka,—

Varga-aksharâṇi varge, 'varge 'varga-aksharâṇi.
Kât ṅ-m-au-yaḥ |
Kha-dvi-navake svarâ nava, varge 'varge nava-
antya-varge vâ ||

M. Rodet corrects *kha-dvinavake* into *khadvinavakam,* and explains the whole thus: 'The consonants classified are used to express, and take for their numerical values the order which they hold in the alphabet,' thus, क=1, ख=2, . . ङ=5, . . ञ=10, ट=11, . . न=20, प=21, . . . म=25. "The unclassed consonants are used for tens"; but as we have already ञ=10, न=20, य must be 30, which the author expresses when he says: *ṅ-m-au yas,* $y = \dot{n} + m = 5+25 = 30$; and we continue making र= 40 . . . . श=70, ष= 80, स=90, ह=100.

"The nine vowels give birth to nine couples of zeros added to the numbers expressed by the consonants."

The vowels are—*a, i, u, ṛ, ḷ, e, ai, o, au,*—the long not being distinguished from the short; and these vowels attached to the consonants multiply them:—

i by 100: *gi* stands for 300, *chi* = 600, . . *mi* = 2500, *yi* = 3000, &c.

u by 10,000: *ghu* = 40,000, *chhu* = 70,000 . . . . *ru* = 400,000, &c.

ṛ by 1,000,000: *tṛ* = 16,000,000 . . . *pṛ* = 21,000,000 &c.

And they are added, Âryabhaṭa says: *varge, avarge, nava-antyavarge vâ,*—"To the *varga* and to the *avarga* (to units and tens, *separately*) or to a group terminated by a *varga.*" Thus 43 may be written गर or ग्र; 4300 may be written गिरि = *gi* + *ri,* or ग्रि; 430,000 as गुरु or ग्रु, &c. It is to be noted that *a* is the multiplier by $100^0 = 1$; and thus $au = 100^9 = 10^{16}$; however as the numeral letters permit us to write numbers of two figures we have, in fact, by means of the consonants and *au,* the numbers up to eighteen figures and as *h* = 100, हौ = $100 \times 100^8 = 10^{18}$.

Âryabhaṭa uses this notation for his astronomical tables thus,—

Yuga-Ravi-bhagaṇâs khyu-ghṛ; *Śaśi* chayagiyiṅu-śuchhlṛ; *ku* niśibuṇḷkhshṛ *prâk;*
Śani ḍuṅvighva; *Guru* khrichyubha; *Kuja* bhadlijhnukhṛ; *Bhṛigu-Budha śaurâ.*
Chandrochcha jrushkhidha; *Budha* suguśithṛna; *Bhṛigu* jashabikhuchhṛ *śeshârkâs;*
Buphinacha *pâta-vilomâ, budhâhny-ajârkodayâch cha Laṅkâyâm.*

"In a *Yuga* the number of sidereal revolutions of the Sun is 4,320,000; of the Moon, 57,753,336; of the earth, 1,582,237,500; of Saturn, 146,564; of Jupiter, 364,224; of Mars, 2,296,824; of Venus and Mercury, the same as the Sun; of the Moon's apogee, 488,219; Mercury's, 17,937,020; of Venus, 7,022,388; and of the Moon's node, 232,226."

But it is only in the tables in his first chapter that Âryabhaṭa has used this notation. M. Rodet

further notes in proof that Bhaṭṭa-Utpala (cir. 1000 A.D.) in dating his commentary on the *Bṛihat Saṁhita* of Varâhamihira († 585) uses the symbolic expression: *vasv-ashṭa-ashṭa-mite śâke,*—"in the Śaka year having for its measure 888." On a similar occasion Âryabhaṭa wishing to tell us he was 23 years old in the year 3600 of the Kaliyuga, uses the expression *shashṭy-abdânâm shashṭis* for 3600, and *try-adhikâ vinśatir-abdâs* for 23.

Âryabhaṭa then quite understood the value of the position (*sthâna*) of the figures and the use of zero which he calls *kha*. M. Rodet then proceeds to compare the system of numeration found in the early inscriptions and Valabhi plates with that used in the Rhind's hieratic papyrus.

M. Feer has a Bauddha essay on becoming a Buddha, being an explication of the *Avadâna-Śataka* and *Karma-Śataka*.

M. Imbault-Huart contributes miscellaneous notes on Chinese matters and translations of short sayings; and the volume is concluded by several book notices, the first being a pretty lengthy review of Darmesteter's *Vendidad* by C. de Harlez.

The *Journal Asiatique* for January 1881 contains only two articles,—the first, by M. Cl. Huart, is on the poetess Fadhl, who holds a prominent place in the *Book of Songs* of Abu'l-Faraj el-Isfahâni. She was originally of Yemâma, a province of Central Arabia, but found her way to Bagdad, where by her vivacity and talents she became courted by the friends of the Khalif and especially by Saeid ben Hamid, a writer and poet at the court. Many specimens are given of her verses on particular occasions, with notices throwing much light on the social life of the times. She died in obscurity in A. H. 260 (A. D. 873-874).

The second paper is a continuation of M. J. Halévy's Essay on the Himyaritic inscriptions from Safa. These inscriptions are short memorial ones, and contain very little, if any, information that can be used for historical purposes, but are only of interest philologically.

To the Miscellanea M. M. Siouffi of Mosul contributes a translation from the Arabic of a notice of Yabalaha III, Patriarch of the Nestorians, 1282-1318 A. D. Under the patriarchate were twenty-seven archbishops, extending over a very large area in the east from Jerusalem to Kashgar, India, and China, each with from six to twelve bishops subordinate to him.

BOOK NOTICES.

The History of India from the earliest ages. By J. Talboys Wheeler, vol. IV—part ii. Moghul empire—Aurangzeb. London: Trübner and Co. 1881.

Mr. Talboys Wheeler has completed his fourth volume by now publishing pages 321 to 600,—chiefly devoted to the reign of Aurangzeb, which, he tells us, "is not generally familiar to English readers." But though we might expect, after this statement, that he was about to enlighten us with the fruits of fresh research, we find not a word of additional information that is correct. He indeed states that "the consequences" of Aurangzeb's edict forbidding any one to write the record of his times "has been that the materials furnished by Muhammadan writers for dealing with the reign of Aurangzeb are meagre and unsatisfactory. Mr. Wheeler, not being able to read any of the Persian histories himself, might at least have consulted Elliot's *Bibliographical Index*, Morley's *Catalogue*, or Dr. N. Lees's valuable paper on *Materials for the History of India*, before he made such a statement. Elliot enumerates no less than fifteen special works on this reign alone, and several of these are works of no small merit or extent, some of which are easily accessible, being published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. This would not have suited Mr. Wheeler's method however: Catrou's *History of the Mogul Dynasty* (London, 1826; 324 pp. 8vo) and *History of the Reign of Aurangzebe*, founded on the memoirs of Manouchi a Venetian physician,—volumes neither rare nor of much historical value, but the first being in English, and the second in French, and we suppose translated *for* our author, are his principal authorities. In the third of the four chapters in this part, the reader is treated to condensed abstracts of the works of the principal European travellers in India in the 17th and 18th centuries, from Terry to Carsten Niebuhr—whose Christian name Mr. Wheeler has found a new spelling for. But whilst the author affects a certain degree of accuracy and tells us on the first page that "the name of 'Aurungzeb' has been altered to 'Aurangzeb' and that of 'Rajpoot' to 'Rajpût'," he is not alike precise everywhere, hence such names as "Garsopa," "Venk-tapa Naik," and "Onore," which are *not* in accordance with "modern orthography." Geography is as little a matter of precision as orthography: hence 'Garsopa' is 'three leagues *south* of Onore'—instead of east; "the Raj of Kanara extended from Onore to Mangalore, and included the Raj of Karnata"; and "Kalyân in the Dekhan" where Vijala Raja reigned "is now a railway station to the eastward of Bombay"!

The English reader who desires a more trustworthy account than Mr. Wheeler's will still use Elphinstone's valuable *History*, and supplement it from Dow's or Dowson's and Elliot's. We are surprised that so unscholarly and inaccurate a writer finds publishers for his works.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C. S., M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from p.* 171.)

No. CXVI.

THE present inscription is from a stone-tablet lying near a small ruined Jain temple in the fort at Ḍambaḷ, in the Gadag Tâlukâ of the Dhârwâḍ District. A transcription is given in the Elliot *MS. Collection*, Vol. I., p. 356; but my text is edited from an ink-impression made by Mr. H. Cousens, of the Government Archæological Survey.

The emblems at the top of the stone are,—in the centre, a female figure, evidently the Târâ or Târâdêvî of the inscription, seated in a shrine, and facing full front, and holding in her left hand a water-lily just expanding, and in her right hand something which I cannot identify from the drawing; on her right hand, a cow and calf, with the sun above them; and on her left hand, a standing figure with his hands joined and held to his face in the act of salutation, the flower of an eight-leaved water-lily in front of his hands, two lamp-stands, with burning flames, behind him, and the moon above him. The body of the inscription, which is in the Old-Canarese language and in finely engraved and excellently preserved characters of the period to which it refers itself, covers a space of about 3′ 1″ high by 2′ 1″ broad. But there are also two long lines of writing, in the same characters and containing three verses in the Sanskrit language, round the top of the tablet.

The body of the inscription is of the time of the Western Châlukya king Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramâditya VI.; and it is dated in the Yuva *saṁvatsara*, the nineteenth year of the Châlukya-Vikramavarsha established by him and dating from the commencement of his reign,[1] *i. e.* in Śaka 1017 (A. D. 1095-6). It gives us the name of one of his queens, Lakshmâdêvî, who at this time was governing the district called the Eighteen *Agrahâras* and the city of Dharmâpura. She is called here the *piriy-arasi*, or 'senior queen'; but this title, corresponding to the Sanskrit *agra-mahishî*, was borne also by one or two others of his consorts. The Eighteen *Agrahâras* appear to have been a group of towns somewhere in the north of Maisûr or in the south of the Dhârwâḍ District; but I think that they have not yet been actually identified. Dharmâpura, or, as it is also called in this inscription, Dharmavoḷal, meaning, in either form, 'the city of religion', is evidently Ḍambaḷ itself. In connection with the Jain religion, this inscription is of interest as recording the existence at Ḍambaḷ of a *vihâra* or temple of Buddha, which had been built by the sixteen *Seṭṭis*[2] of that place, and of another *vihâra* of Târâdêvî, which had been built by the *Seṭṭi* Saṁgavayya of Lokkiguṇḍi or the modern Lakkuṇḍi. The object of the inscription is to record certain grants to these two *vihâras*. It is worthy of note that these *Seṭṭis*, who built and endowed a Bauddha *vihâra*, and who were therefore Jains, belonged to the *Vîra-Baḷañja*[3] sect, or the class of merchants and traders, by which principally the Liṅgâyat religion of Basava was subsequently adopted.

Transcription.

[1] Namô Buddhâya ||* Hari-kari-śikhi-phaṇi-taskara-nigaḷa-jaḷ-ârṇṇava-shi(pi)śâcha-bhaya-sa(śa)mani(nî) sa(śa)si(śi)-kiraṇa-kânti-

[2] dhâriṇi bhagavati Târê namas=tubhyaṁ ||* Yâ jñân-ârṇṇava-maṁthanât=samuditâ Prajñ=êti yâ kathyatê yâ Buddhasya

[3] vibhûti-dâ tri-bhuvanê bôdhi-svarûpâ parâ yâ hri(hṛi)d-byô(vyô)mni Tathâgatasya vasati ḥphîtiva[4] chândrî kaḷâ sâ

[4] Târâ bhava-tâpa-duḥkha-sa(śa)manî prâsi(śâ)shṭu(stu) vas=sarvvadâ ||* Svasti Samastabhuvanâśraya śrî-pri(pṛi)thvîvallabha mahâ-

---

[1] See Vol. VIII., p. 187.

[2] *Seṭṭi*, or *śeṭṭi*, is a corruption of the Sanskrit *śrêshṭhin*, 'a head merchant; the head or chief of a company following the same trade; the president or foreman of a guild or corporation.'

[3] Other forms, in inscriptions, are *Baḷañju*, *Baṇañja*, and *Baṇañju*. The modern form is *Baṇajiga* and *Baṇijiga*. There is still a division of the Baṇajigas which is called Jaina-Baṇajiga.

[4] Some correction is necessary here; probably *sphîti=êva* is what was intended.

[5] râj-âdhirâja paramêśvaram paramabhaṭṭârakaṁ Satyâśraya-kuḷa-tiḷakaṁ Châḷuky-âbharaṇaṁ śrîmat-Tribhuva-

[6] namalladêvara vijaya-râjyam=uttarôttar-âbhivri(vṛi)ddhi-pravarddhamânam=â-chandr-ârkka-târaṁ baraṁ salluttam-ire ||*

[7] Svasty=Anavarata-parama-kallyâ(lyâ)ṇ-âbhyudaya-sahaśra(sra)-phaḷa-bhôga-bhâgini dvitîya-Lakshmî-samâne parivâra-ni-

[8] dhâne dâna-chintâmaṇi samast-ântaḥpura-mukhamaṇḍaṇi śrîmat-[T*]ribhuvanamalladêva-viśâḷa-vaksha[ḥ*]sthaḷa-nivâ-

[9] siniyar=appa śrîmat piriy-arasi Lakshmâdêviyar*u* Padinemṭ-agrahâramuṁ(mumaṁ) Dharmmâpuramuman=âḷdu sukha-saṁ-

[10] kathâ-vinôdadiṁ râjyaṁ-geyyuttam-ire ||* Svasty=Anêka-guṇa-gaṇ-âḷaṁkri(kṛi)ta-satya-śauchâ[châra*]-châruchâritra-naya-vine(na)-

[11] ya-śîḷa-sampannaruṁ vibudha-prasannaruṁ dêva-brâhmaṇa-pâdôdaka-pavitraruṁ sujan-aika-mitraruṁ śishṭ-êshṭa-jan-âdhâra-

[12] ruṁ êkâṁga-vîraruṁ anêka-ratna-maṇḍaḷî-ratna-maṇḍanaruṁ kadana-prachaṇḍanaruṁ nânâ-dêsî(śîya)-samuddharaṇaruṁ Sarasvatî-karṇṇa-ku-

[13] ṇḍaḷâbharaṇaruṁ sâ(śâ)p-ânugraha-samartthanuṁ samasta-dharmma-purôvri(vṛi)ddhi-kara-kri(kṛi)tartthanuṁ sa(śa)raṇâgata-vajra-paṁja-

[14] raruṁ vairi-dikkuṁjararuṁ grâma-nâm-ôttamar=(ruṁ) =vvai(vai)śya-kuḷa-kamaḷa-divâkararuṁ satya-ratnâkararuṁ chatussamaya-samuddha-

[15] raṇaruṁ śrîmaj-Jagadêkamalladêva-prasâd-âsâdita-chchhatra-châmara-sâ(śâ)san-âdi-mahim-ônnatar=appa śrîmad-Dharmma-

[16] voḷala padinaṟuvar*u*(var=) sse(=sse)ṭṭigaḷ*u* mahânagaramuṁ(mu)m=irddu tamma mâḍisida bauddha-vihârakke Śrî-Lokkiguṇḍiya va-

[17] dda(ḍḍa)-bya(vya)vahâri Saṁgavayya-seṭṭiyar*u* mâḍisida Śrî-bhagavati Âryya-Târâdêvî-vihârî-pratibaddhav=âgi Svasti Śrî-

[18] Châḷukya-Vikramavarshada 19neya Yuva-saṁvatsarada Mâgha-su(śu)ddha-paṁchamî Âdityavârad-aṁdu uttarâyaṇa-

[19] saṁkrânti-vya[8]tîpâtad-aṁdu śrîmat-Târâdêvigaṁ Buddhadêvarigaṁ pûjâ-satkârakkaṁ gandha-puḷpa-dhûpa-dîpa-mâllya(lya)-naivêdy-âdi-

[20] ka[kka*]ṁ pûjârigaṁ alliya bhikshugaḷge grâs-âchchhâdanakkaṁ nava-karmm-âdikakkaṁ ûriṁ mûḍal*u* Ponnakuṟuvada poḷada-

[21] l=oṁdu mattar*u* tôṁṭamumaṁ sarbba(rvva)namaśya(sya)v=âgi varsha-prati aruvaṇaṁ mûṟu gadyâṇa ponnaṁ tettu sukhadal=uṁb-ant-â-

[22] gi koṭṭar*u* [||*] Int=î dharmmamaṁ sva-dharmmadiṁ pratipâḷisuvar*u* [|*] î dharmmamaṁ pratipâḷisidavargge Bâṇârasi Kurukshê-

[23] tra Prayâge Argghyatîrtthaṁ modal-âgi puṇya-kshêtraṁgaḷoḷ*u* sâsira kavileya kôduṁ koḷagumaṁ ponnu-be-

[24] ḷḷiyaluṁ kaṭṭisi sâsirbba(rvva)r=chchaturvvêda-pâragar=appa brâhmaṇargge sûryya-grahaṇad-aṁdu dânaṁ-goṭṭa phaḷam=akku [|*]

[25] î dharmmaman=upêkshisiy=aḷidavargge int=î puṇya-tîrtthaṁgaḷoḷ*u* sâsira kavile-yumaṁ sâsira chaturvvêda-pâra-

[26] gar=appa brâhmaṇaran=aḷida paṁchamahâpâtakan(m)=akku ||* Svasti Samasta-bhuvana-vikhyâta-paṁchasa(śa)ta-vîra-sâ(śâ)sa-

[27] na-labdh-ânêka-guṇa-gaṇ-âḷaṁkri(kṛi)ta-satya-śauchâ[châra*]-châruchâritra-naya-vinaya-vijñâna Vîra-Baḷaṁja-dharmma-pratipâḷana

[28] visu(śu)ddha-guḍḍadhvaja-virâjamân=ânûna-sâhasa-vîra-lakshmi(kshmî)-liṁgita-vaksha[ḥ*]-sthaḷa bhuvana-parâkram-ônnata Vâsudê-

[29] va-Khaṇḍaḷî-mûḷa-bhadra-vaṁś-ôdbhavaruṁ Bhagavatîdêvî-labdha-vara-prasâdam=âge dvâtriṁsa(śad-) vê(-vâ)ḷâvu(pu)ram=ashṭâdaśa

[8] Some other letter, probably *ti*, was engraved here, and then was corrected into *vya*.

[30] paṭṭaṇamuṁ chaushashṭi-yôga-pîṭhamuṁ chatur-ddesey=âśri(śra)mamuṁ nânâ-dês(ś)-âbhyantaradavargge puṭṭa(ṭṭe)yuṁ Kri(kṛi)tayuga[ṁ*] Trê-

[31] tê Dvâparaṁ Kaliyugaṁ modal-âge Brahmâ(hma)-Vishṇu-Mahêśvarara maṁthadiṁd=âda Balaṁja-dharmma-bya(vya)vahâra-varttana-prava-

[32] rttanaruṁ Ayyoḷe-puravar-êśvarar=appa śrîmad-ubhe(bha)ya-nânâ-dêsî(śîya)-samûham=irddu Dharmmavoḷala padinaṟuvaruṁ

[33] mahânaka(ga)ramuṁ mâḍisida Buddha-vihârakkaṁ Śrî-Lokkiguṇḍiya Saṁgavayya-seṭṭiyaru samasta-dêsi(śî)ya-dha-

[34] rmmav=âgi mâḍisida Śrî-bhagavati Âryya-Târâdêvigaṁ samasta-pûj-ârtthav=âgi teṁkaṇiṁ banda pasuṁbeyalu pâ-

[35] ga teṁka pôpa kâsaṭa biṇige maḷave pasuṁbege bêḷe vaṁ[6] eraḍu sthânakkav=â-chaṁdr-ârkka-sthâyi varaṁ naḍev-ant-âgi kô-

[36] ttar=î dharmmamaṁ pratipâlisidavargge Bâṇârasi Kurukshêtra Prayâge Argghyatîrtthadalu sâsira kavileya

[37] kôḍuṁ kolagumaṁ suvarṇṇadalu kaṭṭisi sahasra chaturvvêda-pâragar=appa brâhmaṇarige sûryya-grahaṇa-

[38] dalu dânaṁ-goṭṭa phalam=akku [| *] î dharmmaman=upêkshisi kiḍisida[7]vaṁ sthâna-garddabha chânḍâlaṁ same(ma)ya-bâhiraṁ Balaṁ-

[39] jigaṁ gôlalu paṇaṁ-goṁḍava paṁchamahâpâtakan=akku ||* Bâ(ba)hubhir=vvasudhâ dattâ râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhiḥ

[40] yasya yasya yadâ bhûmi[ḥ*] tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ || Sâmânyô=yaṁ dharmma-sêtu(tur=) nri(=nṛi)pâṇâṁ kâlê kâ-

[41] lê pâlanîyô bhavadbhis=sarbbâ(rvvâ)n=etân=bhâgi(vi)naḥ=pârtthivêṁdrâ[n*] bhûyô bhûyô yâchatê Râmabhadra[ḥ*] || Sva-da-

[42] ttâṁ para-dattâṁ bâ(vâ) yô harêti(ta) vasundharâ[ṁ*] shashṭi-rvva(va)rsha-sahasrâṇi vishṭhâyâṁ jâyatê krimi[ḥ*] ||

[43] Svalpa-mâtraṁ pradâsyanti yê dânaṁ Buddha-sâ(śâ)sanê aśîti[8]-kalpa-sahasrâṇi mahâbhôgâ mahâdhanâ[ḥ*] ||

[44] Yatra yatr=ôpapadyantê nityaṁ dânaṁ smaranti tê êvaṁ mahâphalâ hy=êshâ gaṁbhîrâ Buddha-dakshiṇâ |(||)

[45] Kṛitaṁ cha yan=mayâ puṇyaṁ karshyê(rishyê) yach=cha kiṁchana têna mê jagataś=ch=âsya padaṁ siddhya(dhya)tu saugataṁ ||

The verses round the top of the stone.

[46] Asarbba(rvva)-bhâvêna yadri(dṛi)chchhe(chchha)yâ vâ par-ânuvri(vṛi)ttyâ vichikitsayâ vâ yê tvân=namaśyaṁ(syaṁ)ti Munîndra-bhadraṁ tê shyâṁmarîṁ[9] saṁpadam=âpnu[va*]nti || Sarbbê(rvvê) satvâs=sarbbê(rvvê) prâṇâ[ḥ*] sarbbê(rvvê) bhûtâś=cha kêvalâ[ḥ*] sarbbê(rvvê) vai sukhina[ḥ*] santu sarbbê(rvvê) santu nirâmayâ[ḥ*] ||

[47] Pâthas(thaḥ)-pârtthiva-vahnishû(pû)ga-pavana-prakhyâta-bhîty-âkulâ(la)-prâṇa-trâṇa-vidhâna-labdha-karuṇa-vyâpâra-chint-âturâ prôdyat-tashka(ska)ra-sindhu-sindhura-hari-vyâḷ-âdi-saṁ(śaṁ)k-âpahâ Târâ tûrṇṇa-vitîrṇṇa-vâṁchhita-phalâ pâyât=sadâ Saṁgamaṁ ||

Translation.

Reverence to Buddha! Reverence to thee, O holy Târâ,[10] who dost allay the fear of lions and elephants and fire and hooded snakes and thieves and fetters and water and the ocean and demons, and who dost bear a splendour like that of the rays of the moon! May that Târâ always bless you, who allays the misery of the affliction of existence; who sprang from the churning of the ocean of knowledge; who is called Prajñâ;[11] who is the giver of the power of Buddha; who is the supreme form of

[6] Sc., vaṁdu, for ondu.

[7] This letter, da, was at first omitted and then inserted below the line.

[8] The metre is wrong here.

[9] Some correction is needed here. I can only suggest that śâṁbarîṁ was intended.

[10] One of the Jain Śaktis, or 'female energies.'

[11] Wisdom,—the Śakti of the Âdi-Buddha.

perfect wisdom in the three worlds; and who dwells in the heart of Tathâgata,[12] just as the full digit of the moon dwells in the sky!

(L. 4.)—Hail! While the victorious reign of the glorious Tribhuvanamalladêva,—the asylum of the universe; the favourite of the world; the great king; the supreme king; the supreme lord; the most worshipful one; the glory of the family of Satyâśraya; the ornament of the Châḷukyas,—was continuing with perpetual increase, so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars might last:—

(L. 7.)—Hail! And while the glorious chief queen Lakshmâdêvî,—who shared the enjoyment of the thousand results of unceasing and supreme good fortune and prosperity; who was like a second (*goddess*) Lakshmî; who was the treasure-house of her retinue; who was a very philosopher's stone in charity; who was the chief ornament of all the women's apartments; and who dwelt upon the mighty breast of the glorious Tribhuvanamalladêva,—was governing the Eighteen *Agrahâras* and the city of Dharmâpura, and was ruling with the delight of pleasing conversations:—

(L. 10.)—Hail! The sixteen *Seṭṭis* of the glorious (*city of*) Dharmavoḷal,—who were endowed with truth and purificatory observances and pleasing conduct and morality and modesty and good character, adorned by innumerable good qualities; who were kindly disposed to learned men; who were purified by the water (*which had been sanctified by the washing*) of the feet of gods and Brâhmaṇs; who were the chief friends of good people; who were the supporters of excellent people and friends; who were brave even by themselves; who were the jewelled ornaments of many assemblages of jewels; who were bold in war; who were the supporters of the people of many countries; who were the ear-rings of the ears of (*the goddess*) Sarasvatî; who were capable of conferring favours in return for curses; who were successful in increasing all religion; who were a very cage of thunderbolts to those who took refuge with them; who were very elephants of the regions to their enemies; who were of the highest rank by the villages (*of their birth*) and by their names (?); who were the suns of the white waterlilies of the caste of Vaiśyas; who were jewel-mines of truth; who were the sustainers of the four observances; and who were ennobled by the greatness of the umbrellas and the *chauris* and the charters that they had acquired through the favour of the glorious Jagadêkamalladêva,[13]—constituting the large (*assembly of the*) town, gave, to the Bauddha *vihâra* which they themselves had caused to be made, and in connection with the large *vihâra* of the holy Śrî-Ârya-Târâdêvî which the *Seṭṭi* Saṁgavayya, the *vaḍḍa-vyavahârî*[14] of (*the city of*) Śrî-Lokkiguṇḍi had caused to be made:—

(L. 17.)—Hail! At the time of the sun's commencement of his progress to the north, on Sunday the fifth day of the bright fortnight of (*the month*) Mâgha of the Yuva *saṁvatsara*, which was the nineteenth year of the Śrî-Châḷukya-Vikramavarsha:—

(L. 19.)—To (*the goddess*) the holy Târâdêvî, and to the god Buddha, one *mattar* of garden-land, as a *sarvanamasya* grant, in the field of Ponnakuruva to the east of the village, and one *aruvaṇa*[15] and three *gadyaṇas* of gold every year, to be levied as a tax and enjoyed in happiness, for the proper performance of the worship, for the purpose of providing perfumes and flowers and incense and lamps and garlands and the perpetual oblation and other things, for the (*support of the*) *Pûjâri*, to provide food and clothes for the religious mendicants of that place, and (*to pay*) for restorations.

(L. 22.)—They shall preserve this act of religion according to their own religion! May those who preserve this act of religion obtain the reward of fashioning the horns and hoofs of a thousand tawny-coloured cows from gold and silver, and giving them at the time of an eclipse of the sun to a thousand Brâhmaṇs, well versed in the four *Vêdas*, at Bâṇârasi and Kurukshêtra and Prayâga and Arghyatîrtha and other holy places! May those who neglect and destroy this act of religion incur the guilt of the five great sins of having slain a thousand tawny-coloured cows or a thousand Brâhmaṇs, well versed in the four *Vêdas*, at those same holy *tîrthas*!

(L. 26.)—Hail! To the *vihâra* of Buddha which

[12] A Buddha or Jina.

[13] The Western Châlukya king Jayasiṁha III.

[14] *Vyavahârin* is 'one whose occupation or trade is (*so and so*).' The meaning of *vaḍḍa* has not been settled yet, but it is probably another form of *vaṭṭa*, 'the difference in the exchange of money.' If so, *vaḍḍa-vyavahârî* means 'a money-changer.'

[15] Half a *haṇa* or *paṇa*.

was caused to be built by the sixteen (*Settis*) of (*the city of*) Dharmavoḷal, constituting the large (*assembly of the*) town, and being the assembly of people living in many countries on both sides of it,—who were endowed with truth and purificatory observances and pleasing conduct and morality and modesty, adorned by innumerable good qualities acquired by five-hundred strict edicts celebrated over the whole world; who were the protectors of the Vîra-Baḷañja religion; who were decorated with the pure banner of a hill;[16] whose breasts were embraced by the goddess of perfect impetuosity and bravery; who were ennobled by their prowess throughout the world; who were born in the original and auspicious Khaṇḍaḷîvaṁśa, (*the lineage*) of Vâsudêva; who, having acquired the excellent favour of the goddess Bhagavatî, constituted thirty-two sea-side towns (?), and eighteen cities, and sixty-four seats of the *Yôga*, and colleges of the four points of the compass; who were born to those who belonged to many different countries; who were energetic in disseminating the practice of the Baḷañja religion which included the Kritayuga and the Trêtâyuga and the Dvâparayuga and the Kaliyuga and sprang from the churning of (*the religions of the gods*) Brahmâ and Vishṇu and Mahêśvara; and who were the lords of Ayyoḷe, which is the best of cities,—and to (*the vihâra of*) the holy Śrî-Ârya-Târâdêvî which had been caused to be built, as an act of religion for the people of all countries, by the *Setti* Saṁgavayya of Śrî-Lokkiguṇḍi,—to these two establishments, there was given, to be continued as long as the moon and sun might last, a *pâga*[17] on (*each*) bag coming from the south, and one *bêḷe* on (*each*) bag of . . . . or . . . . or . . . .[18] going to the south.

(L. 36.)—May those who preserve this act of religion obtain the reward of fashioning the horns and hoofs of a thousand tawny-coloured cows from gold and giving them at the time of an eclipse of the sun to a thousand Brâhmaṇs, well versed in the four *Vêdas*, at Bâṇârasi, and Kurukshêtra, and Prayâga, and Arghyatîrtha! May he who neglects and destroys this act of religion,—(*whether he be*) an ass of the place, or a Chaṇḍâla, or an outcaste, or a Baḷañjiga, ... ,[19]—incur the guilt of the five great sins!

(L. 39.)—Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sagara; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the fruits of it! "This general bridge of piety of kings should at all times be preserved by you,"—thus does Râmabhadra again and again make his request to all future princes! He is born for the duration of sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure, who takes away land that has been given, whether by himself or by another! Those who may give even a small gift in a charter of Buddha, they shall have great enjoyment and shall be very rich for eighty thousand ages! Wheresoever they find a perpetual gift, there they remember it; thus their offering to Buddha brings a great reward! Whatever religious merit I have acquired, and whatever I may acquire,—by that may the condition of myself and of this world be perfected as a condition of the Sugata religion!

The verses round the top of the stone.

(L. 46.)—Those who do reverence to thee, who are propitious to Munîndras,[20]—(*even though it be*) with imperfect faith, or spasmodically, or from imitation of others, or through mistake,—obtain the good fortune of becoming Śambaras.[21] May all sentient beings, and all (*who have*)

---

[16] *Guḍḍa-dhvaja*; the meaning, however, is not quite certain. *Guḍḍa* is explained by Sanderson, and *guṭṭa* by Sanderson and C. P. Brown, as meaning 'a hill.' C. P. Brown also gives *guḍḍa* as meaning 'cloth.' But neither of these meanings seems quite satisfactory here. On the pedestal of a standing image of Buddha in a small and half-ruined Jain temple at Nêsargi in the Sampgaum Tâlukâ of the Beḷgaum District there is the following Old-Canarese inscription, in characters of the eleventh or twelfth century A. D.:—

Transcription.

[1] Śrî-Mûlasaṁghada Baḷâtkâragaṇada Śrî-
[2] Pârśvanâthadêvara Śrî-Kumudachaṁdrabhaṭṭâraka-dêvara
[3] guḍḍa Bâḍigasâtti-seṭṭiyaru mukhyav-â-
[4] gi nakha(ga ?)raṁgaḷu mâḍisida nakha(ga ?)-
[5] ra-Jinâlaya ||

Translation.

The *Jinâlaya* of the town (?), which was caused to be made by (*the people of*) the town (?), headed by the *Seṭṭi* Bâḍigasâtti who was the *guḍḍa* of Śrî-Kumudachandra-bhaṭṭârakadêva, (*the priest*) of (*the god*) Śrî-Pârśvanâthadêva, of the Baḷâtkâragaṇa of the Śrî-Mûlasaṁgha.

It is plain that here *guḍḍa* cannot mean 'a hill'; and it seems to mean 'a disciple, follower, or adherent.'

[17] *Pâga* or *hâga*, a quarter of a *paṇa* or *haṇa*.

[18] The meanings of *kâsaṭa*, *biṇige* or perhaps *bîṇige*, and *maḷave*, are not known.

[19] The meaning of *gôlalu paṇaṁ-goṁḍava* is not apparent.

[20] *i.e.*, Buddhas.

[21] See note 9 above. Śambara or Sambara is the name of one of the Jain *Arhats* of the future period.

souls, and all who are mere existing beings,—verily may all of them be happy, and all be free from illness! May (*the goddess*) Târâ,—who is anxiously busied with her exercise of tenderness entailed by preserving (*persons possessed of*) souls who are distressed by the notorious fear of water and kings and volumes of fire and wind; who takes away the dread of bold thieves and oceans and elephants and lions and snakes,[22] &c.; and who quickly confers the rewards that are desired,—always preserve Saṁgama![23]

A FOLKLORE PARALLEL.

BY PROF. C. H. TAWNEY, M.A., CALCUTTA.

Professor Nilmani Mukhopâdhyâya, M.A., of the Presidency College, Calcutta, has, in a Sanskṛit *Chrestomathy*, recently published by him,[1] given two tales from the *Kathâkośa*, "a collection of stories, written by Jaina authors in a propagandist spirit," the MS. of which was lent to him by Babu Umeśa Chandra Gupta, the Librarian of the Sanskṛit College. One of these tales, entitled by him in his translation "A Story of Tenderness to Animals," contains a remarkable parallel to an incident in the story of "Rich Peter the Pedlar" in Dasent's *Norse Tales*. The incident in the Jaina story runs as follows:—

A merchant named Sâgarapota, of the town of Râjagṛiha, hears it prophesied that a young beggar, named Dâmannaka, would inherit all his property. Accordingly he makes Dâmannaka over to a Chandâla to be killed. The Chandâla, instead of killing him, cuts off his little finger, and Dâmannaka, having thus escaped death, is adopted by Sâgarapota's cowherd. In course of time the merchant Sâgarapota comes to inspect his farm, and recognizes Dâmannaka. In order to ensure his being put out of the way, he sends him with a letter to his son Samudradatta. But when Dâmannaka reaches the outskirts of the town of Râjagṛiha, he feels fatigued and falls asleep in a temple.

Meanwhile the daughter of that very merchant, named Vishâ, came to the temple to worship the divinity. "She beheld Dâmannaka with the large eyes and the broad chest." Her father's handwriting then caught her eye, and she proceeded to read the letter. In it she found the following distich:

Before this man has washed his feet, do thou with speed
Give him poison (*visham*) and free my heart from anxiety.

The lady immediately concluded that she herself (*Vishâ*) was to be given to the handsome youth, and that her father had in his hurry made a slight mistake in orthography. She accordingly, by the help of some *añjana*, makes the necessary correction and replaces the letter. Samudradatta carries out his father's orders, and Sâgarapota returns to Râjagṛiha to find the hated Dâmannaka[2] married to his daughter Vishâ.

In the Norse story Peter the Rich Pedlar corresponds to the merchant Sâgarapota, and Dâmannaka is represented by a miller's son. Peter the Pedlar hears from "the Stargazers" that this miller's son is to marry his daughter. He accordingly buys him from his parents, puts him in a box, and throws him into the river. But the boy is found and adopted by a miller, who lives lower down the river. Peter finds this out from the Stargazers and procures the youth as his apprentice by giving the second miller six hundred dollars.

"Then the two travelled about far and wide, with their packs and wares, till they came to an inn, which lay by the edge of a great wood. From this Peter the Pedlar sent the lad home with a letter to his wife, for the way was not so long if you took the short cut across the wood, and told him to tell her she was to be sure to do what was written in the letter as quickly as she could. But it was written in the letter that she was to have a great pile made then and there, fire it, and cast the miller's son into it. If she didn't do that, he'd burn her alive himself when he came back. So the lad set off with the letter across the wood, and when evening came on, he reached a house far, far away in the wood, into which he went; but inside he found no one. In one of the rooms was a bed ready made, so he flung himself across it and fell

[22] See *Rep. Arch. Sur. W. India*, vol. III, pp. 75, 76.
[23] *i. e.*, the *Setti* Saṁgavayya of the body of the inscription.
[1] *Sâhityaparichaya*, Part I, *an Introduction to Sanskṛit Literature*, with notes and an English translation.
[2] It is only fair to mention that Dâmannaka was really the son of a merchant who had died of the plague.

asleep. The letter he had stuck into his hat-band, and the hat he pulled over his face. So when the robbers came back—for in that house twelve robbers had their abode—and saw the lad lying on the bed, they began to wonder who he could be, and one of them took the letter, and broke it open, and read it.

"'Ho! Ho!' said he; 'this comes from Peter the Pedlar, does it? Now we'll play him a trick. It would be a pity if the old niggard made an end of such a pretty lad.'

"So the robbers wrote another letter to Peter the Pedlar's wife, and fastened it under his hat-band while he slept; and in that they wrote, that, as soon as ever she got it, she was to make a wedding for her daughter and the miller's boy, and give them horses and cattle and household stuff, and set them up for themselves in the farm, which he had under the hill; and if he didn't find all this done, by the time he came back, she'd smart for it;—that was all.

"Next day the robbers let the lad go, and when he came home and delivered the letter, he said he was to greet her kindly from Peter the Pedlar, and to say that she was to carry out what was written in the letter as soon as ever she could."

This was accordingly done, to the no small dissatisfaction of Peter the Pedlar.

The termination of the story of Dâmannaka resembles that of Phalabhûti in the XXth Taranga of the *Kathâ Sârit Sâgara*, and its European parallels, the tales of Fridolin, Fulgentius, &c.

Sâgarapota arranges a second time with the Chandâla Khaḍgila, that he is to kill Dâmannaka, whom he will send to the temple of the goddess of the city. But as the bridegroom and bride are going to the temple of the goddess, Samudradatta the son of Sâgarapota meets them, and insists on performing the worship in their stead. "Having taken the articles for offering, Samudradatta went off, and as he was entering the temple of the goddess, he was despatched by Khaḍgila who had gone there before."

A MUSALMAN LEGEND OF KṚISHṆAGIRI IN SALEM.

BY H. LeFanu, M.C.S., SUB-COLLECTOR, SALEM.

Two tombs on a hill at Kṛishṇagiri, regarded by Musalmans with much veneration, are waited on by a faqir who levies fees from visitors. The legend is that one Akbar Pâsha came from the north, encamping west of Kṛishṇagiri, and besieged the fort which was defended by Kṛishṇa Râja. The siege was prolonged for six months, during which Akbar suffered heavy loss, and began to despair of success, for which he prayed to Allah, who appeared to him in a dream, and told him that in his camp were two religious men who were the only persons capable of leading a successful attack on the fort. As a sign whereby the truth of the dream would be demonstrated, Akbar was warned that a heavy storm would come, in which every tent would be levelled and every light in camp extinguished except those belonging to the persons indicated. This accordingly came to pass, and after the storm two faqirs, Ṣayyid Pâsha and Sayyid Akbar, were found reading the *Korân* in their tent by the light of a lamp. They undertook to lead the forlorn hope, and battle was given on a Friday, the leaders, at an early stage of the fight, both losing their heads. The headless trunks, however, continued the fight, driving the enemy in confusion before them, until they reached the summit, when the mother of Kṛishṇa Râja, seeing the portent, exclaimed, "What! do headless bodies fight?" at which sound the trunks fell and were buried in the solid rock by supernatural agency. Tipu Sulṭân visited the spot, and granted a *tajir* which is now held by the faqir. The heads are buried below the hill, and when an epidemic breaks out, a collection of sugar is made from people of all castes and offered over the grave, which has never been covered by a proper tomb, as all who attempted to do so were warned in a dream to desist from their attempts. In a field just outside Kṛishṇagiri is the tomb of Akbar Singh and Avan Singh, two famous Rajputs reputed to have formerly been rulers of Kṛishṇagiri.

By a strange coincidence, in the number of the *Indian Antiquary* for June 1879 is given a translation, by Major J. W. Watson, Kâṭhiâwâḍ, of an old poem on the fall of Somanâth, in which is embodied a myth closely following that above narrated in its main particulars. In it the place of Akbar Pasha is taken by Sulṭân

Mahmud, Kunwâr Pâl represents Krishṇa Râja, and the city of Pâtan is Krishṇagiri. The tale of the siege and storm and the pious Musalmans studying the *Korân* by lamplight is given, but Jâfar and Muzafar are read for Sayyid Pâsha and Sayyid Akbar. The Somanâth myth is more merciful to its heroes than that of Krishṇagiri as only one of them fell in the conflict, and the decapitation incident is absent, not unnaturally, as the idea of mutilation is abhorrent to a Musalman. Two heroes named Hamir and Vegad fighting on the side of Kunwâr Pâl may be the prototypes of Akbar and Avan Singh, while the faqir now at Krishṇagiri may be *indebted for his existence to the descendants of the* Kalifah Âbu-Bakr, who were nominated to the Kâziship of Pâtan by Sultân Mahmud. Whether the Krishṇagiri myth is a case of clear pilfering, or whether history has repeated itself, is a question which must be left to experts to decide. It is not impossible that truth lies between the two. Friday is a favourite day for fighting with Musalmans, and the tradition of Somanâth may have been current at the time, and suggested to Akbar Pâsha a way out of his difficulties. Storms are not unusual in the Bârahmahal, nor is it anything extraordinary for Musalmans to read the *Korân* by night; that their tents should be left standing may be due to their being better tents and better pitched than those of their neighbours, and the leaders of a forlorn hope stand a fair chance of losing *their lives even by decapitation. Some portentous* vitality on the part of the trunks may not need the miraculous to account for it, but has no doubt been magnified by tradition.

BUDDHIST PILGRIMS FROM CHINA TO INDIA.

BY REV. S. BEAL, B.A.

(*Continued from p.* 111.)

The Nâlanda temple built by Śri Śakrâditya is four square like a city. There are four large gateways of three storeys each. Each storey is some 10 feet in height; the whole covered on the outside with tiles.

Outside the western gate of the Great Hall of the temple is a large stûpa and various Chaityas, each erected over different sacred vestiges, and adorned with every kind of precious substance.

The Superior is a very old man. The Karmadana or Vihâraswâmi or Vihârapâla is the chief officer after the Superior, and to him the utmost deference is paid. This is the only temple in which by Imperial order a water-clock is kept to determine the right time. The night is divided into three watches, during the first and last of which there are religious services; in the middle watch, as the priests may desire, they can watch or repose. The method in which this clock determines the time is fully described in the *K'hi-kwei-ch'uen.*

The temple is called Śri Nâlanda Vihâra, after the name of Nâgânanda.

The great temple opens to the west: going about 20 paces from the gate there is a stûpa about 100 feet high. This is where the Lord of the world (Lokanâtha) kept *Wass* (the season of the rains) for three months. The Sanskrit name is Mûlagandhakoṭi. Northwards, 50 paces, is a great stûpa, even higher than the other; this was built by Bâlâditya,—very much reverenced—in it is a figure of Buddha turning the Wheel of the Law, S. W. is a little chaitya, about 10 feet high. This commemorates the place where the Brahman with the bird in his hand asked questions. The Chinese expression *Su-li-fau-to* means just the same as this.[1]

To the west of the Mûlagandha Hall is the Toothbrush tree of Buddha. This is not the willow tree.

On a raised space is the ground where Buddha walked: it is about 2 cubits wide, 14 or 15 long, and 2 high. There are lotus flowers carved out of the stone, a foot high, 14 or 15 in number to denote his steps.

Going from the temple south to Râjagriha is 30 *li*. The Vulture Peak and the Bambu Garden are close to this city. Going south-west to the Mahâbôdhi is seven stages (*yojanas*): the same due south to the "Honoured Footprint." To Vaisalî is 25 stages north. To the Deer Park 20 or so stages west. East to Tamralipti is 60 or 70 stages.[2] This is the place for embarking for China from Eastern

[1] But here I-tsing is in error.

[2] *Note by Ch. Ed.*:—A stage is equal to a *yojana.*

manifestation as Buddha, when its aim would be accomplished. Praising the third body, or the *Dharmakâya*, he says: "Co-extensive with the universe and inhabiting all time—with excellences as innumerable as the sand or grains of dust—it is beyond all human character and transcending all human language."

The three seats or thrones are, first, that at Gayâ, which is the centre (*navel*) of the earth, springing from the depth of the golden circle, on which all the Buddhas have overcome the armies of Mâra, with their lion voice.

The second is co-extensive with the three worlds, reaching above the heavens—renewed ever after the destruction of the world.

The third is without beginning or end—unaffected by time or circumstance, imperishable as the body (of the Law) itself.

The inscription continues in the same laudatory terms, and ends with the statement that in the year above named, viz., A. D. 1022, two men called I-tsing and I-lin were sent from the Eastern Capital with a *kashâya* garment in a golden case which they hung above the Bodhi Tree—and which fact is recorded as supplementary to the hymn of praise of Ho-Yun.

These inscriptions are not of much value for any critical purposes, but are worth consideration because they shew the strength of the religious impulse that urged so many pilgrims from China to visit this sacred spot, and the sincerity of their belief in the virtue of their pilgrimage.

III. *I-tsing and other Pilgrims by the Southern Sea route.*

Now to continue in brief outline our account of the Chinese visitors to India:—

1. I-tsing (the author of the work from which we quote) left China towards the end of the year 671 A. D., and sailing from Canton proceeded to the islands of the Southern Sea, that is the district about Java and Malaka, and after two years' sojourn in different parts of this neighbourhood, he arrived at Tamralipti in 673 A. D. He remained here five months, and afterwards following his companion went on to Nâlanda, and thence proceeded to Buddha Gayâ to adore the sacred vestiges of his religion. After this he returned to Fo-shai (Śrîbhôja),[6] where he was able to draw up and entrust to his friend the account of what he had seen, and the information he had gleaned, respecting Buddhism. He returned to China in 693 A. D.

2. I-tsing next[7] refers to two priests of Corea, their names unknown, who, starting from Chang'an, and taking ship on the coast, proceeded to the Southern Sea. Having arrived at Shi-li-fo-shai (Śrîbhôja) they proceeded westward to the country of Po-lu-sse, and there died. We know with some certainty that the country of Po-lu-sse is Sumatra.[8] We may therefore place Fo-shai (Śrîbhôja) to the eastward of Sumatra.

3. Hui Ning, a priest of Yih-chau[9] (in Chi-li), left China by sea for the South in the year 665 A. D. and passed three years in the country called Ho-ling. This is generally the equivalent of the Kalinga country, but it seems also to be used for the country along the coast of Pegu as well as to an island in the Southern Seas.[10]

4. Wan-K'i of Kiau-Chau (in Chi-li?) spent ten years in the Southern Seas, and was very learned in the language of Kun-lun and partly acquainted with Sanskrit. He afterwards retired to a lay life, and resided at Shi-li-fo-shi (Śrîbhôja). Kun-lun, we know,[11] represents the islands of Condore.[12] The negroes of this island, or rather these islands, were generally sold as slaves, and their language and habits were much studied by Chinese travellers.

5. Mochadêva, a Cochin Chinese, (or, of Kiau-Chau) went to India by the Southern Sea route, and having visited all the countries of that part, arrived at the Mahâbôdhi Temple, where he adored the sacred relics, and died æt. 24.

6. Kwei-chung, another priest of Cochin China, went by the Southern Seas to Ceylon, afterwards in company with a priest called Hün-chiu he proceeded to the Bodhi Tree and afterwards to Râjagriha, and being taken sick in the Bambu Garden (Veluvana), he died there aged 30 years.

[6] Jul. *Méthode*, p. 103.
[7] K. I. p. 7, 1.
[8] Compare Bretschneider, "*The Knowledge possessed by the Ancient Chinese of the Arabs, &c.*" p. 16 n.
[9] K. I. p. 11, 1.
[10] Perhaps Pulo Lingam off the coast of Sumatra.
[11] Klaproth, *Nouv. Journal Asiat.*, tom. XII, p. 232.
[12] It is also so marked in the map illustrating Fah-hian's travels in the *Fo-koue-ki*. Bretschneider also refers to it, and confirms Klaproth's conclusion: he is mistaken, however, in saying that the name Kun-lun, as applied to Pulo Condore, is first to be met with in the history of the Sung dynasty A. D. 960 (*op. cit.* p. 14 n.)

signs that they did not want any such articles. This country according to report is south-west of the district of Sze-ch'uan. The country produces no iron, and very little gold or silver; the people live on cocoanuts and some esculent roots, but have very little rice or cereals. Iron is very valuable, they call it *Lu-a*.[16] The men are not quite black, of middling height, they use poisoned arrows, one of which is fatal. Going for half a month in a N. W. direction we come to Tamralipti, which is the southern district of East India. This place is some 60 stages or more from Nâlanda and the Bodhi Tree. Meeting the priest called "Lamp of the Great Vehicle" (Mahâyâna-dipa)[17] in this place they remained together there one year, learning the Sanskrit and practising themselves in the *Śabdaśâstra*. They then went on with some hundred or so merchantmen towards Central India. When about ten days' journey from the Mahâbôdhi, when in a narrow pass, the road being bad and slippery, he was left behind and attacked by robbers, who stripped him and left him half dead in a ditch. At sundown some villagers rescued him and gave him a garment. Going on north he came to Nâlanda, and after visiting all the sacred spots in the neighbourhood, he remained at Nâlanda ten years, and then going back to Tamralipti he returned to Quĕdâh, and with all his books and translations, amounting in all to 500,000 ślokas, enough to fill 1,000 volumes, he remained at Śrîbhôja.

13. Shen-hung, a priest of Sin-chow, also went to Śrîbhôja, where he died.

14. The priest Ling-wan having gone through Annam came to India and erected under the Bodhi tree a figure of Mâitreya Bodhisattwa, one cubit in height and of exquisite character.

15. Seng-chi, a priest and companion of the former, went to India by the Southern Sea route. Having arrived at Samataṭa the king of that country, named Harshavardhana, an upâsaka, greatly reverenced the three objects of worship, and devoted himself to his religious duties; he had made day by day above 100,000 figures of Jemma, had read through the great *Prajña* consisting of 100,000 ślokas, and was most punctual in his acts of worship, &c.

16. A priest Chi-'sze went to the south and resided at Shang-king near Cochin China; he then went south to Śrîbhôja, and afterwards proceeded to India.

17. A priest Wou-hing, in company with the last, left Hainan with an easterly wind and after a month arrived at Śrîbhôja. He then went in the Royal ship for 15 days to Malaya, in another 15 days to Quĕdâh, then waiting till the end of winter, going west for 30 days they arrived at Nâgavadana (Nâgapatam?), whence after two days' sea voyage they came to Sinhapura (Ceylon). He there worshipped the sacred tooth, and then, going N. E. for a month, arrived at the country of O-li-ki-lo? (Arakan). This is the eastern limit of East India. It is a part of the country of Champa (Siam). Staying here one year, he moved towards Eastern India with his companion Chi-'sze. This place is about 100 stages from Nâlanda. After this he proceeded to the Mahâbôdhi Temple in the Mung country (*i. e.* the temple of Khardâh). Having rested here, he again returned to Nâlanda, and studied the *Yoga*, *Kosha*, and other works. Moved with a desire to find copies of the *Vinaya*, he again repaired to the Khardâh (*Kie-lo-c'ha*) temple. About two stages from this he speaks of a saintly artizan, who by practising the rules of the Bodhisattwa Channa, expected to obtain the power of entering the dim caverns of earth. In the end he died at Nâlanda.

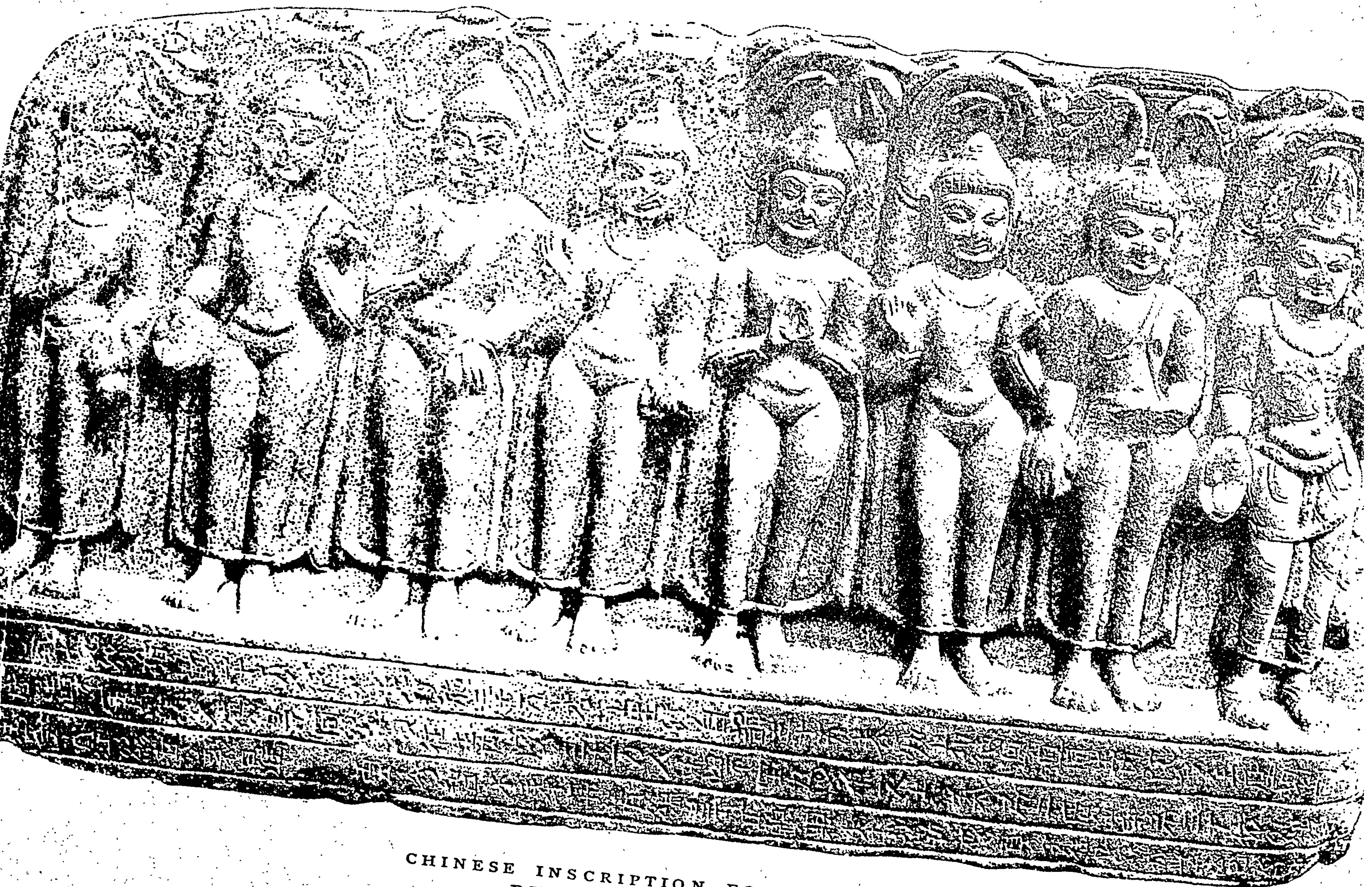
18. Fă-chin also started by the southern route, and after passing Shang-king (Saigon) Ku-long, Kaling, and Quĕdâh, he died.

19. Ta-tsing (I-tsing?) of Laichow (of Hunan) returned to the Southern Seas in 682 A.D., and after sending his books and images to China, resided at Śrîbhôja, where he acted as interpreter of the Kiu-lun language. He returned to Chang'an in 693 A. D.

There is a note in I-tsing's other work (*Nan-hae-k'hi-kwai-niu-fă-chu'en*, K. I. p. 3) which throws some light on the geographical terms used in his former book. The note is to this effect. "Going east from Nâlanda 500 stages, *i. e.* 500 *yojanas*, all this country is called the Eastern frontier. At the extremity of this frontier country are the great black mountains, the southern boundary of Tu-fan. The

[16] *Loha* in most of the Sanskritic languages.

[17] This must be the priest Tang referred to above.



CHINESE INSCRIPTION FOUND AT
BUDDHA GAYA.

W. Griggs, Photo-lith. London.

record says that this is S. W. of Sze-chu'an. Going S. W. one month's journey or so, we come to Sz'ling; south of this is the border of the sea and the country called Śrikshetra; S. E. of this is Langkâva (Komalaṅka); E. of this is Dvârapati; eastward of this at the extreme frontier is the country of Lin-i (Champa),—this country excessively honours the three objects of worship, and has many religious people."

With respect to the countries of the Southern Seas, I-tsing has, on the same page, the following note:—"Counting from the west there is first of all the Po-lu-sse country (Sumatra), next the Malaya country, which is the same as that now called Shi-li-fo-yaou country, next (or this is) the Mahâsin country (Sinhapura ?), next is the Kalinga (Linga ?) country, then the Tan-tan country (Natuna according to Bretschneider, *Arabs,* &c. p. 19, vide also *H. Thsang*, tom. I, p. 451), after this is the Pan-pan country (Banka ?), after this is Po-li (Biliton), after this Kiu-lun(?), then Fo-shai-pa-lo (Śrîbhôja and Bali ?), then A-shen and Mo-kia-man; and other islands not worth mentioning." All these countries, I-tsing remarks, "reverence the law of Buddha—they follow principally the Little Vehicle, but in Malaya the Great Vehicle is also slightly observed. These islands are some of them 100 *li* round, others several hundred, and others perhaps a hundred stages (*yojanas*)."

The southern point of Champa (Cochin China) is Shang-king (Saigon ?), this is the same as Lin-i, the people of this country belong to the Sammatîya School, and also to the Sarvâstivâdins. S. W. of this one month (by land ?) is Fu-n'an (Camboja). The people of this country were formerly naked savages, and sacrificed to the gods, but afterwards were converted to Buddhism. But a wicked king has now driven the priests away and destroyed them, so that none but heretics are found here. This is the extreme southern corner of Jambudwipa.

We observe that I-tsing frequently speaks of the *ten* countries or islands of the Southern Seas.[18] These are probably the ten islands spoken of above. And so (on p. 8, K. II.) he says there are twenty and odd countries between the Mahâbôdhi and Lin-i (*i.e.* Cochin China), whilst in the Southern Sea there are *ten* countries besides Ceylon; on the west, beyond the Great Sea, are the countries of Po-li-sse (Persia) and Ta-shi (Arabia).[19] The situation of Shi-li-fo-shai (Śrîbhôja) appears to be settled by a notice (in the 3rd book and 24th p.,) where I-tsing says that in this place in the middle of the 8th month there is no shadow, and in the middle of spring the same. If the Chinese months are here referred to, this statement would place Śrîbhôja as nearly as possible on the Equator—perhaps on the east coast of Sumatra, opposite Banka. But as the months in China are uncertain, we may still be at liberty either to place Śrîbhôja on the Malayan Peninsula—or as far south as Surabaya in Java.

Putting together the notices to be found in I-tsing's works, we may conclude that the sea route between China and India in the early years of the Tang dynasty was by way of Java, Sumatra, the Straits of Malaka, the coast of Burma and Arakan, to Tamralipti, or else by the more adventurous way of Ceylon from Quĕdâh. It seems that the Condore Islands were a centre of trade, and that the language of the natives of these islands was used generally through the Southern Seas—at least I-tsing speaks of himself as interpreting this language at Śrîbhôja.

We have one or two points of some certainty in the itinerary of these pilgrims. For instance in the *Si-yu-ki* (tom. II, p. 82) we read that to the N. E. of Samataṭa is the country called Śrikshetra, to the S. E. of this is Kamalaṅka; to the east of this is Dâapati (read Dvârapati). This country has been identified by Capt. St. John (*Phœnix*, May 1872) with old Tung-u and Sandoway in Burma, lat. 18° 20′ N. long. 94° 20′ E.; it is in fact the "door land" between Burma and Siam; this latter being called Champa or Lin-i. Hiwan Thsang remarks that to the S. W. of Lin-i or Siam is the country of the Yavanas, or as they are called in his text the Yen-mo-na. We do not read of this country in I-tsing; it may probably represent Camboja.

(*To be continued.*)

[18] N. H. K. I. 25, &c. and also K. I. 𠄡.

[19] In Bretschneider (*Arabs*, &c. p. 8) we read that the king of the Ta-shi by name *Han-mi-mo-mo-ni* in the year 651 sent for the first time an envoy with presents to the Chinese court, and at the same time announced in a letter that the house Ta-shi had reigned 34 years and had three kings.

TIRUKAḶUKUNRAM OR PAKSHITÎRTHA.

BY T. RAMAKRISHNA, B.A., OF MADRAS.

Thirty-five miles to the south of Madras, on the coast, lies the old Dutch settlement of Sadras with its ruined fort, and the same distance to the south-west on the Great Trunk Road lies Chingalput, famous as the scene of one of Clive's exploits and the capital of an old dynasty of kings. The distance between these two places is eighteen miles, and exactly midway is Tirukaḷukunram or 'the hill of Sacred Kites' (the Brâhmins call it Pakshitîrtha). The early history of the place is unknown. Legend says that once upon a time all the four Vêdas went together to Śiva, and requested him to give them a permanent habitation where they might for ever worship him. Śiva accordingly transformed them into four hills connected with one another, and himself took his abode on the top of one of the chain. On this account the Śiva image of the place is called Vadagirîśwarar, or 'the god of the hill of the Vedas.'

It is also said that at a place a few furlongs from this chain of hills, Śiva fought with 10,000,000 Rudras and gained a victory over them. At the place where this battle was fought, a temple in honour of Śiva was built and called Rudrangoil or 'the Rudra Temple.' The village of Rudrangoil is a very small one, containing about a score of meanly-built houses; but the temple is a large one and old.

Besides these there is a third temple at the foot of the chain—the largest of the three—having four large Gopurams. In this temple is the wife of Śiva. There is nothing important here, except that the stone idol is much worn from age, so much so that it is anointed only once a year, sometimes in March, when thousands flock to the town to witness the anointing.

Tirukaḷukunram was comparatively an unimportant place till the 15th century, after which it gradually rose in popularity through the exertions of a devotee named Pêrambila Tambirân, who went about the country begging and preaching in the name of Śiva, who, it was said, appeared to him in a vision while asleep one night at Acharavâ (now a South Indian Railway Station), and requested him to dedicate himself to this work. Pêrambila Tambirân was eminently successful, and made Tirukaḷukunram what it is now, the most popular place in this part of Southern India, excepting perhaps Conjeveram.

Once upon a time, it is said, Indra worshipped the Śiva idol of this place, and the exact spot where he offered his devotions is still shown by the natives of the town, and is called Indra Tîrtham or Indra's Tank. In commemoration of this event Indra is said to anoint the idol once in twelve years by a thunderbolt which falls exactly on the top of the conical-shaped building on the hill, and without injuring the building or any one in it, goes round the idol thrice, and then descends the hill unperceived. The anointing of the idol, then, once in twelve years, is considered as one of the wonderful things connected with the place. There is a tank at the foot of the hills called Śaṅgu Tîrtham or Chank-shell Tank. This tank, which is the biggest in the town, produces a chank-shell once in twelve years. Two or three days previously, the water of the tank assumes a frothy appearance, and makes continually a roaring noise. The people of the place watch carefully, and then with due ceremony and pomp take up the shell, when it comes floating to the shore, and place it on a silver vessel. Then a festival takes place in honour of the event, when the shell is taken round the town in procession with tomtoms, and afterwards deposited with the other shells in the temple at the foot of the hills. But they say that the shells diminish in size every time owing to the sins of the Kaliyugam. The writer of this article was assured by an old man at the place that this event had happened regularly some four or five times during his lifetime. Then every day between twelve and one o'clock, two large white birds of the kite species come to the temple on the hill for the purpose of being fed by a Paṇḍâram specially appointed for that purpose. It is said that these kites, which were originally two Rishis transformed into birds for some sins they had committed, bathe every morning in the Ganges at Banâras, take their meals in Tirukaḷukunram, and sleep in Râmêsvaram; but however false this may seem, the wonderful regularity of attendance strikes every one. The Paṇḍâram, long before the time, ascends the hill, which is nearly five hun-

dred feet in height, and cooks with his own hands the meal for the birds, which consists of rice, sugar and ghî; he takes this to the place called the Eagle's Rock, and with some ślokas invokes the holy birds; the two come at the usual hour to the hill, go round the temple as if to do homage to Śiva, and alighting on the rock walk straight to the Paṇḍâram to be fed by him like domesticated animals. The Paṇḍâram with due reverence gives the food to be eaten and the ghî to be drunk. When the birds are satisfied they go away. The Paṇḍâram then turns round to the people who have witnessed the scene, and makes a speech which is delivered with much fluency in three languages, Tamil, Telugu and Hindûstânî (for Hindus from all parts of India go to the place daily), "Righteous men," he says, "the holy birds have come sooner to-day, and have partaken very heartily of the meal set before them. Yesterday they came late as there were some sinners here. But as you are righteous men—(no doubt these will become sinners the next day)—they have come to-day sooner, and have taken very freely the meal given them. Hasten therefore, and take each of you a handful of the holy food which will purge away all your sins." All the people go to him, and after paying him get the much-coveted holy food from his hands. In this way, the Paṇḍâram makes a very good income, and gets on an average Rs. 500 a year. I have seen the above with my own eyes. It is on account of this that the town is called Tirukaḷukunram, or 'the hill of the Sacred Kites.'

It is also said the sick get cured of their diseases. Lepers, lunatics, persons attacked with paralysis and other diseases may be seen by scores in the town every day.

They are enjoined to bathe twice every day, morning and evening, in the waters of the Chank-shell tank, go round the hills after bathing, take moderate meals and always meditate upon Śiva. By this process continued for twenty or thirty days, marvellous cures are effected, which the people attribute to Vedigiriśvarar. A healthy climate, bathing twice in cold water daily, a morning and evening walk of three miles, pure air from the hills, moderate meals, absence from all fretting desires, and the presence of the one fixed idea that by believing in Vedigiriśvarar all sins will be purged, operate no doubt a good deal on the sick, and work upon them remarkable cures.

Such is a brief account of Tirukaḷukunram. Every tank, every rock, every spot has its own legend. There is the Indra Thîrtham, and Rudrangoil; the tree under which Nandi offered his devotions to Vedigiriśvarar and the place on the hill where Śiva took alive a Chetti girl by name Chokammâl while she was going round the hills with her parents, and granted her a place by his side. Such is a brief account of this curious place, which attracted even Dutch foreigners from Sadras. On the walls of a porch cut in a rock on the hill are inscribed the names of the Dutch visitors and the dates of their visits; the earliest date being the year 1663.

NOTES ON THE SWASTIKA.

BY R. SEWELL, M.R.A.S., MADRAS CIVIL SERVICE.

The attention of readers of the *Indian Antiquary* has lately been drawn to the question of the origin of that mysterious Aryan symbol, the *Swastika*, in a paper[1] last year by the celebrated Orientalist, Mr. Edward Thomas; in another article on the subject written by the Rev. S. Beal;[2] and by Mr. Thomas's enlarged essay on the subject in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (N.S. Vol. XX. pp. 18—48).

Whether Mr. Thomas's sun-theory be really the right one or not, I leave to each student of such matters to decide for himself. But while any doubt whatever remains among the learned, I think no harm can be caused by gathering together a few notes on the many heterogeneous theories that have been put forward to account for the symbol and explain its meaning. I only pretend to have collected a very few of these extremely diverse elucidations. Others may be able to furnish us with further examples of the ingenuity displayed by writers in presence of the *Swastika*; and the exhibition may be amusing if it does not prove instructive.

In 1854 General Cunningham, writing in his *Bhilsa Topes*, goes into the question of this symbol

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. IX, p. 65ff.

[2] Id., p. 67ff. See also continuation of the paper, p. 135ff.

very early in the work. After remarking on the religion of the Aryans he takes up the doctrine of the Swastikas as opposed to that of the Brâhmans, and states that "the Swastikas derived their name from their peculiar symbol the *swastika*, or mystic cross, which was a symbol of their belief in *Swasti*. This term is a compound of *su* 'well,' and *asti*, 'it is'; meaning 'it is well', or, as Wilson expresses it, 'so be it'; and implying complete resignation under all circumstances." In a note he says:—"The *Swasti* of Sanskrit is the *suti* of Pali; and the mystic cross or *Swastika* is only a monogrammatic symbol formed by the combination of the two syllables *su* + *ti* = *suti*." Without entering on a lengthy discussion on the theory that the symbol had its origin in a combination of letters of an alphabet dating from perhaps not very long before the third century B.C., it will be quite sufficient to point to the Hissarlik discoveries of Schliemann for a proof that the symbol existed, perfect and complete, ages before the alphabet of Aśoka was in use in India, so far as we know. The earliest of the settlers on that historical spot, whose remains are found in strata of débris 40 to 46 feet below the ruins of the Hellenic inhabitants of the seventh century B.C., used the *Swastika* in its most modern form as their favourite sacred symbol. Further comment on the monogrammatic theory would seem to be needless.

In the sixth chapter of his *Troy and its Remains* Schliemann devotes considerable space to the subject of the *Swastika*, shewing how apparently universal was its use amongst several of the earliest races of Asia and Europe "at a time when Germans, Indians, Pelasgians, Celts, Persians, Slavonians and Iranians still formed one nation and spoke one language," (p. 102), and he quotes at length from the work of M. Émile Burnouf, *La Science des Religions*, on the question of its origin. "The 卐 represents the two pieces of wood which were laid crosswise upon one another before the sacrificial altars, in order to produce the holy fire *agni*, and whose ends were bent round at right angles and fastened by means of four nails, 卐 so that this wooden scaffolding might not be moved. At the point where the two pieces of wood were joined, there was a small hole, in which a third piece of wood, in the form of a lance (called *Pramantha*), was rotated by means of a cord made of cow's hair and hemp, till the fire was generated by friction." . . . . . . "The *pramantha* was afterwards transformed by the Greeks into 'Prometheus,' who, they imagined, stole fire from heaven, so as to instil into earth-born man the bright spark of the soul." Dr. Schliemann further states that M. É. Burnouf "adds that the Greeks for a long time generated fire by friction, and that the two lower pieces of wood that lay at right angles across one another were called σταυρός, which word is either derived from the root *stri*, which signifies 'lying upon the earth,' and is then identical with the Latin *sternere*, or is derived from the Sanskrit word *stávara*, which means 'firm, solid, immoveable.' Since the Greeks had other means of producing fire, the word σταυρός passed into simply in the sense of 'cross.'" He concludes with the remark that from the remotest times the different forms of the *Swastika* "were the most sacred symbols of our Aryan forefathers."

In January 1870 there appeared an interesting article in the *Edinburgh Review* summarising some of the opinions which had found favour regarding this "Pre-Christian Cross," and giving the writer's own view in the matter very strongly expressed. After pointing out the universality of the cruciform emblem amongst the earliest known races of the world, and stating, somewhat boldly, that "the marvellous rock-hewn caves of Elephanta and Elura, and the stately temples of Mathurâ and Tirupati in the East, may be cited as characteristical examples of one laborious method of exhibiting it; and the megalithic structures of Callernish and Newgrange in the West, of another,"—(rather a confusion here, surely!)—the reviewer goes on to give his very decided opinion as to the origin of the symbol: "The aureole or disc encircling the heads of gods and saints, and signifying perfection, was primarily intended to represent the solar orb; but in the course of time, as Sabean worship travelled beyond the region of its source, and extraneous influences were brought to bear upon it, the same symbol reappears with an infinitude of scarcely distinguishable additions internally and externally. . . . . When divided into four equal segments, . . . it was the symbol of the primeval abode of man, the traditional Paradise of Eden."

The Rev. W. Haslam (*The Cross and the*

Serpent, 1849) held that the cross symbol was, from the beginning of things, given directly from Heaven to man as a perpetual type or prophecy of the death of Christ. "The cross was conceived when the redemption of man was designed or ever the tempter was changed into the form of the gliding serpent . . . . It was revealed with the prophecies and transmitted with them as a part of the prediction, in its more material form, from generation to generation. . . . . The cross was known to Noah before the Dispersion, and even before the Flood; and I will venture yet further, and say, the cross was known to Adam; and that the knowledge of it as a sacred sign, was imparted to him by the Almighty."

How pale seems the sun-theory of Mr. Ed. Thomas, and how absolutely contemptible the practical and mundane Greek-coin-punch-marks origin suggested by Mr. Westropp, before the magnificence of such a notion as this!

Mr. Brinton (*Myths of the New World*) holds that "the arms of the cross were designed to point to the cardinal points, and represent the four winds, the rain-bringers. . . . As the emblem of the winds who dispense the fertilising showers, it is emphatically the tree of our life, our subsistence, and our health. It never had any other meaning in America, and if, as has been said, the tombs of the Mexicans were cruciform, it was perhaps with reference to a resurrection and a future life as portrayed under this symbol, indicating that the buried body would rise by the action of the four spirits of the world, as the buried seed takes on a new existence when watered by the vernal showers."

Many writers have ascribed the origin of the *Swastika* symbol to a modification of the *crux ansata* of the Egyptians, or the mystic and ubiquitous *tau*; while Mr. Haslam's prophetic hypothesis has received support from its being imagined that the *crux ansata* itself typified the victory of the cross over the world.

Dr. Inman, as with everything else, supposes that the Egyptian *tau* is a phallic symbol, and that the *Swastika* is simply a conjunction of four such symbols pointing to one centre. Every varied form of the cross, and every junction of cross and circle, however diversified, is explained by him to have a mystical signification implying union of the two great powers of Nature.[3]

Dr. J. G. Müller (*Geschichte der Amerikanischen Urreligionen*, p. 497), speaking of the cross venerated amongst the Indians of America as a god of rain, writes:—"It is just the simpleness of its form which renders an interpretation difficult, because it admits of too many possibilities. All attempts thus far made . . . . unite in the conception of the fructifying energy of Nature. Hence it appears in connection with sun-gods and the Ephesian goddess, and it is also the fitting symbol of the rain-god of tropical lands, whom it represents, as stated by the natives." He appears to lean towards the phallic origin of the pre-Christian cross as the theory most reasonable to be accepted. And to this view also Professor Max Müller seems to incline.

Mr. Baldwin, in his *Ancient America* (New York, 1879, p. 186), alludes to the symbol as a proof of a former union between the old world and the new. "Religious symbols are found in American ruins which remind us of those of the Phœnicians, such as figures of the serpent, which appear constantly, and the cross, supposed by some to represent the mounting of the magnetic needle, which was among the emblems peculiar to the goddess Astarte.

Mr. Hodder M. Westropp gives in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VII, 1878, p. 119, his views on the origin of the Greek archaic cross, stating that it appears to him "to be evidently derived from the punch-marks on early Greek coins," and that it is different from the *swastika* in the fact that the arms are turned to the left instead of to the right. The *swastika*, he thinks, cannot possibly be older than the sixth century B.C., "as Buddha died about 540 B.C."[4] But Schliemann's description of the finding the whorls, and the illustrations appended to his *Troy and its Remains*, show that many of these whorls were found more than 40 feet below the earliest Greek remains, and that both forms, turning left and turning right, were in common use.

The above are only a few of the theories on the origin of this symbol which appear to have been entertained amongst recent writers. It

[3] No work more unscientific and erroneous in method and results than Dr. Inman's has perhaps been printed, but books of the same class are by no means uncommon, as may be gathered even from the quotations in this paper, and seem to be popular with sciolists.—ED.

[4] Buddha probably died about 482 B. C. But the *swastika* was no invention of Buddha's, as it was looked upon as a lucky sign at the time of his birth, and long before it.—ED.

would be interesting to collect others. For the present, let students of Archæology choose for themselves. By and by, no doubt, further light will be thrown on the origin of archaic Indian symbolism till much that is now dark enough becomes plain. For myself, I boldly range myself under Mr. Thomas's sun-standard; and I cherish the conviction that many of the signs and symbols venerated amongst the Indian races, both Buddhistic and Brâhmanical, will hereafter be traced to an origin in a (so-called) "primæval" sun-worship, existent in Central or Western Asia prior to the migration of the Aryans, and possibly drawing much of its ceremonial from Chaldœa, Assyria, and even Egypt.

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(*Continued from p.* 180.)

IX.

The rising fortunes of Chinghiz Khân and the ambitions which success naturally creates began to affect his intercourse with his quondam patron Wang Khân, and we have now to relate the story of the jealousies and quarrels which ended in the destruction of the latter.

The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us that when but seven years old Wang Khân was captured by the Merkit and made to grind grain, and that when 13 years old he, with his mother, were seized by the Tartars and made to tend cattle.[1] We have seen how on his father's death he put two of his brothers to death, and then had to fly, and how he was reinstated by Yessugei, Chinghiz Khân's father.

Petis de la Croix relates a saga of how when Temujin was 20 years old, he fled from his enemies and sought shelter with Wang Khân who was living at Karakorum, and who received him well, having heard from Kharachar Noyan, who filled the office of Chinghiz Khân's tutor, the story of his persecution by his enemies. Wang Khân promised to support him and to bring the recalcitrant tribes which would not obey him to their duty. We are told further that he called his young friend, son, placed him above the princes of the blood, committed to him the conduct of his armies in the war he had against the Khân of Tenduc![2] and undertook nothing without his counsel. He also gave him his daughter Wisulujin in marriage. She had been loved by Chamukha whom she rejected in favour of his rival, and whose jealousy we are told was thus kindled.[3] This story appears in none of the older authorities. De la Croix quotes part of it from Abulfaraj, but I can nowhere find it in his works, either in the Syriac or Arabic chronicle. In the latter there is merely the bare statement that Chinghiz married a daughter of Wang Khân.[4] He quotes the rest from the Turkish author Abu'l-khair, who died in 1554, and who was the main authority followed by him. Von Hammer, who treats the whole account as a fable, says, however, that it is met with earlier than in the pages of Abu'l-khair, namely, in the *Mokademmei Zafar Nâmeh* of Sherifu'd-dinah of Yezd, 1424 A. D., in Khuandemir's *Habibes Siyer*, and in the *Tarikhi Haidari.*[5]

Wang Khân was clearly of a turbulent disposition, and we next find him trying to kill his brother, Erkhe Khara, who fled to Inanj, the chief of the Naimans, who collected an army and drove him away. He thereupon sought shelter with the Gurkhan of Kara Khitai, of whom we shall have more to say further on. He sought him on the river Chui. In less than a year he quarrelled with the Gurkhan and returned once more to Mongolia through the country of the Uighurs and Tangut. On this journey, according to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*,[6] he lived on the milk of five ewes, and also drank the blood of a camel, which he obtained by piercing its body. The *Huang-yuan* says he tied the ewes with a cord; and he also says he boiled the blood he got from the camel for food.[7] He made his way to the camp of Chinghiz Khân at Guser. This place is no doubt the same as the

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 76.

[2] Tenduch was Wang Khân's own country; probably Tangut is meant.

[3] *History of Genghizcan the Great*, pp. 27—29. See also Erdmann's *Temudschin*, pp. 268 and 269.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 285.

[5] *Gesch. der gold. Horde*, pp. 61, 62. The introduction to the *Zafar Nâmeh* mentioned above, is the work translated by Colonel Miles, in 1838, with the title *Shajrat ul Atrak*, and for the whole story just told see that work, p. 67.

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 76.

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 159.

Köshei naur or lake Köshei where Ogotai fixed his spring quarters, and which, we are told, was four days' journey from Karakorum.[8] In the *Huang-yuan* the name is written Kuisiur. D'Ohsson in one place[9] calls it Keusché, and in another[10] Gueuca. It is perhaps to be identified with the Kursagol, one of the upper feeders of the Onon flowing into it from the south. Another of these streams flowing into it from the north is called the Aguza. Chinghiz Khân in consequence of the old attachment which bound him to his friend sent the brave Sukiga to meet him. The *Huang-yuan* says he sent his relatives Takhaya and Syuegaya. He presently set out himself to the heights above the Kerulon. Having met Wang Khân, he conducted him to his camp and ordered his people to supply him with food. They spent the winter together at the place called Khubakha already mentioned.[11] The same story is told pretty nearly in the same way in the *Yuan-shi*.[12] There we read that after Chinghiz Khân had entertained his friend he took him to the banks of the Tula, or as Hyacinthe has it, the Tura.[13] The *Huang-yuan* also says they went to the Black Forest on the Tula, where they formed an alliance as father and son.[14] It would seem that Wang Khân was now reinstated in power, doubtless by the influence of Chinghiz Khân.[15]

His truculent disposition presently broke out again, however, and we are told that his brothers and nobles concerted together and recalled his various acts of tyranny, and that he still had evil designs against them. Their conversation was reported to him by one named Altun Ashukh. He thereupon seized his three brothers, Elkhutura,[16] Khulbar and Arin-taishi. Only one of his brothers, namely, Jakhagantu,[17] escaped and found shelter with the Naimans. Elkhutura with his comrades were tied together, and had two cangues fastened about their shoulders. Wang Khân reproached them, saying, 'When we were passing through the country of Uighur and Tangut, what did you promise?' He then ordered those present to spit in their faces, and afterwards set them at liberty.[18] The *Yuan-shi* which reports this story makes Cha-si-gam-bu, as Hyacinthe reads the name, the chief conspirator, and tells us that Wang Khân reproached Ekertor, and reminded him of the oath of friendship they had made in returning from Ho-si. It also says that Ekertor accompanied him to the Naimans.[19]

The story here related is also told in the *Huang-yuan* and by Rashidu'd-dîn, which authorities so frequently agree. They state that it was in winter or at the approach of winter when Wang Khân was moving with his army from the Kerulon towards the mountain Khubakhaiya;[20] that his brother Jakhanbo concerted a revolt with four Kirai Generals—the *Huang-yuan* calls them Khun-bali, Andun-ashu, Yankhotor and Yankhuan-khorom;[21] Rashidu'd-dîn calls them Altun-Ashuk, Il-Khutur, Il-Khunkgur and Kulburu.[22] He said to them that his brother was of an intolerable character; unfortunate in his undertakings, fickle in his plans, and that he had so tyrannized over his relatives that the greater part of them had already sought refuge in Kara Khitai, and there was no *ulus* which he had not trampled upon. Why should we stay with him? Altun-Ashuk repeated these words to Wang Khân, who ordered Yan-khotor or Il-Khutur or Il-Khunkgur[23] to be brought before him in chains. He reminded the former of the oath he had sworn as they were travelling together from Tangut, and then, says the *Huang-yuan*, he spat in his face and all got up and spat too. He also bitterly reproached Jakhanbo, who escaped to the Naimans accompanied by Yan or Il-Khutur, Yan or Il-Khuankhor, Narin Tughrul called Nalin in the *Huang-yuan*, and Alin-Taishi called Tolin-taishi in the same work. Jakhanbo in-

8 Von Hammer, *Ilkhans*, vol. I, p. 52.
9 Vol. II, p. 85. 10 *Id.* Vol. II, p. 195.
11 *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, p. 76.
12 Douglas, pp. 17 and 18; Hyacinthe, pp. 15 and 16.
13 See Douglas, p. 18; Hyacinthe, p. 16; De Mailla, vol. IX, p. 18.
14 *Op. cit.*, p. 159.
15 *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, p. 77.
16 The Erkhe-khara already named but curiously called Ekih-to-urh in the *Yuan-shi*, Douglas, p. 26 note; Hyacinthe calls him Eke-tor (20). De Mailla calls him Yenhotor, *op. cit.* p. 23. Altun Ashukh is called Ahtun-gai-shih in Douglas' reading of the *Yuan-shi* (*op. cit.* p. 26), and Adun Aishi in Hyacinthe, *op. cit.*, p. 19, made into two names Antun and Asu by De Mailla, tom. IX p. 23. These authors make him inform Wang Khân. In the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* two persons are clearly distinguished in the names Altun Ashukh and Arin-Taishi.
17 *i. e.* Ilka Sangun surnamed Jakhanbo.
18 *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, p. 77.
19 Douglas, pp. 26 and 27; Hyacinthe, p. 19; De Mailla, tom. IX, pp. 23 and 24.
20 *Huang-yuan*, p. 162; Berezine, p. 121; Erdmann reads it Khuta Khias, *op. cit.*, p. 277; and D'Ohsson, Kurta Kaya, vol. I, p. 62.
21 *Op. cit.*, p. 163.
22 Berezine, p. 121.
23 The *Huang-yuan* says Nalin, *i.e.* Narin.

formed Tayang Khân of the Naimans how he had been treacherously treated by Altun-Ashuk, and asked permission to enter his service.[24] After this Wang Khân wintered at Khubakha and Chinghiz Khân in the mountains Checher or Chagachar. The latter soon after attacked the Merkit Olan Udur, the Taijut Khirkhan-Taishi, and the Tartars Jakur and Kelbek, as Rashidu'd-dîn calls them. The *Huang-yuan* speaks of them as the Tartars Alandurkha-taishi and Chakhugintimur, while the *Yuan-shi* only mentions one of them called Ola Undur by Hyacinthe.[25] We are told they were attacked and defeated at Dalan or Talan-Nimurges, *i.e.* the plain of Nimurges.[26] One section of them scattered and the rest collected again for another fight.[27] Much to the chagrin of Chinghiz Khân the Kongurut who had set out to submit to him were attacked while on their way by his brother Juchi Khasar who was living apart from him, and at the instigation of Gebe, and they accordingly went and joined Chamukha.[28] It must be remembered that the arrangement of the events of the early life of Chinghiz which I have followed, namely, that related in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, is different in its order to that of the other authorities which now, and not at an earlier stage as we have done, describe the struggle with Chamukha on the river Argun. Rashidu'd-dîn at this point also mentions the submission of the aged Bayaut chief Surkhan. He makes him relate how Sachabiki, of the race Kiat Yurkin, had endeavoured to become overchief but without success. Chamukha had fared the same, although rich in warriors, horses and craft. Juchi Khasar with similar intentions, though he was endowed with strength, courage and prudence, had equally failed. Temujin alone united in his person all the necessary attributes, and in his surroundings all the requisites needed for supremacy,[29] and accordingly submitted to him as his suzerain.

Some time after this we find Jakhanbo, Wang Khân's brother, joining Chinghiz Khân while the latter was encamped at Tersu.[30] This alliance became very important and led to some curious historical results. Jakhanbo was a Kirait and a Christian. Three of his daughters were married to three powerful Mongol chiefs and became very influential historical characters. We can hardly overrate the influence which they exercised upon the religious side of the later Mongol polity. One of these daughters named Abaka or Abika Bigi married Chinghiz Khân himself; a second named Bigtutemish or Biktumish Fujin, married Chinghiz Khân's eldest son Juchi, while the third and most important, Siurkuteni or Siukukiti-bigi, was married to his youngest son Tului and became the mother of the Khakans Mangu and Khubilai and of the Il-khan Khulagu.[31]

Let us now revert again to Wang Khân. In the year of the dog, *i.e.* 1202, when Chinghiz Khân marched against the Tartars, as we described, Wang Khân had an expedition against the Merkit and pursued their chief Tokhtu to Barguchin Tokum.[32] He killed Tokhtu's eldest son, Tognsi-beki, captured his wife, two daughters, two infant sons and many of his people. On this occasion we are told Wang Khân did not reciprocate Chinghiz Khân's former generosity, nor did he send his friend any portion of the plunder.[33] The same events are told, but in less detail, in the *Yuan-shi*, and the *Kang-mu*.[34] The *Huang-yuan* says that Wang Khân pursued the Merkit as far as the river Ula,[35] that he killed Toto's son Tungyusi-bigi, captured his two Khatus, Khudu tai and Chalikhun, and also made his two other sons Khudu and Chilaun surrender with their tribes.[36] In this account the *Huang-yuan* as in several other places approaches very nearly to the story as told by Rashidu'd-dîn. The latter says that the Merkit were defeated at a place called Bokir Keger. Erdmann calls it Bukhor Gereh and D'Ohsson Tukar Kehré, while Klaproth reads it Nuker kehreh. Berezine reads the name of the son who was killed Tukusi bika, while Erdmann reads it Tugun

[24] *Huang-yuan*, p. 163; Berezine, vol. II, pp. 121 and 122; Erdmann, pp. 277 and 278.
[25] *Op. cit.*, p. 20.
[26] Erdmann reads it Timurges, and D'Ohsson Temourkin, but Berezine's reading is confirmed by the *Huang-yuan* which has Talan-nimuur.
[27] *Huang-yuan*, p. 163; Berezine, vol. II, pp. 122 and 123; Erdmann, pp. 278, 279; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 62.
[28] *Huang-yuan*, p. 163; Berezine, vol. II, p. 123; Erdmann, p. 279.
[29] Berezine, vol. II, pp. 122 and 123; Erdmann, pp. 278 and 279.
[30] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, p. 75.
[31] See Quatremere's *Hist. des Mongols de la Perse*, pp. 85-91, and notes.
[32] Palladius suggests that by Tokum, a wide fissure on the lower Selinga is meant, *vide* his note to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, p. 259.
[33] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, p. 80.
[34] Douglas, pp. 21 and 22; Hyacinthe, p. 16; De Mailla, tom. IX, p. 20.
[35] (?) The Uda.
[36] *Op. cit.*, p. 160.

and D'Ohsson Tékun-bey. The two sons who were captured with their families and flocks Berezine reads Khutuktai and Jilaun. Erdmann and D'Ohsson read them Khudu and Jilaun.[37] After this campaign against the Merkit in which the several authorities agree that Wang Khân failed to reciprocate his friend's generosity towards him, the two had a joint campaign against the Naimans, and their chief Guchugudun-buirukh, who, as we have seen, was one of the joint rulers of the tribe at this time. Buirukh was in the district of Ulukhtakh, (a name meaning 'great mountain,' and here perhaps referring to the mountains about Uliassutai, or to the Kuku Daban range further east) and on the river Siaokhokh (?). When the two allies drew near, he did not feel strong enough to oppose them. He accordingly struck his camp and went over the Altai, *i.e.* no doubt the eastern branch of the Altai chain known as Ektag Altai. He was followed to the place Khumshingir on the river Urungu.[38] We are told that Chinghiz's men captured one of Buiruk's leaders named Yeditublukh, whose saddle-girths broke, and that Buirukh himself was pursued to lake Kizilbash when he died.[39] The *Huang-yuan* calls Buirukh, Beilukikhan.[40] The *Yuan-shi* calls him Boro Khân.[41] The chief who was captured calls it Oshu-boro and the place where he withdrew to Keshek-bakshi, *i. e.* Kizilbashi.[42] DeMailla calls Buirukh, Pu-lu-yuhan. He says that when the allies arrived in the plain of Hesinpasi,[43] a patrol of 100 Naimans under Yeti-tobu[44] who had gone to reconnoitre fled in all haste to a scarped mountain. Being pursued Yeti-tobu's saddle turned round with him, and he was captured [45] Rashidu'd-dîn tells us the allies severely defeated Buirukh at Kizilbashi, near the Altai, killed many of his warriors, and captured many prisoners and booty. Buirukh according to him fled to the country of the Kemkemjut and Kirghises. He further calls the unfortunate officer who was captured because of his saddle turning round Ede Tukluk, which he says means one knowing seven sciences.[46] Von Hammer explains this name as meaning one who has seven banners or seven squadrons.[47]

The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us that as Chinghiz Khân and Wang Khân were returning from this campaign, a Naiman general named Keksiusabrakh who was a valiant warrior assembled an army in the district of Baidarakh-belchur,[48] with the intention of opposing them. When the two allies drew near it was late, and they encamped for the night opposite the enemy. During the night Wang Khân lit a number of fires and marched with his men along the river Nakharasiul (?). Chamukha, who also took part in the campaign, did the same. Still harbouring revenge against Chinghiz Khân he suggested that the former had beforetimes frequently sent envoys to the Naimans, and he suggested that as he was not then to be seen he had in fact given himself up to them. Then saluting Wang Khân as emperor[49] he said, I am like the ever present lark,[50] but Temujin is like the migratory swallow which returns in the summer towards south twittering through the air. That is he urged that while he was a constant firm friend, Chinghiz was a fickle one. For this he was rebuked by Gurin-baatur from Ubchukhtai (?) who upbraided him for thus calumniating his good brother.

Meanwhile Chinghiz Khân, when he rose at daybreak noticing that Wang Khân's people had withdrawn said "He has forsaken me, deceiving me by lighting these fires as if he were going to cook some food." He in turn withdrew and marching by the defile of Yetir Altai (?) reached his quarters at Sari-kiher in safety.[51]

The *Yuan-shi* makes out that the Naimans on this occasion were commanded by the two chiefs Tsesu and Shebar, and that it was Chamukha who persuaded Wang Khân to

[37] Berezine, vol. II, p. 111; Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 271 and notes 76 and 77; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 55.

[38] Urungu is a synonym for Kizilbash, the well-known lake in Eastern Sungaria, and this river is doubtless the Ulyungur which flows into that lake from the south-east. See the map of Western Mongolia in Petermann's *Mittheilungen* for 1872.

[39] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, p. 80.

[40] *Op. cit.*, p. 160.

[41] Douglas reads it Polo.

[42] Hyacinthe, p. 16; Douglas, p. 22.

[43] i. e. Kizilbashi.

[44] He is called Yeditobolu in the *Huang-yuan*, p. 160.

[45] *Op. cit.*, tom. IX, p. 21.

[46] Berezine, vol. II, pp. 112 and 113; Erdmann, pp. 271 and 272 note 81.

[47] *Gesch. der Golden. Horde*, p. 62 note 8.

[48] A place Baidarik situated on a river Baidarik occurs in Petermann's map of Western Mongolia. The latter rises in the Kuku Daban range a little west of the present residence of the Jassaktu Khan, and falls into a steppe lake called Chaghan, or white. Petermann's *Mittheilungen*, 1872.

[49] Before this he had called him brother.

[50] Palladius says the larks which abound in the Mongolian steppes are not migratory.

[51] *Op. cit.*, pp. 80 and 81.

withdraw. It also says that Chinghiz Khân pursued him. He found he had gone to his quarters on the river Tula and himself went to Saligol. It also makes Chamukha contrast the birds with white wings, *i.e.* the snow birds, which are constant inhabitants of the steppe with the wild geese that fly away in the winter.[52] De Mailla[53] tells the same story. In the *Yuan-shi-lei-pen* we are told this defection happened at the mountain Kao, which according to the geographical work entitled *I-tong-chi* was 500 li to the west of the ordinary camp of the Tukiu or Turks in the 6th century A.D. This camp was *situated according to the same geography* on the mountain Tukiu 45 or 46 degrees North lat. and 12° to 13° West of Peking. The *Yuan-shi-lei-pen* says that in his retreat Wang Khân retired by the river Asauli, which Gaubil identifies with the Hasui, a tributary of the Selinga.[54]

This river is called the Khasui in Petermann's map in the *Mittheilungen* for 1872. The identification is confirmed by the statement in the *Huang-yuan*, that when he withdrew from Chinghiz Khân, Wang Khân went to the river Khasiulu.[55] This work also gives the Naimans two commanders, whom it names Kyuisiu and Sabala, and it says the place where they and the two allies were encamped opposite one another was called Baidalabianjir.[56] This is doubtless the Baidarakhbelchir of the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi.*

Rashidu'd-dîn calls the Naiman General Sabrak or Sairak, and says he was surnamed Kukseku or Gugsu, meaning in Turkish, a pain in the chest.[57] He tells us that he was at this time in winter quarters, and reports that he had harried the effects of Wang Khân's brothers and relatives for which he had been attacked at a place called Bai Barakh Belchira but not sufficiently punished. In regard to this last place Rashidu'd-dîn tells us that in former times a Khân of the Naimans married a daughter of the Khân of the Ongut called Bai Barakh, and celebrated the marriage festival in a fertile place named Belchira, whence the spot was afterwards known as Bai Barakh Belchira.[58] This is probably a legend only. The place is no doubt the same as the Baidarakhbelchir above mentioned. Rashidu'd-dîn calls the man who reproved Chamukha for speaking ill of Chinghiz Khân Ujir-Kurin-Baghadur, or as Erdmann reads it, Bahriti-Gurin Behader Baghadur.[59] We also read that Khudu and Jilaun, the two sons of Tokhtu, chief of the Merkit, who had submitted to Wang Khân, now abandoned him and rejoined their father. This is said both by Rashidu'd-dîn and in the *Huang-yuan.*[60]

In the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* we read that on the retreat of the two allies Keksiusabrakh with his Naimans pursued Wang Khân, seized the wives of his son Sengun or Sankun, and in the defile of Tiligetu on the frontiers of the Naimans and Kirais captured one-half of Wang Khân's people and cattle. The same authority says that it was during this contretemps that Khudu and Jilaun, sons of Tokhto the Merkit chief, left Wang Khân, and went down the Selinga to join their father.[61]

The *Yuan-shi* tells us that when the Naimans pursued the Kirais they first attacked the camp of Wang Khân's two brothers Ilkha and Jasi-Gambu, and harried their cattle. Ilkha barely escaped with his life and hastened to seek assistance from Wang Khân, who supplied him with some troops under the command of a Burgut.[62] This is clearly a mistake, Ilkha and Jakhanbo were the same person. Again Ilkha's second name was Sengun, meaning born in the purple.[63] This was also the name of Wang Khân's son, and in Mr. Douglas' translation the story is in fact told of his son, although the name is given as E-lih-ho, *i. e.* Ilkha. At this time Ilkha or Jakhanbo had, as we have seen, joined Chinghiz Khân, and no doubt the story as told in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* is the more reliable and belongs to Wang Khân's son. De Mailla's narrative partially follows the version in the *Yuan-shi*. It says that when the Naimans attacked Wang Khân, his son Ilkha and his brother Saohanpo were going with some troops to join Chinghiz Khân, when they were attacked by the Naiman General

52 Hyacinthe, p. 17; *Douglas, pp. 22 and 23.*
53 Tom. IX, pp. 21 and 22.
54 Gaubil, p. 7 and notes 1 and 2.
55 *Op. cit.*, p. 160.
56 Id.
57 Berezine, vol. II, p. 113; Erdmann, p. 272 note.
58 Berezine, vol. II, p. 113; Erdmann, note 83.
59 Berezine, vol. II, p. 114; *Erdmann, p. 272.*
60 Berezine, vol. II, p. 114; Erdmann, p. 273; *Huang-yuan*, p. 131.
61 *Op. cit.* p. 81.
62 Hyacinthe, p. 17.
63 Erdmann, p. 253, note 5.

his good father set free and restored me my people whom I had lost: now the son sends four champions who release and restore to me my people. I swear by the shielding power (or aid) of heaven. I will try and repay this obligation." He then went on to say that he was growing old, that his younger brothers were unworthy to succeed him, and that he only had one son, Sankun, of whom he spoke disparagingly, saying it was the same as if he did not exist. "I will consider Temujin as the elder brother of Sankun, so that I shall have two sons when I am at rest," and he accordingly met Chinghiz Khân at the Black Forest on the river Tula and adopted him as his son. Hitherto Chinghiz had called him father merely out of respect, and because of his friendship with Yissugei. Now they made a bond of father and son, and declared, "In the struggles with our foes we will fight side by side. In hunting the wild animals we will unite together. If people try to make us quarrel we will not listen to them, nor believe them until we have had mutual explanations and spoken about matters face to face." In order to secure their friendship still further, Chinghiz asked for the hand of Wang Khân's daughter Chaurbiki for his son Juchi, while he offered his own daughter Khojin to Sankun's son Tusakhi. Sankun who deemed his people superior to the Mongols, and looked upon Chinghiz Khân as belonging to an inferior horde to himself expressed his feelings thus :—"When the maiden of our house goes into theirs, she will stand behind the door with her face to the north" (*i.e.* in the attitude of a servant or slave) "while if their maiden comes to us she will sit with her face to the south," *i. e.* in the position of a mistress. He therefore objected to the two matches, which were broken off, thereby naturally causing some heartburning to the proud Mongol chief.[81] This notice may be compared with that given by Marco Polo in whose words the story runs as follows :—"In the year of Christ 1200 Chinghiz Khân sent an embassy to Prester John and desired to have his daughter to wife. But when Prester John heard that Chinghiz Khân demanded his daughter in marriage, he waxed very wroth, and said to the envoys 'What impudence is this to ask my daughter to wife?' Wist he not well that he was my liegeman and serf? Get ye back to him, and tell him that I had liefer set my daughter in the fire than give her in marriage to him, and that he deserves death at my hand, rebel and traitor that he is." So he bade the envoys begone at once, and never come into his presence again. The envoys on receiving this reply departed straightway, and made haste to their master, and related all that Prester John had ordered them to say, keeping nothing back."[82]

Marco Polo, it will be seen, says nothing of Sankun, and attributes "the proud words" to Wang Khân himself. In the *Yuan-shi*, which says the betrothals were broken off amidst angry words and fierce threats, Juchi is called Jotsin or Chotsin and Wang Khân's daughter Chan-urh Pe-tsi, while Chinghiz Khân's daughter is called Koh-tsin Pe-tse or Gatsin-betsi and her proposed husband To-sze-ho or Toskho.[83] De Mailla's authority tells us that Temujin having asked the hand of Wang Khân's daughter Serpechu for his eldest son Chuchi, and been refused, some time after revenged himself by refusing the hand of his daughter Hoakin to Wang Khân's son Tosaho.[84]

In the *Huang-yuan* we are told that when these negociations for alternate marriages were in progress, Chinghiz Khân was encamped at the mountain Abuli Kyaekhoger, and Wang Khân in the sandy desert of Tsu-belik.[85] Rashidu'd-dîn tells us that the two friends had crossed the Ongu by which Rashid means sometimes the great Chinese wall and sometimes the Inshan range. I must now introduce an incident not mentioned in the *Yuan-chao-pi-shi*, and which is stated in the other authorities to have occurred immediately before the attempted betrothals above named. Rashidu'd-dîn tells us that in 1202, the same year when Chinghiz Khân overwhelmed the Tartars, Buirukh in alliance with Tokhto the chief of the Merkit with the Durban Tartars, Katakins and Saljiut, who were led by Ukhutu Bakhadur together with the Uirat chief Khotuga biki formed an alliance, and marched against the two friends. The latter were informed of the approach of the enemy by

[81] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, pp. 82 and 83.
[82] Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 234.
[83] Hyacinthe, p. 23; Douglas, p. 31.
[84] *Op. cit.*, tom. IX, p. 27.
[85] *Op. cit.*, p. 166.

their outposts, who were stationed at Gui, Chekcher and Chiurkai, which Erdmann condenses into one name Gui-jagjern-jewerkhai.[86] They thereupon left the banks of the Olkhui-Siljiyuljut near the Ongu. The *Huang-yuan* says they marched from Ulukhoi-shi-han-jen into intrenchments, and repaired to the defile of Tajar Aki in the mountains of Karaun Chidun. There they were pursued by the enemy. Meanwhile Sankun, the son of Wang Khân who was in command of the vanguard determined to be the first to fall upon them. Buirukh having noticed him, and seen that his people were Mongols sent a division of his men together with the Katakins under Aguju Bakhadur and the Merkit under Tokhto's brother Khudu[87] against him. A sharp but undecided struggle took place, after which Sankun withdrew into the mountains, and they proceeded to perform some incantations which were followed by a great fall of snow and a deep fog. This was driven by the winds upon themselves, and a great number of men and horses perished from the cold and from falling down the precipices. The Naimans and their allies withdrew to a place called Kuiten.[88] The *Huang-yuan* says the fight took place at Kubitan and Wang Khân and Chinghiz who were not in a position to pursue went to Aral.[89] Chamukha who had set out to join the confederates on learning their fate with characteristic duplicity seized some rich booty belonging to the Katakins and Saljiut, and once more joined Chinghiz Khân.[90] They took up their winter quarters at a place variously read as Utjia Kungur, Alchia Kungur and Ichegeh Gutel, where he says the Kungurut formerly had their winter quarters where Temujin asked the hand of Jorbege for his son Juchi and offered his own daughter Kujinbege to Tusunbuki or Khushbuka, the son of Sankun.[91] The locality referred to by Rashidu'd-dîn is scarcely a probable one, and it would seem that he has mistaken Karaun Kipchak, *i.e.* the black woods, for Karaun Chidun, and the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* undoubtedly put it at the black woods on the Tuuli, *i. e.* apparently the Tula.[92]

These events are also reported in the *Yuan-shi*, only that in this account Buirukh is not mentioned by name, but the Merkit Tokhtoa, who we are told had returned from Borokhucha, *i. e.* Barguchin, whither he had fled, is made the prominent character, and we are told there were with him the Naimans, Durban Tartars, Katakins and Saljiut. When Chinghiz Khân and Wang Khân learnt of their approach they withdrew into an intrenched position. De Mailla says a camp fortified with palisades on a mountain, while Ilkha,[93] *i. e.* Sankun, took up his position on a height to the north. The enemy attacked him, but could not drive him away, but he eventually joined his father within the intrenchments. Before the fight the two allies had sent their baggage away. Their fortress was called Alan-jai. The chief struggle took place at Choidan. The Naiman chief sacrificed by his priests to the spirits of the snowstorm, and invoked their aid, but the wind began to blow towards him. The Naimans could not fight but were hampered by the drifted snow. They were fallen upon by Chinghiz Khân. Chamukha on hearing what had happened, we are told, began to plunder the tribes who were allied with him.[94]

M. SENART ON THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

Translated from the French.[1]

(*Continued from p.* 182.)

Tenth Edict.[2]

(1) Devânaṁpiyo[3] priyadasi râjâ yaso va kiti va na mahâthâvahâ mañate añata tadâtpano[4] dîghâya[3] cha me jano[3]

(2) dhaṁmasusuṁsâ[5] susrusatâṁ|dhaṁmavutaṁ cha anuvidhiyatâṁ[3][.] etakâya devânaṁpiyo[3] piyadasi râjâ yaso va kiti[6] va ichhati[.]

[86] The *Huang-yuan* says on the mountain Nigan-gui-undu, Cher and Chukhurka.

[87] Read Wakhud by Erdmann.

[88] Erdmann reads it Gutsian.

[89] *i. e.* the island.

[90] *Huang-yuan*, pp. 165 and 166; Berezine, vol. II, pp. 126-128; Erdmann, pp. 281 and 282; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 66.

[91] Berezine, vol. II, p. 128; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 66 and 67; Erdmann, pp. 282 and 283.

[92] *Op. cit.*, p. 82.

[93] Called Elerho by Douglas.

[94] Hyacinthe, pp. 21 and 22; Douglas pp. 29 and 30; Erdmann, note p. 120; De Mailla, vol. IX. pp. 25-27.

[1] *Jour. As.* VII. Ser. t. XVI, p. 373f.

[2] Prinsep, *J. A. S. B.* vol. VII, p. 258; Wilson, p. 209f.; Burnouf, p. 658f; Kern, p. 86f.

[3] These readings differ from those of Cunningham's plate.

[4] With Dr. Kern, read *tadâtpane*.

[5] Read °*susuṣaṁ*; J. has °*susûsaṁ*.

[6] Read *kîtiṁ*.

(3) ya tu kichi parâkâmate[3] devânampriyadasi[3] râjâ ta[7] savam pâratikâya kimti[3] sakale apaparisave[3] asa[.] esa tu parisave ya apuñam[3][.]

(4) dûkaram tu kho[3] etam chhudakena va janena usatena va añata agena parâkamena savam parichajitpâ[.] eta tu[3] kho usatena dûkaram[3][.]

Translation.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, does not think that glory and fame bring much profit except [*such as*:] (Dh., J., Kh., K.: except that glory and that fame which he seeks [*namely*]:) that at present and in future the people practise obedience to my religion, that they observe the duties of my religion. This is the glory and fame which Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, seeks. All the efforts that king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, makes, are all with reference to fruits for the future life, with the object of escaping all danger. Now the danger is evil. But assuredly the thing is difficult whether for the mean or for the powerful (Kh., K.: whether for the great, for the powerful), except by a powerful effort, and by renouncing everything. But that is assuredly difficult (Dh., J.: infinitely difficult) for the powerful (Kh., K.: especially for the powerful.)

Eleventh Edict.[8]

(1) Devânampriyo[9] piyadasi râjâ evam âha[3][.] nâsti etârisam dânam yârisam dhammadânam dhammasamstavo va dhammasamvibhâgo vâ dhammasambadho va[.]

(2) tata idam bhavati dâsabhatakamhi samyapratipatî[3] mâtari pitari sâdhu sususâ mitasastutañâtikânam bâmhanasamanânam sâdhu dânam[3]

(3) prânânam anârambho sâdhu[.] eta vatavyam pitâ va putena va bhâtâ va mitasastutañâtikena va âva pativesiyehi ida sâdhu ida katavya[.]

(4) so tâthâ ka.u[9] ilokachasa[3] âradho hoti parata cha amnamtam pumñam bhavati[10] tena dhammadânena[.]

Translation.

Thus saith king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods: there is no alms comparable to the almsgiving of religion, the friendship [*which is manifested by the communication*] of religion (*this word wanting in* Kh.), liberality [*bestowed*] in [*precepts of*] religion, the relationship [*which is based on the communication*] of religion. This should be observed: regard towards slaves and servants, obedience to father and mother (G.: is good), charity to friends, companions, relatives, Sramans and Brâhmans (G.: is good), respect of the life of creatures (G.: is good). That is what a father, or a son, or a brother (Kh., K.: or a master), a friend, a companion (G.: a relative) indeed even a neighbour ought to say, "this is what is good, this is what ought to be done!" In acting thus there is (K.: is found) advantage in this world and for the life to come; there results (Kh., K.: is reaped) infinite merit from this almsgiving of religion.

Twelfth Edict.[11]

(1) Devânampiye piyadasi râjâ savapâsamdâni cha pravajitâni cha gharastâni cha pûjayati dânena cha vividhâya cha pûjâya pûjayati ne[.]

(2) na tu tathâ dânam vâ[8] pûje[12] va devânampiyo mamñate yathâ kiti[13] sâravadhi asa [.] savapâsamdânam sâravadhi tu bahuvidhâ[.]

(3) tasa tasa[14] tu idam mûlam ya vachigutî kimti[3] âtpapâsamdapûjâ va parâpâsamdagarahâ va no bhave apakaranamhi lahukâ[3] va asa

(4) tamhi tamhi prakarane pûjetayâ tu eva parapâsamda[3] tena tena[3] prakaranena[15] [.] evam karam[16] âtpapâsamda cha vadhayati parapâsamdasa cha upakaroti [.]

(5) tadamñathâ karoto[17] âtpapâsadam cha chhanati[18] parapâsamdasa cha pi apakaroti [.] yo hi kochi[3] âtpapâsamdam pûjayati parapâsamdam[3] va garahati

(6) sa vam[3] âtpapâsamdabhatiyâ kimti âtpapâsamdam dipayema iti so cha puna tatha

[3] These readings differ from those of Cunningham's plate.

[7] Read *yam kimchi parâkamate devânampriyo priyadasi râjâ tam.*

[8] Prinsep, *u. s.* p. 259; Wilson, p. 212f.; Burnouf, p. 736f.; Kern, p. 76f.

[9] The character is quite lost in facsimile C.; the facsimile B. has only the *u* distinct, but B. reads *karu* (=*karam*) as did Burnouf from Westergaard's copy. This is the exact equivalent of the reading *karamta* (for *karamto*) of Kh. and K.

[10] K. reads *so tatha karatam ihaloka cha aradhiti paratra cha anatam puñam krasava* (for *prasava*)*bhu* (va) *ti.*

[11] Prinsep, *ut sup.* p. 259f.; Wilson, p. 215f.; Lassen, p. 264, n. 3; Burnouf, p. 761f.; Kern, p. 65f.

[12] For *pûjam.*

[13] Read *kimti* as in l. 8.

[14] For *tasâ tasâ*, as *ya* for *yâ.*

[15] Read *parkârena.*

[16] Such is the only reading that seems authorized by the facsimile B. for this word reads very diversely *kata, karim* &c.

[17] *Karoto* for *karomto.* [18] Kâlsi has *chhanoti.*

karâto[19] âtpapâsaṁḍam bâḍhataraṁ upahanâti [.] ta samavâyo eva sâdhâ[20]
(7) kiṁti mañamaṁñasa dhaṁmaṁ sruṇâju[21] cha susuṁserâ cha[.] evaṁ[3] hi devânaṁpiyasa ichhâ kiṁti savapâsaṁḍâ bahusrutâ cha asu kalâṇâgamâ[3] cha âsu[22][.]
(8) ye cha tatâ tata pasaṁnâ tehi vatavyaṁ[3] devânaṁpiyo no tathâ dânaṁ va pûja[23] va maṁñate yathâ kiṁti sâravaḍhî asa savapâsaṁḍânaṁ[3] bahakâ[24] cha[25][.] etâya
(9) athâ vyâpatâ dhaṁmamahâmâtâ cha ithîjhakhamahâmâtâ[26] cha vachabhûmikâ cha añe cha nikâyâ[.] ayaṁ cha etasa phala ya âtpapâsaṁḍavaḍhî cha hoti dhaṁmasa cha dîpanâ[.]

Translation.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, honours all sects, ascetics and householders, he honours them (*these three words wanting* in Kh.) with alms, and honours of various sorts. But the [*king*] beloved of the gods attaches less importance to these alms and these honours than to the desire to see prevail [*the moral virtues which form*] their essential part. That prevalence of the essential foundation of all the sects implies, it is true, very many diversities. But for all there is one common source, which is moderation in language; that is, that one ought not to exalt his own sect and decry others, that one ought not to depreciate them without [*legitimate*] cause, that one ought on the contrary on all occasions to give to other sects the honours that are befitting. By acting thus, he labours for the advancement of his own sect while at the same time serving others. By acting otherwise, he injures his own sect in damaging others. He that extols his own sect by depreciating others does so doubtless from affection for his own sect, with the intention of exalting it; well, on the contrary by acting thus, he does nothing but inflict the severest blows upon his own sect.[27] That is why concord alone is good, in this sense that all should hear and love to hear the convictions of another. It is in fact the desire of the [*king*] beloved of the Devas, that all sects should be instructed, and that they should profess pure doctrines. All whatever be their belief, should be persuaded that the [*king*] beloved of the Devas attaches less importance to alms and to external cult than to the desire to see the essential doctrines and the respect to all the sects prevail. It is for this end that the superintendents of religion labour, the officers charged to superintend the women, the inspectors and other bodies of agents. The fruit of it is benefit to my own creed and the glorification of religion. (Kâlsi, Kapurdigarhi *add*: Given in the ninth year of my anointment.)

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

ANAMKOND INSCRIPTION OF RUDRADÊVA.

In a temple at Anamkond, in the Nizâm's Dominions, there is a long and highly interesting inscription of Rudradêva of the Kâkatya or Kâkatiya dynasty. Versions of it have been published in the *Journal* of the Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. VII., p. 901, where the date was interpreted as Śaka 1054,—and in the *Journal* of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. X., p. 46, by Dr. Bhau Dâjî, who interpreted the date as Śaka 1064. And Mr. Rice,—recognising from these discrepant readings of the date, and from the fact that the *saṁvatsara*, the name of which is recorded as Chitrabhânu, does not agree with the above dates by respectively thirty and twenty years, that there was some mistake about the date,—has stamped the inscription as belonging unmistakeably to the ninth century A. D., and as recording the fate of Taila I. and Bhîma II. of the Western Chalukya dynasty.[1]

Through the kindness of the Political Authorities at Haidarâbâd, I have now been furnished with an excellent ink-impression of this important inscription, and shall shortly publish it in full in this journal.

Meanwhile it may be useful to state that the real date of this inscription is Śaka 1084 (A. D. 1162-3), the Chitrabhânu *saṁvatsara*, and that,

[3] These readings differ from those of Cunningham's plate.
[19] *Karâto* for *karaṁto*.
[20] The *dhâ* is indistinct in facsimile B.; read *sâdhu*.
[21] For *sruṇeju*; C. has *sruṇâja*.
[22] *Âsu* for *assu*; C. has *asu*.
[23] Equivalent to *pûjaṁ*.
[24] For *bahukâ*.
[25] C. has *°kâ vâ e°*, but facsimile B. appears to read plainly *cha*, which is also the reading of Kh.
[26] Though the facsimiles present the sign *th* with the notation for *â* doubled, it can hardly be read otherwise than *thî*.
[27] I observe that a comparison with edict VII helps to the understanding of this clause. The king thinks that by the object which they really aim at, by their *sâra*, all these sects approach each other to the extent of coinciding. Hence naturally he holds their interests (in a moral and elevated sense, be it clearly understood) to be closely linked together.
[1] *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xliv., note, and p. lxiii.

therefore, it records the downfall of Taila III., the last but one of the Western Châlukyas of Kalyâṇapura, and not of his ancestor Taila I.

J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S.

Belgaum, 18th June 1881.

TÛS, THE OLD CAPITAL OF THE NORTH OF PERSIA.

The Keshef Rud River passing a little to the north of Meshd, joins the Herat River a little south of Sarakhs, from which point the united streams, known as the Tjend River, flow and lose themselves in the vast swamp of the same name lying northward in the Turkoman desert. From the amount of water which I have seen running from different sources to the Tjend morass it must be a vast one indeed. Crossing a tall brick bridge of several arches the old walls of Tûs are reached not fifty yards from the river marge. The city cannot have been less than four miles in circuit, as one can judge from the ruins of the ramparts, which at the eastern end are in a remarkably perfect condition. The entire oblong space within them is covered with small mounds, and strewn with brick and fragments of blue limestone, the remains of former houses. Towards the north-western part stand the remains of the citadel built upon several vast artificial mounds. From the appearance of some towers and walls the stonework still retaining the loam, which had formerly been plastered over it in Persian fashion, I should say that this citadel had been kept in repair as a fort up to a comparatively recent period.

Exactly in the centre of the town stands the only remarkable object of the place, and which the traveller is informed is the tomb of the poet Firdauzi, who, together with the nephew of Imâm Riza, the former sovereign of the place, was buried there. It is a large domed structure of brickwork, with doorways in the four sides, and pilasters at the slightly flattened corners. Springing from the northern side of the building is what appears to have been a small chapel, or else the dwelling of the guardian of the tomb. The entire structure is ruinous both within and without, having, to judge from the cracks in the walls and dome, suffered from an earthquake shock. It had originally been plastered over, both on the inside and outside, to the depth of a couple of inches, with a fine grey sand concrete, much of which is still adhering even to the exterior. This had been in turn covered with adhesive white plaster. Both concrete and plaster are quite as hard as the bricks which they overlie. The architectural mouldings and other ornamentations, when on a large scale, were rudely fashioned by the placing and chipping of the brick, the details being given in concrete and plaster, which were apparently moulded, as in the case of the arabesques and decorative inscriptions in many old Arab structures, and notably so in that of the Alhambra, at Granada. Within, the building presents one unbroken space from wall to wall, and from the floor to the centre of the cupola. The height of the latter above the ground cannot be much under seventy feet. It is on the inside hemispherical, the exterior being modified by a step reaching to one-third its height. Formerly an interior gallery seems to have run round the base of the interior of the dome, if one can judge by the remains of wood beams and the spaces sunk in the walls. In the centre of the floor lie the two fragments of a stone coffin which has been rudely smashed in a longitudinal direction. The top and sides are covered with finely-executed inscriptions, verses of the *Kurán*. My guide, the old Turkoman, told me that this coffin had been broken open only two years previously by some Russian travellers who visited the place, and who also carried away with them two inscribed marble tablets which had been inserted, one in the northern, the other in the southern wall. I saw myself the two vacant spaces in which these tablets had been, the wood pegs at the rear still remaining; but the demolition of the coffin, to judge from the appearance of the edges of the fractured parts, was of remote date. It was probably effected by the fall of some portion of the building during the earthquake shock which ruined it. Pious hands may probably have placed the fragments together again, and it may be that the Russian travellers had again opened the coffin. It is now completely empty, and there are marks, evidently of a recent date, as of an iron wedge forced in after some preliminary chipping with a chisel. This old domed structure is visible for at least 20 miles on every side. In its immediate vicinity the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages have made excavations with a view of obtaining building materials, and extensive foundations are visible on all sides. Lying among them I found numerous fragments of old, highly-coloured pottery, some of them displaying the *reflet métallique* so prized by the "china maniacs." Tûs has been, I believe, completely deserted for the past four hundred years, the inhabitants having even at a long anterior period commenced emigrating to Meshd, whose rising fortunes had begun to eclipse those of the ancient capital of Korasan. The ground around it seems to be liable to extensive inundations from the overflowing of the Keshef Rud; and in some places a raised causeway, whether ancient or modern I could not ascertain, passes by the old town, leading east and west. In its time Tûs was probably an unhealthy place to live in, owing to the swampiness of the surrounding ground.—*Correspondent, Daily News.*

ON THE DATES OF ANCIENT INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS AND COINS.[1]

BY DR. H. OLDENBERG, BERLIN.

TRYING to find our way through Indian chronology during the first centuries of the Christian era, is a task resembling in some sense that of the mathematician who has to solve equations with several unknown quantities. Neither inscriptions nor coins are wanting in dates, but the era to which these dates are referred, is seldom indicated, and it is only evident at first sight that a number of different chronological systems were simultaneously in use. There is no lack of hypotheses which have referred every date mentioned successively to almost every known era, and occasionally also to such as are unknown. It is not our intention to augment the number of these hypotheses, but to inquire systematically into the chronological interdependence of the different groups of dates, and thus to eliminate the unknown quantities one after the other. I believe that the number of given equations is sufficient to furnish a result in all parts of our inquiry. This result will perhaps not be an entirely new one, even in any of its constituent parts; but our inquiry will not be quite useless, even if it attain to nothing but to connect true hypotheses with each other, alongside of which stood incorrect solutions, seemingly equally acceptable and equally accepted; and, by establishing such a connection, to arrive at probabilities, and perhaps even at something that is not very unlike to certainty.

In the midst of the clouds that veil ancient Indian history and chronology, lies before our eyes, like an island on which the rays of a clearer light fall, the period of ancient Buddhism. Buddha himself died about 480 B.C., afterwards Chandragupta (Σανδρόκυπτος), who united the empire of India and defended it successfully against the Makedonian attack,—and then Chandragupta's famous grandson, Aśoka, (about 260 B.C.), whose official lectures on morality addressed to his subjects, are read on rocks and pillars, from the frontier of Afghanistan to Kâṭhiâwâḍ and Orissa: these names denote the first period of Indian antiquity of which, owing principally to the contact between India and Greece, something like a real chronology can be attained. After the time of Aśoka, there follow again three centuries which are shrouded in darkness. They extend to the rule of a monarch whom the Buddhists regarded like another Aśoka: a second great protector of their faith, the Indo-Skythian king Kanishka.

The question of the date of Kanishka—a question which in our opinion, with Professor von Sallet's numismatical researches now before us, is rather a simple one—is the starting point from which the chronological problems with which we are to grapple, must be approached.

The inscriptions of the time of Kanishka and his successors, found partly in Kabulistân and the Punjâb, partly at Mathurâ, are dated in an era which begins most probably at the accession to the throne, or rather the *abhisheka* of Kanishka.[2] The most ancient date given in connection with the name of Kanishka, is contained in the inscription of which General Cunningham has given a copy in his *Archæological Reports*, vol. III, plate xiii, 4: *mahârâjasya Kanishkasya râjye saṁvatsare navame*, "in the reign of the great king Kanishka, in the year nine." There are also several inscriptions dating from the year 5, but these do not contain the name of Kanishka. Then follow dated inscriptions of kings whose close connection with Kanishka is shown also by their coins: Huvishka, in the years 33, 39, 50, 51, etc.; Vâsudeva, 83, 87, 89[3]; next follow a Mathurâ inscription dated from the year 135, evidently of the same era, and another the date of which is stated to be 281,[4] both inscriptions without any mention of a king's name.

[1] This article is a translation of a paper published in the eighth volume of von Sallet's *Zeitschrift für Numismatik.* (Berlin: 1881.)

[2] These dates are collected by Thomas, *The Gupta Dynasty*, p. 16, or *Archæol. Surv. of Western India*, vol. II, p. 31; *Ancient Indian Weights*, p. 46 seq. Compare von Sallet, *Nachfolger Alexanders*, p. 64; Growse, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, (1877) p. 216 seq.

[3] I do not know if the name of Vâsu[*deva*] has been correctly restored in the Mathurâ inscription of the year 44 (Cunningham *l. c.*, plate xv, 8), and if this Vâsudeva is identical with the Vâsudeva that reigned towards the end of the first century of that era. The date of 44 would fall in the middle of Huvishka's reign. If Cunningham's facsimile is correct, one would be inclined rather to look for a shorter name than Vâsudeva.

[4] Cunningham *l. c.* pl. xvi, 23. I think the date might possibly be 181.—Other dated inscriptions, the connexion of which with this series I prefer to leave undecided, are to be found in the *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXII, pp. 140, 144 seq., etc.

Now as far as can be done by numismatical arguments alone, Dr. von Sallet has shown to what period the series of kings—Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vâsudeva—must belong. An approximate estimate of the time elapsed from the last Greek kings whose date is known, till the reign of Kanishka,—secondly, the connection in which the coins of Yndopheres (or Gondophares)[5] and Sanabarus, who must have reigned before Kanishka, stand with late Arsacidan coins—perhaps also the Christian legend which makes Gondophares contemporary with the apostles,—and finally the connection of the gold coins which follow after Vâsudeva's gold coinage, with the coins of Sapor I:—all these arguments combined make it most probable that Herr von Sallet[6] is right in believing that the series of Kanishka—Huvishka—Vâsudeva cannot have begun at an earlier date than the first century A. D., and that it must end somewhere about 200 A. D.

If we try, therefore, to place this series, which, according to the inscriptions, must occupy about a hundred years, between Gondophares (about 50 A. D.) and the end of the second century, we are almost inevitably led to the following result, which, we think, clearly presents itself, namely, that *the era of Kanishka is identical with the Śaka era, which begins in* 78 A. D.,[7] and which, as is well known, is mentioned in royal grants as early as in the fifth century A. D. (*Śakanṛipakâlasaṁvatsara*).[8]

A tradition frequently mentioned, and which Albirûnî follows in his important statements about the Indian eras, represents the Śaka era as beginning, not from the *abhisheka*, but from the defeat and death of the "Śaka-king." Besides calling attention to the extreme improbability of the "Śaka king's era" beginning from the destruction of the Śaka empire, we may oppose to this statement the testimony of an inscription which is nearly five hundred years anterior to Albirûnî. The date of this inscription is expressed as follows: "When five hundred years had elapsed since the royal *abhisheka* of the Śaka ruler."[9] I believe it will not be deemed difficult to account for the fact that national patriotism in India preferred to connect traditionally an era that, by its very name, reminded of the sway of barbarian conquerors, with the defeat rather than with the coronation of the oppressor.[10]

It cannot be doubted that we are right in claiming for Kanishka the name of a Śaka king. I dare not follow the scholars who have preceded me in utilizing for this subject the Chinese accounts of the different barbarian tribes, with their subdivisions, that held sway over India during those times. But this may be asserted with certainty, that the only name really current in India for the northern barbarians who ruled there for centuries, and to whom the dynasty of Kanishka belonged, cannot have been any other than that of Śakas. Moreover, we possess direct testimony to show that the tribe to which Kanishka belonged, was a Śaka tribe.

Kanishka styles himself on his coins PAONANOPAO KANHPKI KOPANO. Here KOPANO certainly indicates a tribe or a family. It is quite inadmissible to identify this word with the Greek *κοίρανος*. For firstly, the appearance of the word *κοίρανος*, belonging to Homeric language, on the coins of a late barbarian king, would be more than strange.[11] But the decisive fact is that we never find the word KOPANO on Kanishka's coins with Greek legends (BACIΛEYC BACIΛEΩN KANHPKOY), but only on those with barbaric

[5] To the statement of Dr. von Sallet (*Nachfolger Alexanders*, p. iv) that the monogram of Yndopheres is found stamped on a drachm of the Arsacide Orodes I, we ought to add Gen. Cunningham's statement (*Arch. Rep.*, vol. V, p. 60) that a drachm of Artabanus III. (14-42 A. D.?) shows the same monogram.

[6] *l. c.* p. 185.

[7] We must remind our readers here of the strange fact, which is, however, attested very satisfactorily, that in ancient times the initial dates from which the different Indian eras were counted were subject to fluctuations of several years. Statements like this that the Śaka era begins in 78 A. D., cannot be accepted, therefore, as absolutely exact; the Javanese Śaka era begins in 74 A.D., the era of Bali in 80 A.D. See Burnell, *South-Indian Palæography*, p. 54.

[8] The most ancient instance which occurs to me of the Śaka era being expressly mentioned in an inscription, is the Umetâ grant Śaka 400. About this date and other ancient Śaka dates the remarks of Dr. Bühler in the *Ind. Antiquary*, vol. V, (1876) p. 111, should be compared.

[9] See the Châlukya inscription published by Mr. Burgess, *Arch. Survey of Western India*, vol. II, p. 237 seq. and vol. III, p. 119; also *Ind. Ant.*, vol. III, p. 305; vol. VI, p. 363, and vol. X, p. 58, plate; *Śakanṛipatirâjyâbhishekasaṁvatsareshv' atikrânteshu pañchasu śateshu.*

[10] We shall find afterwards another case entirely analogous to this. The Gupta kings were considered in popular tradition, as stated by Albirûnî, to have been "wicked, potent persons." Exactly as in the case of the Śaka era, the tradition represented the Gupta era also as beginning from the "destruction" of the Gupta rule. Here, however, the inscriptions show that the Gupta kings themselves used the Guptakâla, the initial date of which must be, therefore, the foundation, and not the extinction, of the Gupta empire.

[11] The coins of the Greek kings who ruled before Kanishka over the same country, do not show the word *κοίρανος*.

legends (PAONANOPAO KANHPKI): we must therefore take it as a Skythian and not a Greek word.[12] Here very appropriately the Manikyâla inscription[13] has been alleged, in which Kanishka is called *Gushanava*[ṁ]*śasaṁvardhaka*, *i.e.* "he who exalts the Gushana family." The identity of KOPANO and Gushana is the less subject to doubt, inasmuch as on the coins of Kozulokadphizos[14] with KOΓEHX or XOPCH of the Greek legend[15] corresponds to *Kushana* or *Kashana* in the Arian legend; on the coins of Kozolakadaphes to XOPANCY answers *Khashanasa*.[16]

Now a tetradrachm belonging to the British Museum has been recently published with the legend ΤΥΙΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΗΙΑΟΥ ΣΑΚΑ ΚΟΙΙΑΝΟΥ.[17] The last word of this legend is read *κοιράνου*, which certainly is not correct. The comparation of the coins of Kanishka and his successors, on which KOPANO decidedly means Gushana and not *κοίρανος*, shows that Gushana must be understood on this coin also. Although between the O and the A of the word in question, not one but two strokes are seen, one of which in *τυραννοῦντος* stands for *ρ*, considering the very irregular palæographical character of the legend, this cannot be given as a proof in favour of the reading *κοιράνου*. If we are right, therefore, in reading on this coin *κορανου* (or *κορρανου*, as we find *υνδοφερρου* alongside of *υνδοφερου*?), we have a decisive proof for the assertion that the Korano or Gushana princes, and more especially Kanishka, must be regarded as Śakas.

What we find, therefore, is this: We know from coins as well as from inscriptions, of a mighty Śaka king, Kanishka, who is frequently mentioned also in literary documents. This king must have reigned, as his coins show, about the end of the first century A. D. His large empire extended from Kabulistân to Mathurâ, or perhaps still further. There is no Indian king in these times whose name at all rivals Kanishka in fame.[18] On his inscriptions we find an era which occurs frequently on the inscriptions of his successors both in the northern and in the southern part of his realm. On the other hand, we know of an era which was used in India in ancient as well as in modern times, the initial date of which is 78 A. D., and which is styled on ancient monuments "the era of the Śaka king," or "the era of the Śaka lord's royal *abhisheka*." I think these arguments may be considered as satisfactorily proving the identity of Kanishka's era with the Śaka era.

A further confirmation of this theory results from what we have to say afterwards regarding the much-vexed question of the Gupta era. The Gupta era began, as we shall prove, in 319 A. D. Now the Gupta coinage is closely connected with Indo-Skythian coins which can-

[12] In passing we may be allowed to add here an observation on the other title which Kanishka and his successors give themselves on their coins—PAONANOPAO. Recently the interpretation of this word, or of these words, as the Prâkrit phrase *râjunânaṁ râjâ* (king of kings), has been accepted by several Pâli scholars; see, for instance, E. Kuhn's *Beiträge zur Pali-Grammatik*, p. 88. I consider this explanation quite inadmissible. I do not lay stress on the consideration that the genitive *râjunânaṁ* with the double case suffix is formed more boldly than correctly, in spite of *imesánaṁ* and similar genitives (Kachchâyana, II, 1, 51, schol.) But it should be considered that here, as is the case generally in this series of coins, we have Skythian words before us, or Indian words received into the Skythian language, but not pure Indian words. The corresponding Indian expression for "king of kings" on the connected groups of coins is not *râjûnaṁ râjâ* or anything like it, but *mahârâja*, *râjâdirâjâ*, *râjarâjâ*. PAONANOPAO must, therefore, as was perceived by Prinsep, be a Skythian title formed probably on the model of *râjâdirâjâ* (PAO=*râjâ*), but not a Prâkrit expression.

[13] Prinsep-Thomas, *Essays*, vol. I, pl. ix.

[14] The usually accepted designation of this king and of OOHMOKAΔΦIOHO as Kadphises I and Kadphises II appears to me rather incorrect. We do not know of any Kadphises, but only of Kozulokadphizes and Ooemokadphises; neither in the Greek nor in the Arian legends is the first element of these names characterized as a separable, declinable word. To speak of Kadphises I and Kadphises II might very possibly be the same mistake as if we were to call for instance two princes named Apollodotus and Diodotus, Dotus I and Dotus II.

[15] The H must here be read most probably as N.

[16] Von Sallet, *l. c.*, pp. 179, 180. Comp. Cunningham (*J. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XXXII, pp. 144 seq.) about the Kushana kings.

[17] *Num. Chron.*, N. S. vol. XIV. p. 161 seq.; von Sallet *l. c.*, p. 75; Thomas. *The Gupta Dynasty*, pp. 35 et seq., or *Archæolog. Rep. of W. India*, vol. II, p. 50.

[18] This is very clearly seen from Hwen Thsang's statements. The Chinese pilgrim mentions, for instance, that in the "anciennes descriptions du pays" it is said: "Jadis Kia-ni-se-kia, roi de Kien-t'o-lo (*Gândhâra*), faisait sentir sa force redoutable aux royaumes voisins, et l'influence de ses lois se répandait dans les pays lointains" (tom. II, p. 42). "Dans la quatre centième année après le Nirvâna de Jou-lai le roi Kia-ni-se-kia monta sur le trône et étendit sa puissance sur toute l'île de Tchen-pou (Jambudvîpa)" (tom. II, p. 107). The statement that Kanishka lived 400 years after Buddha's death, is repeatedly given by Hwen Thsang, see tome I, p. 95; t. II, p. 172. As it stands, it cannot be in any way accepted. But we find together with this statement the equally inadmissible one that Aśoka (*i.e.* Dharmâśoka) reigned 100 years after Buddha's death (II, 170). Thus we may be justified perhaps in supposing that the same error which to the Chinese pilgrim made the time between Buddha and Aśoka appear too short by more than 100 years, has influenced also his opinion about the time elapsed from Buddha to Kanishka. If we collect from what Hwen Thsang says, that Kanishka was placed 300 years after Asoka's time, this is nearly true.

not be placed long after Vâsudeva, who reigned till about 100, after Kanishka. Consequently if we assign to the series of Kanishka—Huvishka—Vâsuveda a date considerably earlier than we have done, we augment the vacant period between Vâsudeva and the Guptas, which is already perhaps greater than might be expected.

I do not enter upon a detailed inquiry into the statements of Chinese authorities[19] respecting this dynasty. If these statements are given correctly it appears that they quite agree with my opinion. The rise of the power of the Yueï-chi—the tribe to which Kanishka belonged—and the foundation of the Kueï-shuang (Kushana) dynasty is placed about 24 B. C. The century between this year and the coronation of Kanishka would be appropriately filled by the reign of the Σωτὴρ μέγας[20], the so-called Sy-Hermaios coinage, and the coins of Kozulokadphises, Kozolakadaphes, Ooemokadphises. Chinese authors mention the great power of the Yueï-chi in Kabulistân and India in 159 A. D.; this power is said to have been upset in the beginning of the third century.

The coinage of Kanishka is followed by two groups of coins: on the one hand there is a series of gold coins with the legend PAONANOPAO OOHPKI KOPANO; these evidently belong to the Huvishka of the inscriptions. On the other hand we find a series of copper coins on which is read PAONANOPAO OOHPKENOPANO. Professor von Sallet[21] distinguishes between King Ooerki and Ooer Kenorano, but I think the identity of these two persons is far more probable. The coins of Ooerki and those of this so-called Ooer stand equally in close connexion with Kanishka's coins in a number of types which have, for the most part, disappeared again from the coinage of Bazodeo (Vâsudeva);[22] also in the form of the monogram the coins of Ooerki, as well as those of Ooer, stand between Kanishka and Bazodeo. The two groups of coins must belong, therefore, to the same, or to nearly the same, time. Now, as Dr. von Sallet himself has very appropriately observed, Ooerki is the only king in the whole series of whom there are only gold coins, Ooer the only one of whom we have but copper coins; of all the other princes of this dynasty we have coins in both metals. In the inscriptions, we find frequent mentions of Kanerki, Ooerki, Bazodeo, but there is no trace whatsoever of Ooer. These facts lead us to assume the identity of Ooerki and Ooer, and I do not think the trifling difference between the legends of the two groups of coins sufficient to invalidate this theory. On the one hand, it is true, we have clearly OOHPKI KOPANO, and on the other we read equally clearly OOHPKENOPANO. But the shapes of the Greek letters are so degenerate on the coins of this dynasty, and the legends are often written so incorrectly,[23] that no stress can be laid on a difference like this. Or, can we deem it probable that in the middle of the Korano series, between Kanerki Korano, Ooerki Korano, Bazodeo Korano, a Norano or Kenorano should appear, the first syllable of whose name, besides, answers so well for lessening the difference between the unknown Ooer and the well-known Ooerki?

After Ooerki follows Bazodeo (Vâsudeva), and the degenerate coins mentioned by Dr. von Sallet (*l. c.* pp. 210, 211).

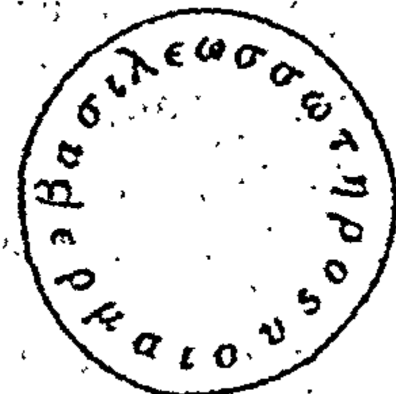
[19] See the quotations apud Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* II (2nd ed.), 372; Thomas, *J. R. A. S.*, vol. XII, pp. 15, 20 seq.; Cunningham, *Reports*, vol. II, p. 63; vol. V, p. 196 seq.

[20] Von Sallet, *l. c.* 176.

[21] *l. c.* p. 207.

[22] Compare, for instance, the Mao types of Kanerki (*Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xii, 1, 13) with those of Ooer (ib. pl. xiii, 4, 10, 15) and of Ooerke (pl. xiv, 6). Also the Athro and Okro types of these kings should be compared.

[23] We may mention, for instance, the two different legends ΥΝΔΟΦΕΡΡΟΥ and ΓΟΝΔΟΦΑΡΟΥ which we find on the coins of one king, or the legend ΣΡΗΑΙΟ (von Sallet, p. 117) instead of Ἑρμαίου. The coins of Kozulokadphises, which imitate the Hermaios coins and which have the legend ΣΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ afford the most instructive example of the way in which Indian die-cutters occasionally disfigured the Greek legends. The legend was arranged thus in the Greek model:



The Indian die-cutter omitted the ω of σωτῆρος, misreckoned also otherwise the distribution of letters and the filling of the space, and, finding thus that room was left between the ends of σωτῆρος and of Ἑρμαίου, he repeated the final letters of the two words, σ and υ, which met together in the gap. Thus originated the mysterious ΣΥ of the "Sy-Hermaios coins," about which the learned conjectures of Lassen (*Ind. Alt.* II, 2nd ed., 403), founded upon the statements of a Chinese poem, cannot be read without some surprise.

It is one of the earliest known and best established facts within the sphere of Indian numismatics, that this is the place from which the very important coinage of the Gupta dynasty branches off. The gold coins of the Gupta kings are imitations of those of Vâsudeva or his successors: more correctly—they imitate neither the latest nor the most degenerate coins of this series.[24] No one can compare the type of the standing, and most frequently sacrificing, king that appears on the Gupta coins, or the type of the seated goddess who holds the *cornu copiae*, with the corresponding types of the Indo-Skythian coinages[25] without perceiving at once the dependence of the Gupta coinage on that of their Indo-Skythian predecessors.

Vâsudeva reigned till about 178 A.D., and the Guptas must therefore have come later. Coins alone cannot teach us what period elapsed between Vâsudeva and the Guptas—a period filled by the reigns of unknown, most probably insignificant, monarchs, and perhaps also by manifold struggles and disorders. In order therefore to assign to the Guptas their chronological position, we must enter upon an inquiry into the literary and more especially the inscriptional dates concerning the Gupta era.

The fundamental mistake which has vitiated several of the most detailed disquisitions about the Gupta chronology, for instance the researches of Lassen and of Thomas, consists in their touching only incidentally upon the direct and very clear ancient tradition which we possess regarding the Gupta era, instead of placing distinctly this tradition in the foreground and of systematically discussing the question whether any serious objections can be opposed to it. We shall try to proceed in this way so clearly prescribed by the nature of the question.

Albirûnî, as is known to all Indianists, directly indicates the initial date of the Guptakâla.[26] Having mentioned the Vikramâditya and the Śaka eras, and having correctly indicated the distance between the two epochs, he goes on to say:

"Ballaba, qui a donné aussi son nom à une ère, était prince de la ville de Ballaba, au midi de Anhalouara, à environ trente yodjanas de distance. L'ère de Ballaba est postérieure à celle de Śaca de 241 ans. Pour s'en servir, on pose l'ère de Śaca, et l'on en ôte à la fois le cube de 6 et le carré de 5 ($216 + 25 = 241$). Ce qui reste est l'ère de Ballaba. Il sera question de cette ère en son lieu. Quant au Goupta-kâla (ère des Gouptas), on entend par le mot Goupta des gens qui, dit-on, étaient méchants et puissants; et l'ère qui porte leur nom est l'époque de leur extermination. Apparemment, Ballaba suivit immédiatement les Gouptas; car l'ère des Gouptas commence aussi l'an 241 de l'ère de Śaca."[27]

Albirûnî then observes that the year 400 of Yezderjed is equal to Vikrama 1088 = Śaka 953 = Gupta 712 = Ballaba 712.

Before discussing another important authority regarding the Gupta era, let us examine the statements of Albirûnî, in order to ascertain what claims on our faith they may be admitted *primâ facie* to possess.

We have already observed that the statements of the Arabic author, given in the same passage, concerning the Vikrama and Śaka epochs are correct. As to the relation of the Valabhî and Gupta eras, which Albirûnî states to begin from the same epoch, we are able to test his statement by a control which is as simple as it is trustworthy. In Kâṭhiâwâḍ a great number of coins of Kumâragupta and of his son Skandagupta are found. The inscriptional dates for Skandagupta extend from 130 till 146; the era to which these dates belong, is called expressly in the Junagaḍh inscription *Guptasya kâla.*

The Gupta coins of Kâṭhiâwâḍ are followed by a series of coins accurately imitating the preceding ones; Mr. Newton has shown that these coins belong to the Valabhî or Bhaṭârka kings.[28] Of the same kings

[24] The coins of the two dynasties, which branch off from the same point, the later Indo-Skythian princes in Kabulistân and in the Punjâb, and the Guptas in Kanauj, must not be confounded with each other. On such a confusion rests, for instance, the statement of Wilson (*Ar. Ant.* pp. 109, 427) that in the Stûpas of Afghanistân Gupta coins have been found together with the coins of the Eastern Roman emperors, Marcianus, Leo, and Theodosius.

[25] For the Gupta coins with the standing king or the seated goddess we refer to Prinsep-Thomas, vol. I, plate xxii, 16, 17; pl. xxiii, 18, 19, 23; pl. xxix, 13, 14, &c. Compare with these the Indo-Skythian coins represented by v. Sallet, pl. vi, 5-7; Prinsep-Thomas, *Essays*, vol. I, pl. xxii, 11—14; pl. xxix, 10, &c.

[26] See Reinaud, *Fragments Arabes*, etc., pp. 142 et seq. I quote the passage according to his translation.

[27] If we accept 78 A. D. as the Śaka epoch, the year Śaka 241 began in March 319. The Gupta-Valabhî year began doubtless in February or March, according to the rules of the lunisolar calendar.

[28] *J. Bombay Br. As. Soc.* vol. VII, p. 12 et seq. Comp. Thomas, *The Gupta Dynasty*, or *Archæol. Rep. W. India*, vol. II, pl. vii. No. 29 et seq.

we possess a very numerous series of dated grants.[29] These inscriptions mention as the founder of this dynasty the Senâpati Bhaṭârka, who is followed successively by four of his sons. The second of them is the first prince of this series who adopts the title of *mahârâja*. Of the third of Bhaṭârka's sons we possess several inscriptions, which bear the dates 207, 210, 216.

The coins, consequently, confirm Albirûnî's statement representing the Valabhî dynasty as coming after the Guptas. And the inscriptions support the belief that the Valabhî kings did not introduce a new era but continued to count the years from an earlier epoch. The distance between the last Gupta dates and the first Valabhî ones which the inscriptions contain, is exactly sufficient to make it highly probable that this early era used by the Valabhîs was no other than the Gupta era.

Wherever we possess means of controlling Albirûnî's statements, therefore, they prove correct. There is only one of his statements which we cannot adopt. He says that it is the fall of the Guptas, the rising of the Valabhî dynasty, from which the Gupta-Valabhî era begins. This would be most difficult to believe even if we had no inscriptions showing that the *Guptakâla* is the system of chronology used by the Guptas themselves and commencing from the establishment of the Gupta rule. We are reminded of the similar error of Albirûnî or rather of the Indian authorities on which he depends, stating that the Śaka era which really originated with the *abhisheka* of the Śaka king, began from the ruin of the Śaka power. It is evident, however, that an error concerning the historical circumstances connected with the introduction of the Gupta era—an error which is accounted for by the corrupted Indian tradition, cannot by any means discredit the statement of the careful Arabic scholar regarding the initial epoch of this era.

We must now consider another weighty testimony bearing upon the Gupta era.

Tod[30] mentions an inscription of Arjunadeva found at Paṭṭana Somanâtha, the date of which is expressed in four different ways: the year of Muhammad 662, of Vikrama 1320, of Balabhi 945, and of Śivasinga[31] 151.

Now the Muhammadan year mentioned in this inscription[32] indicates 319 A. D. as the initial date of the Gupta-Valabhî era, quite in accordance with the above statement of Albirûnî.

The difference between the Valabhî and Vikrama epochs amounts, in this inscription, to 375 years, whereas we should expect, according to Albirûnî, 376 years. This inaccuracy may easily be accounted for by what we have said above (p. 214) regarding the fluctuation of chronological epochs that is observed in ancient Indian inscriptions. For the rest, the Muhammadan date given in the inscription shows that it must be the Vikrama date and not the Valabhî date which is affected by the slight inaccuracy spoken of.

Here we have, therefore, a confirmation of Albirûnî's statement, which is, in our opinion, as conclusive as possible. Though the power of the Guptas as well as of the Valabhîs had long been annihilated in Albirûnî's time, and so much longer in Arjunadeva's, their era was still in use. We have a continual series of dates expressed in the Gupta or Valabhî era, which extends from the first century of this era down till far beyond the time of Albirûnî,[33] so that it is difficult to understand how the continuity of the tradition regarding the commencement of this era can be reasonably called in question.

Have the scholars who have tried to displace the Gupta era by centuries from the point assigned to it by Albirûnî, succeeded in invalidating the tradition which is apparently so well founded? It seems to me that no counterproof has been produced which will in any way stand the test.

Those scholars who refer the Gupta dates to the Śaka era, come into conflict not only with the statements of Albirûnî and of Arjunadeva's

[29] See Dr. Bühler's masterly edition of these grants in the different volumes of the *Indian Antiquary*. The most recent synopsis of the kings mentioned in these inscriptions and of their dates is given by Dr. Burgess, *Arch. Survey of Western India*, vol. III, p. 96.

[30] *Annals of Rajasthan*, vol. I, p. 801. Comp. the same author's *Travels in Western India*, p. 506. A photozincograph of this inscription, which Dr. Burgess has kindly transmitted to me, removes every doubt both as to the authenticity of the inscription and the correctness of its dates as given by Tod.

[31] An era belonging to the Gohil family.

[32] The year 662 of the Hejra began 1264 October 24, of the Julian calendar.

[33] After the Gupta inscriptions and coins the Valabhî grants furnish a long continued series of dates from 207 till 447 of the Valabhî era. Then follows the Morbi inscription, Gupta 585 (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. II, p. 258); afterwards we have Albirûnî 712; a Jain MS. mentioned by the late Dr. Bhâû Dâjî (*Journ. Bombay Br. R. A. S.*, vol. VIII, p. 246) dated Gupta 772, and two inscriptions given by Tod, in Valabhî 850 and 945.

inscription, but also, above all, with the coins of the Indo-Skythian kings. We have shown that the Śaka era is the era of Kanishka. Now, as the Gupta coinage presupposes Indo-Skythian coins which must be of later origin than the year 100 of Kanishka's era, it is evident that the rule and the coinage of the Guptas cannot have begun with the time of Kanishka. Also, for the Kshatrapa dynasty, the age of which we shall afterwards discuss, if we take 78 A.D. as the Gupta epoch, we arrive at chronological results that are inadmissible; we should be forced to assign to the Kshatrapas a date anterior by several centuries to what conforms with the limits afterwards to be discussed.

Of all the hypotheses that have been formed, the least to be approved is that of Lassen,[34] who, without any reason, distinguishes between an earlier and a later Gupta dynasty; the most important kings belonging to the former were Samudragupta and Skandagupta; Budhagupta is reckoned by Lassen with the later Guptas. The dates recorded of the earlier Guptas are referred by him partly to the Śaka era, partly to a Gupta era of Lassen's own invention, beginning in 140 A. D.; the date of Budhagupta's inscription (year 165) he refers to the era of 319 A. D. All this is entirely arbitrary. No one that compares the dates assigned by inscriptions and coins to Skandagupta (130-146) and those of Budhagupta (155, 165), and then confronts the coins of these two kings,[35] will entertain the least doubt as to their being most closely chronologically connected.

The argument by which Dr. Bühler[36] has recently tried to establish a different epoch for the Valabhî chronology, deserves to be considered much more carefully than Lassen's vague conjectures. Hwen Thsang mentions the Valabhî prince T'u-lu-p'o-po-tu[37] as reigning when he visited India. The Sanskrit name which answers best to the Chinese transcription, would be Dhruvabhaṭa, and this name, or rather Dhrûbhaṭa, which is not essentially different from it, is found in a copper-plate inscription as the surname of a Valabhî prince reigning in the year 447 of the Valabhî era. As the Chinese pilgrim visited that part of India in the fourth decade of the seventh century A. D., this argument would tend to show that the Valabhî epoch must be placed somewhere about 200 A. D.

We must admit that the identification of T'u-lu-p'o-po-tu with Dhrûbhaṭa would be very convenient, if it were possible. But our judgment on this conjecture must depend upon its agreeing or not with the chronological results found otherwise; in itself this hypothesis cannot at all claim such a degree of certainty that it should be decisive for the whole question of Valabhî chronology. The prince mentioned by Hwen Thsang may possibly be identified with Derabhaṭa, whom the plates mention as the son of Śîlâditya I. (year 286) and the father of Dhruvasena III (year 332);[38] or, as Dhrûbhaṭa is only the surname of a king whose principal name was Śîlâditya, we may perhaps suppose that one of the preceding Śîlâdityas or Dharasenas had the same surname—we ought to remember, using Dr. Bühler's own very appropriate words,[39] "the evil habit of many Indian dynasties of taking a large number of *birudas* or honorific titles." It is of no consequence to us whether the name of that T'u-lu-p'o-po-tu is accounted for in the one way or the other; the only thing we want to show is—that no counterproof against the correctness of Albirûnî's statements regarding the Gupta-Valabhî era can be based on the name of this prince.[40]

[34] *Ind. Alterthumskunde*, II. (2d ed.) 784 seq., 957 seq.

[35] See Thomas, *The Dynasty of the Guptas*, or *Archæol. Sur. W. India*, Nos. 24—26 of the plate, and the last coins figured on Mr. Thomas's second plate in *J. R. As. Soc.* vol. XII, p. 72.

[36] *Ind. Antiquary*, vol. VII (1878), p. 80.

[37] Mr. Beal, whom I consulted about the passage in question of the Chinese text, confirms the correctness of this name as spelt by Stan. Julien. He adds that a Japanese note on this passage spells it To-ro-va-vats-ta.

[38] The time to which Derabhaṭa must belong if we take 319 as the initial date of the Valabhîs, agrees exactly with the time of Hwen Thsang's visit to India. It is true that Derabhaṭa, a king's son and a king's father, is not styled himself a king in the inscriptions. But this does not much matter, as Dr. Bühler himself has shown that the redactors of the inscriptions often quite arbitrarily omitted unpopular names from the series of kings.—Mr. Beal informs me that the meaning of the Chinese translation of "T'u-lu-p'o-po-tu," which, according to Julien, means "constamment intelligent," is not certain.

[39] *Ind. Antiquary*, vol. VI, (1877) p. 60.

[40] Still less would it be possible to take as essential for such an argument the Kâvî inscription, which has been treated by Dr. Bühler in the *Ind. Antiquary*, vol. VI, (1877) pp. 110 seq., in a most interesting and ingenious manner. This inscription contains the date 486, and mentions the victory of a Gurjara king over "the lord of Valabhî." Dr. Bühler refers the date to the era of Vikramâditya; under this supposition it would belong indeed to a period anterior to the rise of the Valabhî dynasty, when we accept for the latter event the date derived from Albirûnî. To this it may be answered, first, that "the lord of Valabhî" may very possibly have been a viceroy of the Guptas. But our principal objection would be that Dr. Bühler's opinion as to the use of the Vikrama era in this inscription

On the contrary I believe that everything which may throw any light on this question, strongly supports the statement of Albirûnî.

Here I may be allowed to allude, first, to the dates found in inscriptions, which are expressed *both according to* the Gupta era and according to a chronological cycle, the nature of which we shall immediately discuss.

These dates stand as follows:

The year	156,	which is a	Mahâvaiśâkha year.
Do.	173	do.	Mahâśvayuja year.
Do.	191	do.	Mahâchaitra year.
Do.	209	do.	Mahâśvayuja year.[41]

It is evident that we have here a cycle of twelve years, the single years of which received their names in their turn from the lunar months. No one who is even superficially acquainted with the Indian calendary systems, will have any doubt as to the nature of this cycle. It is evident, nor could it escape the attention of a scholar like General Cunningham, that the cycle is based on the revolution of Jupiter, which is completed in about twelve years. The use of such a cycle is attested by the *Sûryasiddhânta* (xiv, 17) and by the authorities quoted by Davis (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. III, p. 217). Each year of this cycle was called after that Nakshatra of the twelve from which the months received their names, and within the extent of which the heliacal rising and setting of Jupiter fell in that year. Now, if we take 319 as the Gupta epoch, the conjunction of Sun and Jupiter occurred, according to the Indian method of calculation, in the first of the four years mentioned, in 191st degree (of the Hindu ecliptic). This is not very far from being correct, for the true point at which the conjunction occurred in that year, is situated in the 197th degree, as Dr. Lehmann Filhés has kindly calculated for me. The heliacal setting or rising of Jupiter is distant from this point by about 4°. The point of the ecliptic at which we arrive in this way, would have to be considered, in accordance with the later system of Hindu astronomy, as belonging to the Nakshatra Chitrâ. But this system depends entirely on the position of the vernal equinox about 560 A.D.,—the initial point, that is, the beginning of Aśvinî, being regarded as coincident with the equinoctial point at that date. We think it can be shewn, as highly probable, that previous to that, no attention was paid to the position of the equinox in fixing the limits of the twelve divisions of the ecliptic. To determine, therefore, the limits belonging to each Nakshatra, we have only to consider the actual positions of the asterisms which gave name to the twelve divisions. Now, according to Prof. Whitney's map, we have—

Chitrâ	situated in	182°
Viśâkhâ	„ „	205°-215°
Jyêshṭhâ	„ „	230°
Âshâḍhâs	„ „	255°-265°

The divisions of the ecliptic named after these Nakshatras would be somewhat as follows,—Chitrâ, 165°-195°; Viśâkhâ, 195°-225°; Jyêshṭhâ, 225°-255°; Âshâḍhâs, 255°-285°. If this be correct, it appears that the year 475 A.D. (Gupta 156) would be a Mahâvaishâkha year; at all events, the position of Jupiter that year, if it did not fall within the Viśâkhâ Nakshatra, cannot have been more distant from it than may be accounted for by the contingencies of intercalation to which the Jovian cycle was subject.[42]

Another date to be mentioned here is that given in the Budhagupta inscription: "after 165 years (*i. e.*, in the current 166th year), when Budhagupta was king, on the 12th (lunar) day of the bright half-month of Âshâḍha, on a Thursday." If we accept the epoch of 319 A. D., this date will be the 21st June 484 A. D.,[43] which was indeed[44] a Thursday.

is open to grave doubts. All the other inscriptions that belong to the Gurjara dynasty are dated in the Śaka era, and the argument by which Dr. Bühler has tried to show that this era will not do in this inscription, seems by no means strong enough to establish here the use of the Vikramâditya era of which no certain traces are found till much later times.

[41] These dates have been collected by Gen. Cunningham in the *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. IX. I have not yet been able to see this volume, which contains a new disquisition by Gen. Cunningham on the question of Gupta dates, and I take these dates from the review of Gen. Cunningham's work contained in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IX (1880), p. 253.

[42] I must confess that I do not understand how the Jovian dates can be reconciled with General Cunningham's theory, which he tries to prove in the work quoted, that the Gupta epoch is to be placed in 195 A. D.

[43] See the formulæ and tables in Warren's *Kala-Sankalita*.

[44] It is to be regretted that the date of the Morbi inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. II, p. 257 *seq.*; vol. IX, p. 308) cannot be made use of here. This inscription contains a royal grant issued "when 585 Gupta years had elapsed, as the disk of the sun was eclipsed." The date, however, given at the end of the inscription, Phâlgunasudi 5, cannot possibly refer to the donation itself, but only to its inscriptional record, for of course on the fifth day after new moon

Attention should be given, besides, to a palæographical fact, which, in my opinion, is of more consequence than I should be inclined generally to grant to arguments based on the palæographical character of inscriptions. But as the change in the shape of a certain letter to which I allude here, appears to be included within very restricted chronological limits, it may be well to mention it here.

The sign for *m*, which was originally 8 and then X, changed in later times in the North Indian inscriptions into Ɣ/. The series of Mathurâ inscriptions, which are mostly dated, show at what time the new form of *m* originated. The first instance of it is found in an *inscription of the year* 98[45] of the era which we have proved above to be the Śaka era. Other inscriptions belonging to the end of the first century of that era retain the more ancient form; in the second century the recent form of *m* becomes predominant.

The palæography of Gujarât and Southern India—excepting, perhaps, the palæography of coins—was not affected by this change. I know only *one* inscription of Kâṭhiâwâḍ in which the North Indian *m* appears, the inscription of Jasdan, dated 127 of the Kshatrapa era.[46] Now it is inadmissible to assign this sporadic occurrence of the North Indian *m* in Kâṭhiâwâḍ to a time anterior to its first occurrence in Northern India itself, more especially at Mathurâ, which was situated on the route which North Indian influences spreading towards Kâṭhiâwâḍ must have naturally followed. As the recent form of *m* is not found in the Mathurâ inscriptions before 177 A. D., the earliest limit for the Kshatrapa era, even if we assume that this form of the letter spread to Kâṭhiâwâḍ at that very time, would be about 50 A. D. We shall show afterwards that the Gupta era is posterior by at least 200 years to the Kshatrapa era. Thus by choosing throughout the earliest possible dates, we arrive at 250 A. D. as the limit before which the Gupta era cannot be placed. This agrees very well with the actual position of the Gupta epoch in 319 A. D., and in every case it opposes so considerable deviations from this epoch, as some scholars have advocated.

Having thus determined the chronological position of the Gupta dynasty, we are enabled now to fix the period to which another dynasty must belong, the coins of which are found in large numbers—the so-called S â h dynasty.[47]

The usual designation of these kings as Sâhs is derived from their names, most of which were at first believed to end in *-sâha* (Rudrasâha, *Dâmasâha, etc.*). In *deciphering these* names, however, an error has been committed.[48] The reading is based exclusively on coins, and these contain a comparatively extensive legend pressed into very small space; thus most of the letters are badly shaped and the vowels particularly are generally subject to doubt. For the correct reading therefore it is important that some of the names re-occur also on the pillar inscription of Jasdan, which gives the genealogy of the first kings of this series.

This inscription furnishes the following series, in which each king is stated to be the son of the preceding one:

Chashṭana,
Jayadâman,
Rudradâman,
Rudrasiṁha,
Rudrasena.

The comparison of these names with those found on the coins shows that Rudrasâha is a mislection for Rudrasena. I find this conjecture confirmed by comparing the coins of the Berlin Museum. The letter read *h* in the supposed *-sâha* is clearly different from the true *h* which frequently occurs, for instance in the word *mahâkshatrapa*, and must be *n*.[49] That the

no eclipse can have occurred. I believe that the eclipse alluded to is the one of the 10th November 904, about three months before the date of the inscription.

[45] See Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. III, p. 38, and the tables annexed to that volume.

[46] See the facsimile in the *Journ. Bom. B. R. As. Soc.*, vol. VIII, p. 234.

[47] See Thomas, *J. R. A. S.*, vol. XII, pp. 1 seq.; *The Dynasty of the Guptas*, pp. 31 seq.; or *Archæol. Sur. Report W. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 45 seq.; Newton, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, vol. VII, pp. 1 seq.; vol. IX, pp. 1 seq.; von Sallet, *Nachfolger Alexanders*, pp. 67 seq.; Jacobi, *Zeitschrift d. D. Morg. Ges.*, vol. XXXIV, p. 256.

[48] After writing my remarks on the correct reading of these names, I learnt from Dr. Bühler that the true reading was already well known to numismatists in India years ago. See Bhagvânlâl Indraji's paper, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 43; *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, vol. XII, Proc. p. xxiii. I am glad to acknowledge the priority of a scholar like Mr. Bhagvânlâl; however I have not thought it superfluous to put before the public my arguments as they had presented themselves to me independently of his researches.

[49] The difference of the two letters will be easily recognised also on accurate representations of these coins; see No. 9 of Mr. Thomas's plate in his memoir *On the Dynasty of the Guptas*, or *Arch. Sur. Rep. W. Ind.*, vol II, p. 36, Nos. 9—13, 16 etc.: of the plates of the same scholar in *J. R. As. S.*, vol. XII; Nos. 3, 6, 7 of Mr. Newton's first and No. 7 of his second plate.

difference of these letters vanishes by degrees in many of the later or badly preserved samples of those coins, is of no consequence, considering the palæographical character of the legends.[50] What we have observed regarding Rudrasâha, is true also with reference to the other similar names, and thus we are forced to abandon the usual designation of this dynasty as "Sâh-dynasty."

The only sources for the history of this dynasty are the inscriptions and coins; everything else must be rejected.

Among the would be authorities which have no real value whatever, I class first the statements of the Kâṭhiâwâḍ bards, given by Major Watson.[51] The Kshatrapa dynasty is not explicitly mentioned therein, but its ruin is alluded to unmistakeably. One of the Gupta kings, we are told, who reigned between the Ganges and the Jumna, sent out his son Kumârapâl Gupta in order to conquer Surâshṭra. This task being fulfilled, the king appointed one of his amîrs, Chakrapâni, son of Prândat, to the government of this province. Afterwards Kumârapâl Gupta and then his weak son Skandagupta succeeded to the throne; finally, Bhaṭṭâraka, a Senâpati of the latter king, gained the supreme power.

It is difficult to understand how even such scholars as must be supposed to be intimately acquainted with the character of Indian bardic records, could believe this to be a genuine tradition. Indeed the whole story is a very poor compilation pieced up of what those "bards" knew by hearsay of the results of modern epigraphical and numismatical investigation; some confusion in the details we may safely charge to the account of the poets themselves.

The coins found in Kâṭhiâwâḍ furnish the names of the two Gupta kings, Kumâragupta and Skandagupta—the name Kumârapâla Gupta, given to the former by the bards, owes its origin doubtless to a reminiscence, rather out of place here, of the renowned Kumârapâla, who reigned in the twelfth century A. D.; the great rock inscription of Junâgaḍh names the lieutenant of Skandagupta (not, as the bards state, of that king in whose reign the peninsula, was conquered) Parṇadatta and his son Chakrapâlita; after the great Gupta inscription follow the grants of the Valabhî kings, who *give as their ancestor the Senâpati Bhaṭârka*;—these are the materials to which we may easily trace back the origin of that pretended bardic story. For that the bards should have correctly preserved from such remote antiquity, the memory of one—and only of this one viceroy, and of his father—two persons otherwise of no importance whatever, and that, by a fortuitous coincidence, the Junâgaḍh inscription should mention for the same period, just these two and only these persons; all this is indeed so strikingly marvellous, that one need not be unduly suspicious in regarding it as otherwise explicable.

Another tradition recently brought to light, which is believed to be connected with this dynasty, would deserve at all events more consideration than those bardic stories, if it were possible to adduce stronger evidence to show that it is the Kshatrapa dynasty to which the statements in question refer. I allude to the legendary story, handed down by the Jainas, of the great saint Kâlaka.[52]

Gardabhilla, the powerful ruler of Ujjayinî, had offended the sister of that saint, and Kâlaka resolved therefore to dethrone the king. He went to the country called Śakakûla, where the family in possession of the throne was called Sâhi, and the supreme lord of the country was called Sâhâṇu Sâhi. The saint succeeded in persuading one of the Sâhis, whose life was menaced by the king, together with ninety-five other noblemen, who were in equal danger, "to cross the Indus with troops and vehicles, and to go to Himdugadesa (the Hindu country). They took boats and went to the country of Suraṭṭha. In the meantime the rainy season began. Because they saw that the roads were impassable, they divided the country among themselves into ninety-six parts, and remained there." In autumn they went on to Ujjayinî and dethroned king Gardabhilla.

"Having appointed the Sâhi who was attached to the saint, supreme king (*râyâhirâya*),

[50] The opinion of Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. II, (2nd ed.) p. 623, note, that instead of *-sâha* we must read throughout *siṁha*, was a mistake.

[51] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II, p. 312.

[52] An excellent edition of this legend has been published by Prof. Jacobi, *Zeitschrift d. D. Morg. Ges.*, vol. XXXIV, pp. 247 et seq.

the others enjoyed their dominion, having become feudal chiefs. Because they came from Śakakûla, they are called Śakas. Thus originated this dynasty of Śaka Kings." Some time afterwards Vikramâditya overthrew this dynasty and introduced the era called after his name. 135 years after this event a Śaka became king again, who introduced the Śaka era.

"In order to explain the Śaka era this episode has been told."

Professor Jacobi[53] thinks it probable that the Sâhis mentioned in this legend are the "Shâh kings" of Kâṭhiâwâḍ. But as the usual appellation of these "Shâh kings" is founded, as I have shown, on a mislection of their coins, Dr. Jacobi's conjecture loses its support.[54] Besides it must be remembered that the Kshatrapa inscriptions (among which the Junâgaḍh one is very large, and the Jasdan one is distinct in stating the titles of the different princes) contain nothing similar to the titles Sâhi, Sâhâṇu Sâhi, Śaka, or to Devaputra, which is found several times connected with the titles mentioned.[55]

In my opinion everything tends to show rather that it is the dynasty of Kanishka and his successors to whom the disfigured tradition preserved in the Kâlaka legend refers. That they are said to have crossed the Indus, that India is called by them the Himduga country, that they are designated Śakas and also as Sâhis,[56]—all this taken together suits better the dynasty to which Kanishka belonged than any other known. The tale of their expedition to Ujjayinî appears to be scarcely better than one of those legends, valueless for history, which grow nowhere more readily than near the origins of the Śaka epoch, and of the epoch which derives its name from the fabulous Vikramâditya of Ujjayinî.

Nor do I believe that anything can be made out of the statement that Surâshṭra was touched by this expedition. Possibly the remembrance of another expedition which came from "Sakadvîpa," and was directed first to the same part of India, may have exercised some influence here,—the immigration of the so-called Maga Brâhmaṇs.[57]

The result of all this is purely negative: we find that no traditions regarding the Kshatrapa dynasty are left us except the inscriptions and coins.

The coins of this long series of kings are, for the most part, dated. The highest among these dates are those of the coins of the last king or the last but one, Svâmi Rudrasena, son of Svâmi Rudradâman.[58] On these coins are read the numbers 284, 192 (read, 292), 294.[59] A still higher number is found on a coin mentioned by Sir E. Clive Bayley,[60] the date of which he says is 300.

The date 300 is the last in this series, and after it follow the coins of the two Gupta kings Kumâragupta and his son Skandagupta, which are frequently found in Surâshṭra. The delineations given by Newton and the remarks of the same gentleman[61], which are

[53] *l. c.* p. 256.

[54] Another argument adduced by Professor Jacobi in favour of his conjecture does not appear to me much stronger. In order to show that the Shâh Kings were Śakas, he makes use of one of the Nâsik cave inscriptions, in which, as he says, the first king of the Shâh dynasty, Nahapâṇa, is called the father-in-law of the Śaka Ushavadâta. But granting the conclusiveness of this inference from a son-in-law to his father-in-law, and granting, which is not less doubtful, that Nahapâṇa belonged to the Shâh dynasty, it must be objected that fragments like these, in which /// *śakasa Ushavadâtasa* is read, in an inscription which, according to Mr. West, is partly illegible, can by no means be made use of as if they could be interpreted with any certainty.

[55] It may be observed here also that the usual Kshatrapa head on the coins shows a thoroughly Indian physiognomy, in which respect it differs very much from the heads of the Śaka princes Kanishka and Huvishka.

[56] Vasudeva receives the title of Shâhi in a well-known Mathurâ inscription (Cunningham, *Arch. Report*, vol. III, plate xv, No. 18). The Daivaputras Shâhi Shâhânashâhi Śakas, who sent presents or tribute to Samudragupta (Allahabad inscription, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1837, pl. lv, line 20), may have been successors of the "Devaputra Shâhi Vasudeva." The gold coinage belonging to Vasudeva's successors must have continued in use for centuries (Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. II, 2nd ed., p. 868; Thomas, *J. R. A. S.*, vol. XII, p. 15).

[57] See Weber, *Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1879, pp. 455, 457.

[58] Newton gives after this king, another of the same name, son of Svâmi Satya Sâh (or rather, Sv. Satyasena), but he adds that this king may have preceded the former one quite as well. He states that he knows only of one coin belonging to Svâmi Rudrasena, son of Svâmi Satyasena; it may be inferred therefrom that the reign of this prince was at all events very short.

[59] I dare not pronounce a judgment about the units of the first and third of these numbers. Prof. Bhândârkar (*Transactions of the International Congress of Orientalists*, London, 1876, p. 353) identifies this king with a preceding Rudrasâh (read rather, Rudrasena), son of Vîradâman, and he reads the first numeral in his dates 100 instead of 200. This conjecture is every way inadmissible; the facts showing this may be found clearly stated in Mr. Newton's paper (*J. B. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. VII).

[60] *Indian Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 57, note.

[61] *l. c.* pp. 9, 10; Nos. 9 and 10 of the plate. It is scarcely necessary to add that palæographical reasons also establish without doubt the priority of the Kshatrapas to the Guptas; a comparison of the two great inscriptions of the Junâgaḍh rock will suffice to show this.

based on a most thorough examination of these coins, leave no doubt that the coins of Kumâragupta follow directly after the latest Kshatrapa coins, of which they are imitations.

Now Kumâragupta's date is determined first by the inscriptions which give the year 93 (of the Gupta era of course) as the latest date of his father, and the year 130 as the earliest date of his son. With these accords the date on a coin of Kumâragupta himself[62] represented by the symbol for 90, after which is a unit that cannot be made out.

We have, therefore, Kshatrapa coins with the date of 300, and following them a Gupta coin with the date of 90 and odd, and we conclude therefrom that the Kshatrapa epoch must be placed at least about 200 years before the Gupta epoch, or about A. D. 120, taking the latest limit.

It is evident, however, that between the last coins of the earlier series and the first coins of the later series an interval of time may have elapsed which may possibly extend through several decades. After the reign of the last Kshatrapa whose coins we possess, a period of troubles may have followed which has left no trace in numismatics. The real initial date of the Kshatrapa era therefore may possibly fall as far back as the last decades of the first century A. D. Too great an interval, however, in the series of coins between the Kshatrapas and Kumâragupta will scarcely be deemed very probable, and besides the following reasons would oppose our assigning to the Kshatrapa epoch a date considerably earlier than what we have shown to be the latest limit:—

1. The very debased condition of the Greek legends on the Kshatrapa coins; see von Sallet *l. c.*, pp. 67 seq.

2. The later form of the letter *m* occurring on an inscription of the Kshatrapa year 127 (see above.) We have shown that this form of the letter *m* does not appear on the North Indian inscriptions, to which it properly belongs, before the end of the first century of the Śaka era.

3. The name of the Pahlava nation being found in the Rudradâman inscription (Kshatrapa year 72); also the same name occurs in an inscription of another dynasty chronologically connected with the Kshatrapas,[63] which probably precedes the Rudradâman inscription by several decades. Professor Nöldeke believes that this name, derived from Parthava, does not belong to the period anterior to the first century A. D.[64]

Such being the state of the case, it would be possible to identify the Kshatrapa era with the era of Kanishka, *i. e.* the Śaka era (A. D. 78). The approximate position which we have arrived at for the Kshatrapa era, would not be incompatible with this identification, and if we believed that the satraps of Kâṭhiâwâḍ were viceroys of the mighty Śaka kings, the use of the Śaka epoch in their inscriptions and on their coins would be most natural.

Notwithstanding, I think that preference must be given to the opinion that the Kshatrapa era was one of those local ones, so frequently employed in India, which are restricted to the limits of a petty state, rising with the dynasty, and disappearing with its fall. We shall have afterwards to state arguments that make the Kshatrapas' supposed dependence on the Śaka kings somewhat improbable, and which point to their having been subject, at least at first, to the sway of a South Indian dynasty. It must be remembered besides, that the Kshatrapa inscriptions constantly lead back the genealogy of these princes to Chashṭana, and with this the coins agree: for Chashtana is the first prince known to us on whose coin[65] the so-called Shâh head is found. He appears therefore to have been the founder of the dynasty. Now Chashṭana was the grandfather of Rudradâman, whose inscription is dated from 72; thus Chashṭana's date falls too near the epoch of the Kshatrapa era not to make it preferable to connect the origin of the era with Chashṭana rather than with the Śaka king Kanishka.

From the Kshatrapa dynasty we go back a step and inquire into the dates of those princes

[62] No. 10 of Mr. Newton's plate. Comp. Thomas, *The Gupta Dynasty*, p. 47, or *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, vol. II, p. 62.

[63] Inscription of Puḷumâyi, No. 26 of Mr. West's Nâsik series, in which Puḷumâyi calls his father the destroyer of the Śakas, Yavanas, and Palhavas. We shall speak of the chronology of the cave inscriptions immediately afterwards.

[64] See Professor Nöldeke's remarks ap. Weber, *Indische Literaturgeschichte* (2nd edition), p. 338, or *Hist. Ind. Liter.*, p. 188.

[65] See No. 7 of Mr. Thomas's plate (*Dynasty of the Guptas*). I read the legend: *rajña mahâkshatrapasa Plamotikaputrasa Chashṭanasa.*

of Nahapâna; also the monetary type of Nahapâna is different from that of the Kshatrapas. Finally, we have no reason for doubting the statement of Sâtakaṇṇi's inscription, which says that this king destroyed the Kshaharâta race.

Resting on these considerations I venture to propose the following construction for the succession of these princes:—

First reigned the Kshaharâtas. Their family name, their Kshatrapa title, their vanquisher being called the destroyer of the Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas,—all tend to show that the lord paramount whom they obeyed, or had obeyed originally, must be looked for in the north, among those dynasties whose subjects were also the satraps of Mathurâ, the satrap Saudâsa, the satrap Rañjubala;[74] we may think perhaps of king Azes and his successors.[75]

The last Kshaharâta, Nahapâna, was overthrown by South Indian conquerors. These either immediately after their victory, or shortly after it, appointed Chashṭana to the governorship of Kâṭhiâwâḍ and the adjacent countries; he retained the title of Kshatrapa or Mahâkshatrapa which had become usual in these parts of India. His connexion with the South-Indian dynasty is pointed to by the symbol on his coins; instead of the Indo-Skythian weapon of Nahapâna's coin, Chashṭana introduced the 'Chaitya' symbol usually found on the South Indian coins, and, among them, also, on the coins of Sâtakaṇṇi Gotamiputta and of his son Puḷumâyi.[76]

The dynasty of Chashṭana soon succeeded in throwing off the supremacy of their South Indian lords. The Junâgaḍh inscription states that Rudradâman, the grandson of Chashṭana, twice conquered Sâtakarṇi, king of Dakshiṇâpatha, but did not destroy him on account of their connexion (or relation, *sambandha*). This Sâtakarṇi is doubtless a descendant of his namesake spoken of above; in the Brahmanical tradition several kings named Sâtakarṇi are mentioned in this family.

We must examine now, finally, the sparing dates which may throw light on the chronology of Nahapâna, Sâtakarṇi, and Puḷumâyi.

Here first we must most strongly protest against any conclusions derived from what the *Purâṇas*[77] state regarding the Ândhrabhṛitya dynasty.

According to the *Purâṇas* the rule of this dynasty began 294 (or 296) years after the commencement of the reign of the great Maurya king Chandragupta; thus the initial date of the Ândhrabhṛityas would be about B.C. 26, and this date or one near it has been accepted indeed by most scholars. The *Purâṇas* give a long series of kings belonging to this dynasty, and indicate the duration of each reign. About 340 years after the beginning of the dynasty the *Purâṇas* place Gautamiputra Śâtakarṇi (he reigned 21 years); then follows his son Puḷumâyi Śâtakarṇi (28 or 29 years); these are evidently the two kings so frequently mentioned in the Cave Inscriptions.

The list of kings given in the *Purâṇas* does not, *per se*, look very suspicious. It is in favour of its value that the two kings alluded to, who are known to us from the inscriptions, are correctly placed in it the one after the other, and that, after a short interval, a king Yajñaśrî follows, whose name is also attested by inscriptions as well as by coins (*Siriyaña-Sâtakaṇi*). Also "king Kaṇha of the Sâtavâhana family," who is mentioned in a very archaic looking Nâsik inscription,[78] is found in the list, as ought to be expected, very nearly at its beginning. It is therefore a highly probable supposition that the statements of the *Purâṇas* regarding the names and the succession of the Śâtavâhana kings, and probably also regarding the lengths of their reigns, are essentially correct, but quite incorrect in the chronological position assigned to the dynasty as a whole. The mythical and highly exalted beings in the *Purâṇas* who prophesy the future destinies of the world, unfortunately take the liberty of arranging dynasties that have reigned contemporaneously or partly contemporaneously

---

[74] Cunningham, *Arch. Rep.*, vol. III, p. 40; von Sallet, p. 134 ff.

[75] Mr. Thomas justly calls attention to the Indo-Skythian spear with the battle-axe found on Nahapâna's coin. Comp. for instance *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xxi, No. 19.

[76] About these coins, comp. Bhâṇḍârkar, *l.c.*, p. 351; *Journ. B. Br. As. Soc.* vol. XIII, plate i. I do not enter more particularly into this subject before the work of Sir W. Elliot on South Indian coins appears.

[77] See Wilson's *Vishṇu Purâṇa*, pp. 472 seq.

[78] No. 6 of Mr. West's series.

over different parts of India, into one long line. Such being the peculiar character of these sources, it is impossible to have any faith in an arrangement like that found in these texts which would make the time elapsed between Chandragupta and the first Śâtavâhana king amount to 296 years.[79] By the same arguments, by which the beginning of the Śâtavâhana dynasty is fixed at B. C. 26, it might be shown that the rule of the Guptas has not yet commenced, but will occur on India in a future age. For Sâtakaṇṇi and Puḷumâyi the Pauranik chronology would lead to a result that would fall several centuries beyond the limits we derive with certainty from epigraphical data.

It may be regarded as certain then, for the reasons stated above, that Nahapâna must be placed before the beginning of the Kshatrapa series. But neither inscriptions nor coins show how long a period elapsed between his reign and that of Chashṭana, the founder of the Kshatrapa dynasty. In no case, however, can it be thought probable that the first two unique coins opening the whole series of Kâṭhiâwâḍ coins,—those of Nahapâna and of Chashṭana, are very distant from each other in age. The change too which the palæographical character has undergone between Nahapâna and Rudradâman is not very marked. But a more precise result will be scarcely possible unless we assume the identity of the king Siripuḷumâyi of the Cave inscriptions with the Indian king Σιριπολεμαιος mentioned by Ptolemy.[80] It must be admitted, indeed, that we might more confidently rely upon this identification, if the Brahmânical lists did not offer a whole series of Puḷumâyis in the dynasty. Ptolemy states that Ozene (Ujjayinî) was "βασίλειον Τιαστανοῦ" (the royal capital of Tiastanes), and this Tiastanes has been identified, with much probability, with Chashṭana.[81] It would follow hence that these identifications being admitted, at least a part of Puḷumâyi's reign must have been contemporary with that of Chashṭana.

The Cave inscriptions mention the 40th, 41st and 42nd[82] year of Nahapâna, the 19th of Sâtakaṇṇi, the 24th of Puḷumâyi. Sâtakaṇṇi cannot have reigned much longer than 19 years, for his mother Gotamî was still alive in the 19th year of Puḷumâyi.[83] If I venture now to form these dates into a chronological table I need scarcely premise that for most of the numbers contained in it I do not claim more than an approximate value; however, to enable the reader to note the results at which we have arrived, a synopsis like this will perhaps be convenient:—

Nahapâna reigns in Gujarât and to the South of it, A. D. 55-100.

Kanishka's abhisheka in the North-Western Kingdom, A. D. 78.

Sâtakaṇṇi conquers Nahapâna, and appoints Chashṭana viceroy. Beginning of the Kshatrapa era, A. D. 100.

To Sâtakaṇṇi Puḷumâyi succeeds, who reigns still contemporaneously with Chashṭana.

Rudradâman, grandson of Chashṭana, vanquishes a younger Sâtakaṇṇi. The Kshatrapas are now independent of the Śâtavâhanas; about A. D. 173.

In the North Western kingdom about the same time the reign of Vâsudeva ends and the Indo-Skythian power declines.

Beginning of the Gupta dynasty, A. D. 319.

Last dated coin of the Kshatrapas, A. D. 400.

Shortly after this date: the Kshatrapas are overthrown by the Guptas.

First Gupta coin in Kâṭhiâwâḍ, about A. D. 415.

End of the dominion of the Guptas in Kâṭhiâwâḍ, beginning of the Valabhî dynasty, about A. D. 480.

[79] General Cunningham holds a very similar opinion on this subject; see *Reports* V, 20.

[80] See Professor Weber's edition of *Hâla*, Introduction, pp. xiii seq.; *Indische Studien*, vol. III, p. 485.

[81] It is true that Chashṭana's coin was found in Kâṭhiâwâḍ, but it is evidently possible nevertheless, that his residence was at Ujjayinî. His grandson Rudradâman is called, in the Junâgaḍh inscription, Lord of Avanti. Lassen objects to the identity of Tiastanes and Chasṭana (*Ind. Alt.* vol. II, 2nd ed. p. 924, note 1), that the Sanskrit *ch* is constantly rendered by the Greeks by (Σανδρόκυπτος, Πράσιοι); but this does not signify very much. The attempts of the Greeks to render by Greek letters Indian sounds, which they heard in different parts of India and at different times, cannot be regarded as governed by immutable phonetic laws. By the side of Σανδρόκυπτος (Chandragupta) stands Xandrames (Chandramâ.) Dr. Burgess has called my attention also to Τιατοῦρα = Chittûra..

[82] An inscription at Junnar also gives the 46th.—ED.

[83] See the 26th Nâsik inscription.

FOLKLORE IN THE PANJAB.

COLLECTED BY MRS. F. A. STEEL, WITH NOTES BY LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

(*Continued from p.* 152.)

No. 9.—FOLK-TALE.

Prince Lionheart[1] *and his three friends.*

Once upon a time there lived a king and queen, as happy as they could be, but for one trouble—they had no children.

One day an old *faqîr*[2] came to the palace, and said to the queen: "Eat these barley-corns I give you, and in nine months you shall bear a beautiful little son."

The queen did as the *faqîr* bid her, and sure enough, in the space of nine months, she bore the most beautiful prince that ever was seen. They called him Lionheart, he was so brave and strong and sturdy.

Now when he grew up Prince Lionheart became restless, and told the king, his father, that he wanted to travel. The king tried to dissuade him, but the Prince would hear of nothing else; so at last he obtained his father's consent and set off on his travels. He took with him three companions, a Knife-grinder, a Blacksmith, and a Carpenter.[3]

Now when these four valiant young men had travelled a short distance, they came to a fine city lying in a deserted jangal. There were tall houses, broad bazars, and shops full of goods, but not a human being to be seen anywhere. This astonished them very much, but the Knifegrinder said: "Oh! I remember now. I have heard of this. A demon[4] lives here, and will let no one come to dwell in the town. We had best be off."

But Prince Lionheart said "Pooh! not till I've had my dinner, for I am desperately hungry."

So they went to the shops and bought all they wanted, laying the proper price on the counter as there were no shopkeepers. Then they came back to the palace, and Prince Lionheart said: "O you Knifegrinder! 'tis your turn to cook the food. Do so quickly while we take another look at the town."

No sooner had they gone than the Knifegrinder went to the kitchen and began to cook the food. Just as it began to send up a savoury smell, he saw a little figure beside him clad in armour with sword and lance, riding on a gaily caparisoned mouse.

"Give me my dinner!" said the mannikin, angrily shaking his lance. "Your dinner! What an idea!" said the Knifegrinder laughing.

"Give it me at once," shrieked the little warrior, "or I'll hang you to the nearest pîpal tree."[5]

"Wah! Whippersnapper,"[6] answered the valiant Knifegrinder, "come nearer, and I'll crush you between finger and thumb."

Without more ado the mannikin shot up into a terribly tall demon. The Knifegrinder fell on his knees, and cried for mercy, but in a trice he was hung on the topmost branch of the pîpal tree.

"I'll teach you to cook in my kitchen," said the demon, and he gobbled up all the cakes that were ready, and disappeared.

Now the Knifegrinder wriggled so that the pîpal branch broke, and he came crashing through the branches to the ground with no more hurt than a few bruises; but he was terribly frightened, and determined not to cook again. Therefore he crept into the sleeping room, and rolled himself up in a quilt. By

---

[1] Told by a boy who sells eggs, son of Pûrbiâ parents. شیردل شہریار شہرآباد *Sherdil Shahryâr Shahrâbâd* is the full name of this Prince. شیردل Lionheart. شہریار *Shahryâr*, lit. friend of the city, a title applied to kings: *e.g.* the successor of Ardeshîr III in Persia, A. D. 629, was called Shahryâr. شہرآباد *Shahrâbâd*, lit. the populator of cities, in allusion to the incidents in the first part of the tale.—R. C. T.

[2] فقیر [illegible], so in the tale, but it is the peculiar [illegible] ant sons (see the other tales). A *jôgî* [illegible] the kind of *faqîr* intended here.— [illegible]

[3] About these [illegible] e-grinder. [illegible] wanders about with a wheel for grinding. This custom apparently extends to Central Asia, as an Afghan or Persian knife-grinder of this description was lately wandering in Firozpûr City. لوہار *lohâr*, blacksmith, and ترکھان *tarkhan*, carpenter.—R. C. T.

[4] بھوت *Bhût*—see the other tales—a demon. The power however here ascribed to the *bhût* properly belongs to a دیو *dêo*.—R. C. T.

[5] پیپل *pîpal*, *ficus religiosa*.—It is sacred among the Hindus and never cut by them. It is used in divination to find out the truth, the liar not daring to pluck the leaves.—R. C. T.

[6] مدھرا Panj. *maddhrâ*, (Hind. بونا *baunâ*) of small size, a dwarf, pigmy.—R. C. T.

and by in came the Prince and his companions, hungry as hunters, crying "Well, jolly Knifegrinder! where's the dinner?" "Oh! ho! groaned he from under the quilt, "I had nearly finished it when I got a fit of ague, and while I lay shivering and shaking a dog ran in and gobbled it up."

"What remains must do," said the Prince. "Here! you Blacksmith, do you cook the food whilst we go and have another look at the city."

But the very same thing happened to the valiant Blacksmith, that had happened to the Knifegrinder. He too crept to bed, rolled himself up in a quilt, and when the hungry Prince Lionheart arrived, lo! there was no dinner.

Then the Carpenter stayed behind to cook, but he fared no better than the two others; so when hungry Prince Lionheart returned there were three sick men, and no dinner. So Prince Lionheart set to work to cook the food himself. No sooner had it begun to give off a savoury smell than the tiny mouse-warrior appeared.

"Upon my word! you *are* a pretty little fellow," said the Prince. "Give me my dinner!" shrieked the mannikin.

"Your dinner! Ha ha! a good idea. Why, it's my dinner, my good sir. However, to avoid disputes let's fight it out," answered the Prince.

Then the mouse-warrior changed into a terribly tall demon, but the Prince only laughed, saying "There is a medium in all things. Before you were too small, now you are too big: as you seem to be able to alter your size without much trouble, suppose you show some spirit, and become just my size, neither less nor more. Then we can fight for our dinner." The demon, thought there was reason in what the Prince said, so he grew smaller. Then they fought, but the Prince slew the demon with his sharp sword.

After that the Prince roused his friends, saying "Oh valiant ones! I have slain your fever." Then he wrote to all the people belonging to the town, and told them they might come back and dwell in safety on condition of taking the Knifegrinder as their king, giving him their richest and most beautiful maiden for his queen.

This they did with great joy. But the Knifegrinder said "Sire, I must follow your fortunes." Then answered Prince Lionheart: "Not so! See, here is a barley plant; care for it, and water it well. So long as it flourishes, know that I am well, but if it droops, know that I am in misfortune, and come and help me."

Then the Knifegrinder king remained behind, while the Prince, the Blacksmith and the Carpenter went on their travels.

By and by they came to another desolate city, and the Blacksmith said: "Oh, I remember now! a ghost[7] lives here, and will allow no one to come near. We had best be off." "Not so," said Prince Lionheart, "First I must have my dinner, for I am hungry."

So they bought what they wanted from the shops, laying the proper price on the counters as there were no shopkeepers. Then the Prince said: "Oh Blacksmith! do you cook food, for it is your turn whilst I and the Carpenter look through the town."

No sooner had the Blacksmith prepared the food, and it began to smell deliciously, than the ghost appeared, awful and forbidding. The valiant Blacksmith didn't stop to parley, but flew into another room, and locked the door. When the Prince returned ever so hungry, there was no dinner to be found, and no Blacksmith.

So the Prince said: "Oh Carpenter, do you cook the food," and the Carpenter fared no better, and flew into another room, and locked the door.

"This is too bad!" said Prince Lionheart, when he returned, and he began to cook the food himself. But when the ghost saw such a very handsome young man, she would not appear as an old hag, but changed into a beautiful young woman.

However the Prince just looked at her feet,

[7] چڑیل, *chuṛēl*, usually a female ghost, which devours men: invariably in the Panjâb the ghost of a woman who had died during childbirth. They are usually supposed to inhabit deserted wells (اجاڑ کوے *ujâṛ kûe*) and old pîpal trees. But in nearly all places in the Panjâb certain wells and tanks are supposed to be thus haunted: *e.g.* the well near the corner of my compound here in Firozpûr and also the tank in the local District Court's compound, and besides these the masonry tank by the Dêlhi Gate of the Firozpûr city which is in daily use. The story of the presence of a *chuṛēl* seems usually to arise from some case of accidental drowning. The belief in *chuṛēls* is universal in Northern India, and will be treated later on under the head of "Customs and Beliefs." As regards their personal appearance they are supposed to be very ugly, black skinned, with protruding stomach and navel, and feet turned backwards; they can however assume the form of beautiful women.

and when he saw they were set on hind-side-before, he knew at once what she was, so he drew his sharp sword, and said, "I must trouble you to take your own shape again, for I don't want to kill such a beautiful young woman." At this the ghost shrieked with rage, and turned to her own loathsome shape once more, but just as she did so Prince Lionheart gave one stroke of his sharp sword, and lo! she was dead. As soon as this happened the Blacksmith and the Carpenter crept out of their hiding places.

The Prince wrote to all the townsfolk bidding them come back on condition of taking the Blacksmith to be their king, and giving him to wife the prettiest, richest and best born maiden in the town. This they did with pleasure.

After the wedding was over the Prince and the Carpenter set out on their travels: the Blacksmith king was loath to let them go, but Prince Lionheart gave to him also a barley plant, saying "Water and tend it carefully. So long as it flourishes know that I am well, but if it droops, then I am in trouble, and do you come and help me."

The Prince and the Carpenter had travelled but a short way when they came to a big town where they halted to rest.[8] Now there was a Princess in the town who was as fair as the moon: the Carpenter saw her by chance, and fell so desperately in love with her that the Prince took pity on him, and said, "Stay you here and marry the Princess, and I will go on my travels alone." So the Carpenter was married to the Princess and became king, and to him also Prince Lionheart gave a barley plant, and then set off on his travels alone.

Now after a time the Prince came to a river, and what was his astonishment to see a ruby of enormous size floating down the stream. He watched it wonderstruck, till another, and then another floated by. "This is very curious," said he, "I must go and find out whence they come."

He travelled up stream for two days and two nights, and came at last to a beautiful palace on the water's edge. By the palace grew a tree, on a branch of which hung a golden basket containing the head of a beautiful young woman: every minute a drop of blood fell from the bleeding head into the water, became a ruby, and floated away down the stream.

Prince Lionheart was overcome with pity at the sight, and tears rose to his eyes. He determined to search the palace and find out more about the beautiful and wonderful head.

He wandered through the marble rooms all richly decorated, but not a living creature did he see. At last in a sleeping-room, on a lovely satin bed, he saw the headless body of the most beautiful girl he had ever seen. He thought at once, "This must be the body belonging to the beautiful and wonderful head." So he ran and fetched the head and placed it on the body; no sooner had they touched each other, than the maiden sat up and talked. The Prince was overjoyed, and begged the beautiful maiden to tell him who she was. So she told him she was the daughter of a rich king: that a *jinn*[9] had fallen in love with her and carried her off to his palace, and that he was so jealous that every day when he left her, he cut off her head and hung it in the basket till his return. Then Prince Lionheart begged her to fly with him at once, but the Princess said, "Not so. First we must kill the *jinn*, or he will pursue us." Then the Prince said "You must ask him in what thing his life lies."[10] Then, shutting his eyes from the dreadful sight, he cut off his dear Princess's head, hung it in the golden basket, and hid himself in the next room.

By and by the *jinn* arrived. When he was putting on the Princess's head he cried, "Fee! fa! fum! Mânush-gandh! This room smells of man's flesh."[11]

But the Princess wept, saying, "How should I know anything! Am I not dead whilst you are away! Eat me if you like, and then I shall be dead altogether." But the *jinn*, who loved her to distraction, said he would rather die himself. "That would never do," said the Princess, "for if you were to be killed some day whilst you are away it would be very awkward for me. I should neither be alive nor dead."

"Never fear," answered the *jinn*, "I am not

[8] This incident is clearly an interpolation of the narrator's. He had evidently forgotten the proper adventure for the carpenter, so invented this. It is shockingly lame.—F. A. S.

[9] جن *jinn*—see above in former tales. The *jinn* is altogether Muhammadan, whereas the rest of this tale appears to be Hindu. The incident of *jinns* falling in love with girls is common in Muhammadan tales.—R. C. T.

[10] See above in former tales—common incident.—R. C. T.

[11] मानुष गंध *Mânush-gandh*, lit. man's smell. See above in the tale of "Sir Bumble" for explanation.—R. C. T.

likely to be killed. My life lies in something quite safe." "I am glad of that," said the deceitful Princess, "tell me in what it lies, that I may help you to preserve it." But the *jinn* refused. At last, when the Princess coaxed and wheedled, and he began to get sleepy, he answered, "I shall never be killed except by a prince called Lionheart, and then only if he can find the solitary tree, not far from here, where a dog and a horse keep sentinel, and can climb the tree, and kill the *Mainâ*[12] that sits singing in a golden cage, and then cut open its crop, and kill the bumble bee that is inside. But he will need to have a lion's heart or be very wise before he can reach the tree, and overcome its guardians." "How can they be overcome?" asked the Princess.

"In this way," said the *jinn*, who was dreadfully sleepy and tired of being cross-questioned: "In front of the horse lies a heap of bones, and in front of the dog a bundle of grass. Let him take a long bamboo and push the bones to the dog and the grass to the horse and they will let him pass."

The Prince overheard all this, and set off at once to find the solitary tree, which he did without any difficulty. The dog and the horse were savage and fierce, but became mild and peaceable when the bundles were changed. He climbed up the tree, seized the *mainâ*, and began to twist its neck. Just then the *jinn*, who was sleeping in the palace, became aware of what was happening, and flew through the air to do battle. The Prince saw him coming, and hastily cut open the *mainâ's* crop; there he found the bumble bee, and just as the *jinn* was alighting on the tree, the Prince tore off the insect's wings. Instantly the *jinn* fell to the ground with a crash; but he ran on determined to kill his enemy. Then the Prince twisted off the insect's legs, and lo! nothing remained of the *jinn* but the trunk, and when Prince Lionheart twisted the insect's neck, the life of the *jinn* went out entirely.

Prince Lionheart returned to the Princess, who was overjoyed to hear of her tyrant's death, and said "Let us return to my father's kingdom." "Not so," said the Princess, "first let us rest awhile and see what riches the palace contains." So they stayed, and one day the Princess said, "I will bathe in the river, and wash my beautiful hair." So she bathed in the river and combed her beautiful hair, every thread of which shone like gold. Now the Princess was proud of her golden hair, and when one or two long strands came out in the comb, she said "I will not throw them into the river to sink in the nasty mud." So she made a cup from a pîpal leaf,[13] laid the golden hairs in it, and let it float down the stream.

It chanced that the river flowed past a big city. The young king of that city was sailing on the river in a boat when he saw something sparkling like gold in the water, so he said to his boatmen—"Fetch me that glittering leaf."

When he saw the golden hairs, he thought he had never seen anything half so beautiful, and said "I will never rest day or night till I find the owner."

So he sent for the wise women[14] to find out where the owner of the beautiful hair lived. Said one old woman, "If she is on earth I will find her." Said the second, "If she is in heaven I will tear open the sky and bring her." But the third said, "*Wâh*, if you tear open the sky I'll put a patch in it so that no one will be able to tell the new piece from the old."

The king thought the last old woman much the cleverest, so he bid her go and seek for the owner of the golden glittering hair.

So the old woman set off up the river, in a grand boat, and by and by came to the palace of the *jinn*. She got out of the boat, sat down on the steps, and wept.

---

[12] مینا *Mainâ* (Sansk. किस्नी *Kisnî*) the *gracula religiosa*, a kind of starling well-known in India as a singing bird which can be taught to speak. It is sacred and never killed by Hindus.—R. C. T.

[13] ڈونا , *ḍôna*, a cup made of leaves. See next tale, where a nearly exactly similar incident occurs. The *ḍôna* is used in the Panjâb by the very poor as a receptacle for eatables.—R. C. T.

[14] *Kuṭnî*, soothsayer, wise woman: there is no suspicion of *witchcraft* about *kuṭnîs*, and they are seldom employed for any purpose except that in the context. *Phaphe kuṭnî* is used in common parlance for "a clever jade."—F. A. S.

کٹنی *Kuṭnî* is [illegible] in Panj. and Hindî from Sansk. √ कुट्ट् *kuṭṭ*, to grind, pound, abuse, whence Sansk. कुट्टनी *kuṭṭanî* and कुट्टिनी *kuṭṭinî* a procuress. The word for witch or wise woman in the Panjâb is usually پھپھے کٹنی *phaphe kuṭnî* (see above in former tales; *phaphe* probably represents Hindî پھپڑے *phapre* [illegible] and Panj. پھپھڑے [illegible] *phaphṛe hatthâ*, a [illegible] d in a bad sense and [illegible] o context, hag, [illegible] do not seem [illegible]

Now the Prince Lionheart had gone out hunting and the Princess was all alone. She had a tender heart, and when she heard the old woman weep she said to her, "Mother, why do you weep?"

"I weep," said the wise woman, "to think what will become of you if the handsome Prince is slain, and you are left here in the wilderness alone."

"Very true," said the Princess, and wept too.

That night she said, "Dear Prince, what should I do if you were killed?" Prince Lionheart laughed, saying, "That is not likely: for my life lies in safety."

But the Princess wept still, and asked "In what thing, dear Prince, does it lie, that I may help you to preserve it?"

"It lies," answered the Prince, "in my sharp sword, which never fails. If it were broken I should die."

"Then do not take it with you when you go hunting," begged the Princess, "it might come to harm."

But Prince Lionheart laughed at her fears. However, the very next day, when the Prince was going a hunting, she hid his strong, bright sword and put another in its place, so that the Prince was none the wiser.

And when the wise woman sat under the window and cried, she called out joyfully, "Don't cry any more, mother, for the Prince's life is safe to-day. It lies in his sword, and that is safely hidden away in my cupboard."

Then the old woman stole off to the cupboard while the Princess slept, and took the sword: then she made a big fire, and laid the sword in it. As it grew hotter and hotter, poor Prince Lionheart felt a hot fever creep over his body. He looked to see if anything burning had fallen on his his sharp strong sword, but lo, it was not his own sword but a changeling.[13] He cried, "I am undone!" and galloped homewards. But the wise woman blew up the fire so fast that the sword became red hot before the Prince could reach home, and just as he stood on the other side of the river, a rivet came out of the sword hilt; the hilt rolled off, and so did the Prince's head. So he died.

Then the old wise woman said to the Princess, "Daughter, your beautiful hair is all tangled, come and let me wash and dress it against your husband's return." So they went down the steps to the water. But the wise woman said, "Step into my boat, sweetheart; the water will be deeper out there." Then while the Princess' beautiful hair was over her eyes, the wicked old hag loosed the boat, and they went drifting down the stream. The Princess wept and wailed, but she could do nothing. However she vowed a great vow, and said "You wicked old thing! you are taking me away to some king's palace I know, but no matter who he is, I swear I will not look on his face for twelve years."

So when they arrived at the city the King caused a high palace to be built for the golden-haired Princess, and there she lived all alone, and no one was allowed to enter the courtyard but the hewers of wood and drawers of water.

Now when the Prince Lionheart died, the barley plant which he had given to the Knife-grinder King drooped and languished, and when the rivet came out of the sword and the Prince's head fell off, the barley stem broke right in two,

[13] This incident recalls the old European belief of killing and torturing the human body by effigy as it were, *i.e.* by making a wax effigy of the person to be tortured and sticking pins into it, the person of the original being supposed to feel pain in the parts stuck with pins. An exactly similar belief is current in the Panjâb, and is that referred to in this story. *Meḥrâs*, *Bhujwâs* and *Mîrâsîs*, being respectively the castes of ḍoli-bearers, (مهرا *mehrâ*, who are also basket makers,) parchers of grain, (بهجوا *bhujwâ* also بهربهونجا *bharbhûnjâ*), attendants on nâch-girls and singers (ڈوم *dûm* and ميراثي *mîrâsî*), are believed to be able to make گڈا *guḍḍâs*, effigies of cloth and rags or wax into which they stick pins, the person of the original being supposed to feel pain wherever the pins are stuck into the *guḍḍâ*. The cloth *guḍḍâ* used to be stuck on a pole and paraded in the streets for the purpose of annoying and insulting those who offended the *mîrâsîs*. It is a curious circumstance that this belief in making effigies is now attached to the *Jadû-ghars* (جادو گهر) or Witchcraft Houses, the popular name in India for Masonic Lodges; the popular belief being that the Freemasons make their victim touch a certain machine (sometimes wand) which causes him to revolve violently and eventually to die: he is then hung up by his heels, and holes are made in his head, through which the brains issue and fall into a pan over a slow fire, and are finally cooked into موميائي *Mômyâî* (Pers. a mummy), a popular medicine in India supposed to strengthen the brain, and usually composed of wax, etc. In connection with this, it is worth while recording that the گڑنت *gaṛant* (from گڑنا *gaṛna*, Hindî to sink; Sansk. गर्त्त *gartt*, a hole), is an effigy or name of a person which, according to Fallon's *Dictionary*, is buried in the ground after certain incantations. This ceremony is performed for the destruction of any person (مارن *mâran*), to secure his affection (موهن *mohan*), to subject him to obedience (بسيكرن *basîkaran*), to imprison him or deprive him of power of action or speech (ستمبهن *stambhan*), to drive him away (اچاٹن *uchchâṭan*), or to bring him before one (آكرشن *âkarshan*). These divinations, however, belong to the learned (*paṇḍits*) and not to the common people.—R. C. T.

and the ear tumbled on to the ground. The Knifegrinder King was dreadfully grieved, for he knew surely that some terrible trouble had befallen his dear Prince. But he gathered an army together and set off to help. On the way he met the Blacksmith King and the Carpenter King, who were on the same errand. Their barley plants had withered at the selfsame minute. Now when the three friends found that the three barley plants had withered and died in the selfsame manner, their hearts were very sad, but they determined to revenge their Prince's death if they could not save him. By and by they came to the river side, and there they found the Prince's body all burnt and blistered, and the head lying on the ground close by. They looked for the Prince's sword, for they knew his life lay in it, and when they saw another in its place, their hearts were sadder than ever. Then they lifted the body and took it to the palace to weep over it, and lo! there they found the Prince's sword in a heap of ashes, all blistered and stained, with the rivet gone, and the hilt lying close by.

"That is soon mended," said the Blacksmith King. So he blew up the fire, and forged a rivet; and no sooner had he rivetted the hilt on to the blade, than the Prince's head grew to his shoulders as firm as ever.

"My turn now," said the Knifegrinder King. So he took the sword and spun his wheel so swiftly that the blisters and stains disappeared like magic, and the sword was bright and sharp as ever. As he did so the burns and scars disappeared from the Prince's body likewise, till at last he sat up and looked about him handsomer than ever.

"Where is my Princess?" asked he, and told his friends what had happened. "It's my turn now," said the Carpenter King. "Stay you here while I fetch the Princess. But first I must take your sword with me."

So he took the strong bright sword and set off to seek the Princess.

By and by he came to the King's town, and saw the high palace where the Princess lived. He asked the townspeople who lived there; and they told him a strange Princess, and that no one was allowed to enter the courtyard, save the hewers of wood and drawers of water.

Then he disguised himself as a woodman and called out under the windows, "Wood! wood! fifteen gold pieces for this bundle of wood." The Princess, who was sitting on the roof, bid her maidens ask why it was so expensive.

"*Because it was cut with this strong sharp sword*," answered he. Then the Princess looked over the parapet and recognized Prince Lionheart's sword. So she said "Ask him if he has anything else to sell."

Then the woodman said, "I have a wonderful palanquin[16] that flies through the air, and if Her Highness wishes I will show it to her this evening when she walks in the garden."

So he went home and made a wonderful palanquin, and in the evening he took it to show to the Princess. "Seat yourself in it, O Princess!" said he, "and try how it can fly." But the King's sister who was there said "You must not go alone." So she too got in and so did the wicked wise woman.

Then the Carpenter King jumped up outside, and lo! the palanquin began to fly like a bird higher and higher.

"I have had enough. Let us go down," said the King's sister. But the Carpenter took her and threw her into the river, over which they were then passing: but he waited till they came above the high palace before he threw the wise woman down, so she got finely smashed on the stones.

Then he, the Princess, and the strong bright sword flew away to the *jinn's* palace.

Prince Lionheart was overjoyed to see his dear Princess again, and they all set out for his father's kingdom.

Now when the poor old king his father saw the three armies coming he thought they came to fight him, so he went out to meet them, and said, "Take all my riches, but leave my people in peace. For I am old and weak and cannot fight. It would be different if my son Prince Lionheart were here, for he is as brave as a lion, but he left us years ago."

Then the Prince wept and told his father who he was, and that these were his old companions the Knifegrinder, the Blacksmith, and the Carpenter. Then he showed him the golden-haired Princess, and every one was delighted and lived happily ever after.[17]

[16] ڈولی *ḍólí* or ڈولا *ḍólá*—see notes in former tales. Also برج *burj* (vulgo, *buraj*) a balloon. A word in common use of Arabic origin.—R. C. T.

[17] The end of this story follows ... mencement, which is quite a ... genuine popular story in ...

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(*Continued from p. 209.*)

X.

We have seen how Wang Khân was hard pressed by the Naimans and forced to shelter himself in the eastern part of the Mongolian steppes, where he was found by Chinghiz, and where the allies fought a battle with the Naimans and their confederates. We have also seen how a coolness arose between Chinghiz and his patron Wang Khân, caused largely by the collapse of the negotiations about intermarriage between their families. This was naturally fanned by Chinghiz Khân's old rival Chamukha. He first consulted with Altan and the other relatives of the Mongol chief who had been reproved for appropriating a part of the Tartar booty wrongfully, and who had apparently left him, and he then went with them to have a consultation with Sankun at Berkeele on the north side of the Jejeer-undur. He declared that Chinghiz was carrying on a furtive correspondence with the Naiman chief Tayang while he was speaking so fairly to himself and his father, and he urged that this was an opportune time to destroy him. He offered to assist, and Altan and Khuchar declared their readiness to kill all the children of Khoilun, *i. e.* Chinghiz and his brothers. Yebugejin Khartaat said: "For you I will cut off his arms and legs." While Tûril or Tughrul (not Sankun's father, but one of the party who had abandoned Chinghiz Khân) advised that they should deprive him of his people and that he would then be helpless. Khachiunbeki said: "Whatever you desire to do I will do it from the very bottom to the very top." Having heard what Chamukha and his companions had to say, Sankun sent Saikhantodeye to inform his father. Wang Khân asked why they should thus distrust Temujin, and that heaven would not shield them if they cherished ill feelings towards him. He characterized the language of Chamukha as deceitful and unworthy of belief. Sankun sent a second messenger to urge that the report was in everybody's mouth. His father was still unconvinced. He therefore determined to go in person. He declared that if while Wang Khân was still living, Temujin treated them cavalierly, was it likely that after he was dead he would allow himself (Sankun) to rule over the people which had been brought together with such pains by his uncle and father. Wang Khân still urged his former argument until noticing that Sankun was displeased, and was going away, he called him back, and said, "Apparently heaven is not propitious. Have your way as you wish."[1]

The *Yuan-shi* tells the story very much in the same way. In reproving his son, Mr. Douglas, in his translation, makes Wang Khân say: "My hair is now white with age, and my only desire is to live the rest of my days in peace; but since you weary me with your importunities, do as seems best to you, only don't come to me for sympathy if you fail." He calls Chamukha's fellow conspirators Talatai, Alertan and Hutser.[2] These three names are read Daritai, Khutsier and Altan by Hyacinthe.[3] The *Yuan-shi* adds that acting on the encouragement offered by Wang Khân's words, Chamukha set fire to Temujin's feeding grounds. De Mailla calls the confederates who formed the plot with Sankun against Chinghiz, Hosara Andan and Talitai.[4] In the *Huang-yuan* they are called Dalitaiajingin, Antan, Khochar, Takhai, Khulakhai, Latargin, Mukhur, Khatan and Jamukha. The messenger sent by Sankun to try and persuade his father is called Saikhal-toto-ganya, and the story is otherwise told very much as in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*.[5] Rashidu'd-dîn also tells the story in much the same way, he names the fellow conspirators of Sankun or Sengun Altan, Khujer, Daritai Utjegen, the Mangut Tugai Khulagai and Mukhur Khuran, the leader of the Adarkins or Hederkins.[6] Sankun was then living apart from his father in a place called Alat or Alt. Rashid calls the messenger who was sent by Sankun to his father Salkhan Tuda.[7] Erdmann reads the latter name Saba, and after describing how he had failed in his mission, goes on to say that at this time Chinghiz Khân's warriors and those of Sankun or Sengun

[1] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, pp. 83-85.
[2] Vide *op. cit.*, pp. 31-33.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 24.
[4] *Op. cit.*, vol. IX, p. 27.
[5] Vide *op. cit.*, p. 167.
[6] Berezine, vol. II, p. 129; Erdmann, p. 283.
[7] Berezine, vol. II, p. 129.

were mixed together like butter and milk, and the latter kept a close watch on him to prevent him escaping, but some suspicion seems to have crossed Chinghiz Khân's mind, for he gradually drew his people further away. Sankun began in turn to fear that his plans might miscarry, and in the spring of the swine's year 1203, dispatched another messenger to his father. He does not mention Sankun himself having had an interview, but according to him, it was to this messenger that Wang Khân gave his answer. He says that Wang Khân explained to him how he and Temujin had been *anda*,[8] how he had owed his life to him, how his hair and beard were growing grey, and his bones needed repose, how he wished to die peaceably, and how if they were determined to carry out their plans they must do it without him and must separate themselves from him.[9]

Let us now revert to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*. We there read that after Sankun had received his father's answer, he took counsel with his companions and urged that as Chinghiz had been anxious to ally himself with his relative Chaurbeki,[10] it would be well to fix a day and invite him to the betrothal feast, and that on his arrival they might seize him. He accordingly sent a man to invite him. Chinghiz set out with ten companions. On the way he stayed the night in the *yurt* of the old man Munlik. The latter reminded him that when he had formerly courted the maiden the Kirais in their pride refused; what motive could they have in asking him to go now? It was better to refuse and to make the excuse that in spring the horses are lean, and that they were then in their pastures: Chinghiz took this advice, and sent Bukhataya and Kilataya to the feast and himself went home again.[11] The *Huang-yuan* calls the messenger sent by Sankun to invite his friend to the feast Bukhuataikicha. The old man in whose *yurt* he stayed, and by whose advice he turned back, it calls Melige.[12] In the biography of Bonar in the *Yuan-shi* he is called Minli.[13] Rashidu'd-din enables us to identify him as the Khonkhotan Menglik Yechige who had married Chinghiz Khân's mother, and who was the father of But Tengri. He further tells us that Sankun's messenger, who was sent to invite Chinghiz to the feast, was Ukdaya Kunjat, called Bukdai Kunjat by Abulghâzi. Kunjat, in one Mongol dialect, and Kunsat in another, answered to the Naiman Bukaul, and meant a cupbearer (*prægustator*).[14] Erdmann, I do not know on what authority, says Ukdai was accompanied on his errand by Belgeh Biki and Tudan.[15]

Let us now revert to the account in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*. When Sankun found that his messengers returned without Chinghiz he suspected that his plot had been discovered, and determined to try and surprise him, and the best plan of doing so was resolved upon at a consultation. Ekecheryan, the younger brother of Altan, who had attended this council, in returning home, began to talk carelessly, and said "The assembly has determined that we depart to-morrow to seize Temujin. If some one were to inform him to-day, I don't know how he would reward him." His wife Alakhait said, "Do not speak unguardedly. The domestics may overhear you and accept your words as really meant." At this time Badai, a horseherd, who had brought in mare's milk, having overheard the words, returned and reported what had been said to his comrade, Kishlikh. The latter said, 'I will go and listen further'; and going into the *yurt* he noticed that Narin Kayan, the son of Ekecheryan, was sharpening arrows, and he heard his father warn him against letting the servants know what they were going to do. Ekecheryan ordered Kishlikh to go and catch a mottled horse, as he wished to depart the following morning. Kishlikh returned to his companion, and said he had confirmed his report, and the two determined to go and warn Chinghiz. Having caught and tethered two horses they went into their *yurt*, and dressed a lamb in a fire made from the wood *nari*, and setting out arrived the same night at Temujin's dwelling, and reported what they had overheard. The latter, having consulted with his people, forsook his camp, and hastily retired to the north of the [illegible] Mao-undur. Having ordered Jel[illegible] [illegible]onnoitre, he the next day reac[illegible] [illegible]et.[16] In the

[8] i. e. sworn friends. [9] Erdmann, pp. 283-285.
[10] i. e. by marrying his son Juchi to her.
[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 85.
[12] *Op. cit.*, pp. 167 and 168.

Yuan-shi the two herdsmen who warned Chinghiz of his danger are called Sirikshi, and his younger brother Bado.[17] De Mailla mentions only one of them, whom he calls Chilisi.[18] The *Huang-yuan* tells the story very much in the same way as the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*. It says that when Chinghiz was warned of his danger he put his army in intrenchments at Alan, and having transported his baggage to the river Chilian-jin, he sent Jelmi on with the vanguard, and marched along the north side of the mountain Moyundor.[19]

Rashidu'd-dîn, who follows the story as told by these authorities closely, calls Ekecheryan, Eke-jeran. His wife he calls Alak Nidun.[20] His son who was sharpening the arrows he calls Barin Kiyen, or Kehen. When Chinghiz heard what was in store for him, he moved to the hills Seljiyiljut[21] and dispatched a corps of observation to the mountain Moandur.[22] Abulghâzi says that when he heard the news, Chinghiz despatched his household to Baljunabulak,[23] while he prepared to defend himself where he was.[24]

To resume our story, the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* says that after Chinghiz had sent Jelmi to reconnoitre, a herdsman of Alchidai named Chigidai arrived with his companions to say that from the mountain Mao-undur and from the direction of the camp Khulaanburakhat dust could be seen and that the foe was advancing. Chinghiz took horse and rode out.[25] At this time Wang Khân arrived, and asked Chamukha what troops Chinghiz had with him. He replied the two hordes Uruut and Mankhut; that his warriors and that his positions were well taken, and that his standards were either coloured or black. Wang Khân said that it would be well to take heed when they hove in sight. He ordered that the brave Khadakhgi of the horde Jirgin should first advance, then the brave Achikhshirun with the tribes Tuman Tubigan, Oman and Dunkhait. Then Kharishilimuntaiji with 1,000 body-guards, and lastly his own army corps.[26] Wang Khân also entrusted Chamukha with the chief command. He sent secretly to inform Chinghiz of this, and to tell him that, as he had control of affairs, he should take care the Kirais did not win.[27] When Chinghiz got this news he proposed to the old man Jurchedai to be his commander-in-chief, but meanwhile Khuildar stepped forward and said, "I will be the leader, take care of my orphans." Jurchedai said, "My Uruut and Mankhut will fight in front before the emperor," and he accordingly put them in battle array before Chinghiz. He had hardly done so when the first division of the Kirais, the Jirgins, came up. The Uruut and Mankhut smote them. While they were pursuing this division they were attacked by another section of the enemy commanded by Achikhshilun, of the tribe Tumayan Tubegan, who had a personal encounter with the Mongol leader Khuildar, and dragged him from his horse. His men were however defeated by the Uruut led by Jurchedai, who, still advancing, encountered the clans Oman and Dunkhait and also smote them. Shilemintaitsi, with the thousand body-guards, was also defeated. Things were going badly with the Kirais, and we read that Sankun, without his father's knowledge, threw himself into the fray. One of Jurchedai's arrows struck him in the cheek, and he fell, whereupon his men retired and gathered round him. Chinghiz having been successful in this struggle, which was apparently a preliminary skirmish rather than a decided battle, and seeing it was already late, collected his men, and ordered Khuildar to be carried away. During the night he moved on, and at length encamped far from the battlefield. This is the account in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*.[28] In the narrative part of the *Yuan-shi* we are told that in this fight the Mongols defeated in succession the Chu-lik-kans or Chulgins, the Tungah or Dunga, and the Haou-urh-shih-le-mun or Khor-sheremin, and that thereupon Ilkha or Elerho[29] charged into their ranks, when he was wounded in the temple, and was obliged to retire, and the victory remained with

[17] Hyacinthe, p. 25.
[18] *Op. cit.*, tom. IX, p. 29.
[19] *Op. cit.*, pp. 168 and 169.
[20] Erdmann reads it Alakh Sendun.
[21] Read Seludelshit by Erdmann and Seludeljet by D'Ohsson.
[22] Read Munn-dur-dis-kuh by Erdmann and Mu-ondur-diss by D'Ohsson; Berezine, vol. II, p. 131.; Erdmann, pp. 286 and 287; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 70.
[23] *i. e.* the springs of Baljuna, the lake Baljuna of which we have before written.
[24] *Op. cit*, p. 83.
[25] *i. e.* set his men in order.
[26] *i. e.* as among the Chinese—the Centre.
[27] I dont know whether it is meant that in this he was treacherous to Wang Khân, or that he proposed a fresh act of treachery towards Chinghiz.
[28] *Op. cit.*, p. 88.
[29] *i. e.* Sankun.

Chinghiz, whereupon the Kelui—Hyacinthe says the Kerei,—and both are apparently forms of Kirai, went over to the conqueror. As we shall see, the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* suggests that a section of the Kirais did desert Wang[30] Khân. Palladius tells us that in the biography of Jurchedai, appended to the *Yuan-shi*, it is reported that the Kelis,[31] the Khalakhachins, the Shatos[32] and others attacked the people of Chinghiz, whereupon the latter's near relative Khuildar urged that the matter would not brook delay, and he must summon the brave people of Jurchedai. Jurchedai accordingly assailed the enemy, shot Sankun, and smote the leader of the Shilimin and others. In the life of Khuildar in the same work we read that in this fight the army of the Ulu[33] was ordered to move to the front, but its leader, Juchitai (*sic.*), putting his whip across his horse's mane, did not respond. Khuildar thereupon, entrusting his three yellow-headed children to Chinghiz Khân's care, attacked the enemy, and received some wounds in the head.[34] De Mailla's authority makes Wang Khân a party to the struggle, and tells us that in conjunction with Ilho he marched his hordes by different routes, ordering them to meet at a common rendezvous. Chilisi, who looked after Chinghiz Khân's studs, having informed him of Wang Khân's march, the latter gave command of the army to Chalmen, whom he knew to be closely attached to himself, who, having met and defeated the hordes of Tongnai, Chulichin and Holisiemen, which were separated one from the other, cut them in pieces, and falling eventually on the troops commanded by Wang Khân and Ilho, punished them also severely. Ilho, furious at this, made a charge into the midst of the Mongols, and was struck in the face by an arrow, which compelled him to retire. De Mailla calls the tribe which deserted Wang Khân the Kieliki, apparently making the name different from Kirai.[35] The *Huang-yuan* tells us that while Chinghiz was marching north of the mountain Moyundor, Wang Khân advanced along the southern side of the same mountain and crossed the ridges Khulakho and Bulukha. Chinghiz being informed of this by two of his dependents named Taichu and Yedir, who were pasturing horses, moved his army to Kholanji; meanwhile the sun sank behind the mountains. Chinghiz's men attacked and overcame the Julugins, the Dunautses, and the Kolishilimintaishi. This account then relates how Ilakha[36] was shot in the cheek, and had to retire very much as the story is told in the other narratives.[37] Let us now return to Rashidu'd-dîn. He tells us that in his retreat from the mountain Moandur, he was pursued by Wang Khân, who presently encamped in a place called Ulan Burgan by the Mongols,[38] where there was a wood of red willows. Two dependents of Ilchidai Noyan named Taiju and Chengtai-Edur, who were pasturing horses, went to inform Chinghiz, who was then at Khalaljinalat or Khalanchinalt. His troops were very inferior in numbers to those of the enemy, and he held a conference accordingly with his lieutenants, Keitei or Kehti Noyan, the Urut and Khuildar Setzen the Mankgut.[39] The former said nothing, but the latter, who was "*anda*" with Chinghiz, offered to ride on horseback behind the enemy on to a height named Kuiten[40] and there to plant the imperial *tuk* or standard, while he commended his children to the care of Chinghiz. He succeeded in this daring venture, and planted the *tuk* as he had offered to do. Chinghiz and his men inspired by this brave act, fell vigorously upon the enemy, first defeated the most important of the Kerai tribes, viz., the Jergins,[41] then overthrew the Tonkgoet[42] and defeated Khori Shelmun Taishi[43] and the life guards of Wang Khân, and Sengun was wounded in the face. After the fight Chinghiz Khân withdrew. Rashidu'd-dîn adds that this battle of Khalaljin Alat was famous among the Mongols and was quoted in his

[30] The variants in the names are given here as they are read respectively by Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 34, and Hyacinthe, p. 25.

[31] *i. e.* the Kirais.

[32] The people of the steppe or desert, *sha-t'o* means the sandy downs (Bretschneider's *Not. Med. Trav.* p. 124,) and is the Chinese name of the Gobi desert.

[33] *i. e.* Urut.

[34] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, note 296.

[35] *Op. cit.*, tom. IX, p. 29.

[36] *i. e.* Ilho or Sankun.

[37] *Op cit.*, p. 169.

[38] Erdmann writes it Hulun Berkhat.

[39] He is called Khubuldar Sajan by Erdmann, and Knyuldar Sachan by D'Ohsson.

[40] Called Kubtan by Erdmann, and Kubban by D'Ohsson.

[41] Called Jirkhins by Erdmann and Chirkirs by D'Ohsson.

[42] Called Tunegkhait by Erdmann and Tungkait by D'Ohsson.

[43] The Khuri Silinn Taishi of Erdmann.

own day.[44] It seems pretty clear that it was fought under great disadvantages by Chinghiz when he was a long way from his home and the greater part of his people, and when he apparently only had the Urut and Mangkut with him. Before we consider the site of this famous battle we will follow Chinghiz Khân's subsequent movements, which are told in considerable detail in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi.* We there read that the day after the battle, at daybreak, Chinghiz mustered his men and called the roll-call. He found that three of his famous warriors were missing, Okotai (probably his third son Ogotai, who must then have been quite a boy), Borokhul or Burghul, and Boorchu or Boghorji. Chinghiz remarked that Okotai had lived with the other two, and that they had died together, not wishing to be separated. Fearing a fresh attack he kept his men well together, and presently a man was seen coming from the battle-field who proved to be Boorchu. Chinghiz made an exclamation suggesting that all was over, when Boorchu reported that during the fight his horse had been shot by the enemy and he was dismounted, but when the Kirais gathered round Sankun he caught a run-away horse on which he had escaped. Presently there arrived a second horseman, and, as he drew near, they noticed that two other legs besides his own were hanging down. The new arrivals proved to be Okotai and Borokhul riding on one horse. The latter's mouth was smeared with blood, for he had sucked the clotted blood from an arrow-wound in Okotai's neck. Chinghiz wept, had the wound seared, and gave Okotai something to relieve his thirst. Borokhul reported that there was a large dust where the enemy were, and they were apparently retreating towards the mountain Maoundur in the district of Khulaan Burkhat. Chinghiz forming his army in order marched along the river Ulkhuishilugeljit, and retired towards the district of Dalannemurgesi.

Afterwards Khadaandaldurkhan, one of Chinghiz Khân's dependents, who was separated from his wife, and had apparently been a prisoner with Wang Khân, came and reported that as Sankun had been wounded his father ... reproachfully that they had begun a struggle with a man who ought not to have been provoked, hence he says this wound in my son's cheek. He is still alive, let him take warning. Thereupon Achikshilun replied, "Sire, cease to talk thus. When you had no son you prayed for a successor, now that you have one, be more considerate towards him. We still have more than one half of our Dada.[45] The people who have left us and gone to Temujin, where will they flee to? They are cavalry and will certainly halt for the night under trees. If they will not return to us we will enclose them like a herd of horses." Wang Khân then gave orders that his son should be carefully tended.

Chinghiz having left the district of Dalannemurgesi went along the river Khalkha. Having mustered his people he found there were 2,600 of them. He went with one half of them along the western, while the other half with the Uruut and Manghut went along the eastern bank. They amused themselves with hunting in which, contrary to the wish of Chinghiz, Khuildar took an active part. His wound had not yet healed. It opened afresh, and he died. His body was buried on the steep side of the mountain Orneu, near the river Khalkha.

At the outfall of the Khalkha into lake Buyur there lived Terge[46] and other Ungirs.[47] Chinghiz sent Jurchidai at the head of the Uruut and Mankhut to these Kongurut to say to them, "Remember my ancient descent, and submit to me; if not, prepare to fight." It will be remembered that the Kongurut had sided with Chamukha against him. On receiving his message they at once submitted, and he did not therefore molest them. He now returned homewards to the eastern bank of the little river Tungeli, whence he sent a message to Wang Khân, to which we shall revert presently.[48] The *Yuan-shi* has none of these details, and merely says that after the fight Chinghiz returned to Dunginor or lake Tungko, as it is read by Mr. Douglas.[49] De Mailla also says the lake Tong-ko.[50] Gaubil says the same.[51]

---

[44] Berezine, vol. II, pp. 131-133; Erdmann, pp 237 and 288; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 70 and 71.

[45] *i. e.* Tartars. The word is used frequently in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* in this generic sense.

[46] According to Ban-guan-dai, says Palladius, Terge, Ame, and other hordes of the Kungurat (*op. cit.*, note 309), but Terge and Ame are clearly names of chiefs, and Terge is called Terge Amol, chief of the Kongurut, by Râshîdu'd-dîn.

[47] *i. e.* Kongurut.

[48] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, pp. 90 and 91.

[49] Hyacinthe, pp. 25 and 26; Douglas, p. 34.

[50] *Op. cit.*, p. 29.

[51] *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

The *Huang-yuan*, which tells the story in greater detail than the latter authorities calls the place to which Chinghiz first retired the mountain Ornuukiankhuge. It makes out that he had 4,600 men with him, of whom he took 2,200 along the north bank of the Khalkha. It calls the envoy he sent to the Kongurut, Temuge-aman-bu, and, like the authorities last quoted, it makes him eventually retire to the lake Dungi and the place Torkhokhorkhi.[52] Rashidu'd-dîn's account is somewhat confused and needs in part transposing. He makes Chinghiz retreat to lake Baljuna, and after a while return to the Khalka and then go to lake Tunga.[53] If we disentangle his narrative we find that Chinghiz retired after the battle to the river Ur or Or, whence he reached a place called Keltektai Khada.[54] There he held a review of his men, and found they numbered 4,600. With them he advanced to the river Khala,[55] *i. e.* the Khalkha. Dividing his force into two sections he marched with one along one bank of the river while the Urunt and Mangkut went with the other on the other bank, till they reached the dwelling-place of Terke Amol, the chief of the Kongurut. Chinghiz reminded him of their close connection and promised to reward him handsomely if he sided with him. Having secured his alliance in this way he went on to Tunga nor, *i. e.* lake Tunga, and a place called Khugh Khorgan.[56] Having collected the various accounts of this campaign, let us now try and fix its locality. About the river Khalkha flowing into lake Buyur there can be no mistake. The river still bears the name, and still flows into the lake. The river Ur or Or of Rashidu'd-dîn answers to the district of Dalannemur-gesi, perhaps Talan-naur-gesi, the valley of the lake or river Gesi (?). He retired thither from the river Ulkhui Shilugelgit, according to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, which again was close to the battle-field. This river can be no other than the Olkui or Ulkui, which rises in the so-called Soyelki mountains, a part of the Khingan, whence flow the southern affluents of the Khalkha, the Ulkhui or Olkui flows into a small lake in the eastern part of the Gobi. This identification is completely confirmed by Rashidu'd-dîn, who tells us that the battle of Khalaljin Alat was fought on the frontier of the country of the Jurchi[57] (*i. e.* Manchuria) not far from the river Olkui. In D'Anville's map one of the mountains in the Soyelki range is called Halgon, which answers in fact to the form of the name as it appears in the *Yuan-shi*, namely, Khalagun Ola.[58] *Ola* or *Ala* means mountain, and has been corrupted into *Alat* or *Alt* by Rashidu'd-dîn. We may take it therefore as pretty certain that the famous battle was fought upon one of the spurs of the Khingan range where the Olkui rises.

In regard to lake Tonga where Chinghiz eventually retired to, it would seem that the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* must be mistaken in styling it the river Tunggeli, and that by it lake Baljuna is in fact meant, the original homeland and cradle of the Mongol stock.

We will now return again to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*. We have seen how it tells us that Chinghiz withdrew to the eastern banks of the Tunggeli which we have here identified with the neighbourhood of lake Baljuna. There grass was abundant and the horses were in good condition. Thence he wrote a plaintive letter to Wang Khân.

"Father," he said, "why are you thus angry with me, causing me terror? If you wish to upbraid me, why not do it in a quiet fashion and without destroying all my possessions?

"Probably there are people who have come between us. Did we not make an agreement at Khulaaneu on the mountain Shorkhelkun[59] that if people came to slander either of us to the other we were not to believe them until we had had a personal interview? Father, have we had such an interview? Though I am only small, I am worth many, and though I am ill favoured I am as valuable as the handsome. You and I are like the shafts of a *kibitka*, when one of them is broken the ox cannot draw it—or like its two wheels, which when one is injured, it cannot be moved.

"Your father Khurchakhus Buiruk had forty sons. You being the eldest, they made you ruler. Afterwards you killed your brothers Taitimur and Bukhuatimur. You also wished to kill your other brother Erkekhara, but he saved himself by

[52] *Op. cit.*, p. 169.

[53] See Berezine, vol. II, p. 133; Erdmann, p. 288; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 72.

[54] Erdmann reads Hegtegai Kheda, and D'Ohsson Galtakai-Cada.

[55] So written both by Berezine and D'Ohsson. Erdmann calls it the Khelabdu.

[56] D'Ohsson calls it Turuka Kurgan; Berezine, vol. II, p. 134; Erdmann, p. 289; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 73.

[57] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 70.

[58] Hyacinthe, p. 29.

[59] Palladius says in a note this was on the river Tula.

fleeing to the Naimans. Your uncle Gurkhan, to revenge your brothers, made war upon you when with but a hundred men you had to retire to the defiles of the Kharaun mountains. You then betrothed your daughter Khujaur Ujin to the Merki Tokhtoa in order to secure a passage through his territory to my father Yessugei, to whom you came for help. He went with his army and drove your uncle to Khashin[60] and returned your people to you on the banks of the Tula. In the black forest you and my father became brothers and became *anda*, and moved by gratitude you declared 'I swear by heaven, I will repay you and your children for this good deed.'[61]

"After this your brother Erkekhara having collected an army among the Naimans again attacked you. You thereupon fled to the country of the Khoikhoi[62] and to the Gurkhan of the Keta.[63] In less than a year you quarrelled with and left him, passing through the countries of Oiin[64] and Khesu,[65] and you were brought to such a pass that you had to live on the milk of five ewes and the blood drawn from a camel, and came to me on a blind and broken-down horse. On account of your friendship with my father I sent people to meet you, welcomed you to my camp, and furnished you with a following from among my people, and when you had conquered the Merkit, I let you retain the goods and cattle you had captured from them.[66]

"After this, when we pursued Buirukh[67] and strove with Keksiusabrakh at Baidarakhbelchir, you withdrew in the night after purposely lighting camp fires, Keksiusabrakh pursued you, and made your wives and the people of Sankun prisoners, together with one half of your people living in Tiligetu. You then asked me for help, and I sent you four chiefs who rescued your people and cattle and those of Sankun. Then you thanked me; why do you now upbraid me?"[68]

This didactic message is reported in somewhat different terms, although with the same general sense by the other authorities. In the *Yuan-shi* the envoy who took the .. is called Alikhu;[69] (De Mailla calls him A... It begins with a reference to Yessugei's . which contains nothing new. In the parag.. describing the assistance given by Ching when Wang Khân fled westwards ' the Naimans, the *Yuan-shi* makes him .. have invited Wang Khân's brother Jasigambu Jakembo, who was then living within the b.. of the Kin empire to go to him, and goes on to . that when Wang Khân was being pressed by t.. Merkit he sent his brethren[71] Sechen botsia[72] an.. Daicheu[73] who destroyed them. De Mailla calls the two latter Sechin Pako and Sechin-taichen. He also calls them Chinghiz Khân's brothers.[74] According to the *Yuan-shi* Chinghiz next goes on to remind his former friend how on another occasion, when he was in distress, he went over to Khai-dala,[75] seized on the sheep, horses and goods of his enemies, gave them over to him, supported him and his people for a month, and restored them to robust health after they had been emaciated by famine.[76] This doubtless refers to the occasion when Wang Khân returned from the Uighur country and the Kara Kitai. According to the same authority, Chinghiz went on to urge that when Wang Khân defeated the Merkit he bore him no grudge, although he had not divided the spoils with him, but, on the contrary, sent his four generals to the rescue when he was being hard pressed by the Naimans. Chinghiz goes on to claim how he swooped down with the swiftness of a Haitung falcon when pouncing on a wild goose, upon the tribes Durbot Tatar Khatagin, Saljut and Khungir, and how he made over to Wang Khân what he took from them. In all, according to the *Yuan-shi* Chinghiz claims to have done his friend five important services.[77]

The *Yuan-shi-lei-pien* has merely an epitomised version of the message as reported in the *Yuan-shi*. I would however remark that Gaubi places Ha-la-hoen, *i.e.* the Karaun of other writers where Wang Khân was defeated by hi

[60] *i. e.* Hosi or Tangut.
[61] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, pp. 91 and 92.
[62] *i. e.* of the Muhammadans.
[63] *i. e.* of the Kara Kitai.
[64] *i. e.* Uighur.
[65] *i. e.* Hosi or Tangut.
[66] *Id.*, p. 92.
[67] *i. e.* the chief of the Naimans.
[68] *Id.*, p. 93.
[69] Hyacinthe, p. 26.
[70] *Op. cit.* vol. IX, p. 29.
[71] Meaning relatives.
[72] Mr. Douglas reads it, p. 27, Serchin Perke.
[73] Hyacinthe p. 26; Douglas, p. 35; D'Ohsson, vol. I p. 74.
[74] *Op. cit.*, tom. IX, p. 30.
[75] Called Hatala by Mr. Douglas, and Ha-ting-li b De Mailla.
[76] Hyacinthe, p. 26; Douglas, p. 35.
[77] Hyacinthe, p. 27; Douglas, p. 36.

uncle at some rugged gorges in the mountain south of the river Orghun.[78] The *Huang-yuan* tells the story in greater detail, agreeing largely with Rashid-u'd-din. It calls the envoy Alikhai. Rashid calls him the Irderken Argai or Arti Jiun.[79] The *Huang-yuan* makes Chinghiz tell Wang Khân that he was then encamped round about lake Dungei, where the grass was abundant and the horses were fat. It then makes him go on to remind him how his uncle Guilui-kekhan, *i. e.* Gur Kakhan had written to complain that he, Wang Khân, had mounted the throne on the death of his father Kurjakhus Beiluki-khân and displaced himself,[80] and how when he had killed Taitimur and Bukhuatimur and pretended he did not know where they had disappeared to, and that in consequence Guiluike-khân had attacked and driven him into the defiles of Khalaun.[81] (Rashidu'd-dîn says he attacked him in his chief camp at Karaun Kipchal or Karaun Kipchak,[82] *i. e.* "the black forest" on the Tura). The *Huang-yuan* goes on to say how, in his distress, when Wang Khân with but 100 men repaired to his father[83] uncertain about the aid of the Daichi Udurnan and Bakhaji (the Udur Noyan and Bugachi of Rashidu'd-dîn),[84] his father set out by way of Khalabu-khuachugu[85] and crossed the mountain Abujabukhuageu.[86] Then he ascended the Tulitan-tulin-gu, and Tsian-sutan-lin-gu, the pass of Kuikun, and lake Kui-siaor called respectively Tulatan, Tulanguti, or as Berezine reads the name, Khulanan Tulangutu, Khabchal and Kushaur-nor by Rashid-u'd-dîn.[87] After undergoing great hardships Yessugei at last reached his destination, brought the district to extremity and compelled Guilui Khân to withdraw to Talasu.[88] Thence he was again driven, and with only a few followers was compelled to seek refuge in Khesi, whence he did not return again.[89] Rashidu'd-dîn says he fled wounded with but 20 or 30 followers to Khashin.[90] The two accounts describe how Yessugei and Wang Khân had, in consequence of these good offices, become *anda*. The *Huang-yuan* concludes with the phrase, "This is the first service," and then goes on: "Oh father Wang Khân, at that time you were as it were buried in clouds, you stood as it were on a sunless place. Your brother Jaagan[91] was living on the Chinese frontier. I shouted with my loud voice, lifted my cap with my hand, and called him from afar off. As soon as he heard my voice, as soon as he saw my signal, he came to me. I watched him from the top of a mountain, and awaited him standing at my tent. When he arrived he was oppressed by the three Merkis. As he came from afar off, could I wish his death?[92] I sent my elder brother Sechibegi and my younger brother Dachiu who set out to punish them. This is my second service."[93] Rashidu'd-dîn reports the story in the same way, and no doubt from the same source. Dachiu he calls Taiju Khori. China he calls Jabkut or Jaukhut.[94] The *Huang-yuan* proceeds: "O father Wang Khân, when you came forth from the clouds and stood on a sunlit place and appealed to me, you were hungry only until midday, and were thin only until the full moon. How was this? I fought with the tribe Udui[95] west of the mountain Khadin-khi in the place Munuyuli and obtained much cattle and many loads of booty, all of which I gave to you. This is why you did not hunger after midday and were not thin after the new moon. This is my third service."

Rashidu'd-dîn makes Chinghiz compare his friend's arrival to the sun bursting from behind clouds and to the awakening of embers that are dying out. Berezine in his translation calls the place where the battle with the Merkis took place Berezobie Kholm behind Murijak Moal. Erdmann reads it Beshmeh Fatilikh, behind Muri-jakh-sul. D'Ohsson says merely at Murichak Mual.[96] The *Huang-yuan* continues:—"Father Wang Khân, when you fought with the Meliki[97] on the river Bula

[78] Gaubil, *op. cit.*, p. 8, note 1.
[79] Berezine, vol. II, p. 135; Erdmann, p. 289.
[80] Referring to the law of succession among the nomades by which brother succeeds brother.
[81] *Op. cit.*, p. 170.
[82] Berezine, vol. II, p. 135; Erdmann, p. 289.
[83] i. e. to Yessugei.
[84] Berezine, vol. II, p. 135; Erdmann reads the names Durfuyan and Bukhashi.
[85] The Kharabuga of Rashid.
[86] The name is represented in the MSS. of Rashidu'd-din by a lacuna; Berezine, vol. II, p. 135.
[87] Berezine, vol. II, p. 135; Erdmann, p. 290.
[88] The Gurben Telasut (read Khurian-telasut by Erdmann, and Kurban Belassut by D'Ohsson) of Rashidu'd-dîn who calls it the Gur Khân's residence.
[89] *Huang-yuan*, p. 170.
[90] Khesi or Khashin are both corruptions of Hosi, the Chinese name for Tangut.
[91] *i. e.* Jakembo.
[92] It must be remembered that Jakembo had rebelled against Wang Khân.
[93] *Id.*, pp. 170 and 171.
[94] Berezine, p. 136; Erdmann, p. 290.
[95] *i. e.* The Merkit tribe so called.
[96] Berezine, vol. II, pp. 136 and 137; Erdmann, p. 290; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 74 and 75.
[97] *i. e.* the Merkit.

broad, with a seal which bears the moon, the motto *Śrî-Sarvasiddhi*, and the remains of apparently the name Jayasiṁha; from Pedda-Maddâli in the Nûrzivîd Division of the Krishṇâ District.—This is an Eastern Chalukya inscription of Jayasiṁha I. It is dated, in words, in the eighteenth year of his reign, at the time of the equinox; the Śaka year is not given. The order is issued from the city of Udayapura, and records a grant of the village of Penukaparu or Penukapalu, on the east of the village of Mârdavalli, in the district of Gudrahâra.

No. 8.

A set of five plates, each about 11½″ long by 5¾″ broad, with a seal which bears the usual Eastern Chalukya boar, the motto *Śrî-Tribhuvanâṅkuśa*, the moon, the sun, a closed umbrella or an elephant-goad, a *chauri* or an elephant-goad, and a floral device; from the Krishṇâ District.—The whole inscription is very much corroded and very difficult to read. All that I can say at present is that it is an Eastern Chalukya inscription of Amma II. or Vijayâditya, and that it gives the usual details of the genealogy and the lengths of the reigns.

No. 9.

A set of five plates, each about 7⅞″ long by 2⅜″ broad, with a seal the emblem on which is now quite unrecognisable; marked "No. 78; from the Gôdâvarî Collector."—This is an inscription of king Prithivîmûla, the son of Prabhâkara. It is dated, in both words and numerical symbols, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, and, perhaps, on the second day of the month Vaiśâkha; the Śaka year is not given. The order is issued from the city of Kândâli to the *râshṭrakûṭas* of the district of Tâlupâka, and records a grant of the village of Chûyipâka, in the middle of the four villages of Vilendi, Reṅguṭa, Kampâru, and Tukura. The grant was made at the request of king Indra, the conqueror of Indrabhaṭṭâraka.

No. 10.

A set of three plates, each about 7⅝″ long by 2½″ broad at the ends and a little less in the middle, with a seal which bears the usual Western Chalukya boar: marked "No. 95; from T. D. C., Kurnool."—This is a Western Chalukya inscription of Âdityavarmâ, son of Satyâśraya I. or Pulikêśi II. It is dated, in words, in the first year of his reign, on the day of the full-moon of the month Kârttika; the Śaka year is not given. It records a grant of an allotment in the villages of Muṇḍakallu and Palgire.

No. 11.

A set of three plates, each about 8¼″ long by 3¾″ broad at the ends and 3½″ in the middle, with a seal which bears the usual Western Chalukya boar; marked "No. 99; from T. D. C., Kurnool."—This is a Western Chalukya inscription of Vikramâditya I., son of Satyâśraya I. or Pulikêśi II. It is dated, in words, in the third year of his reign, on the full-moon day on which the *Saṁgama-mahâyâtrâ* is held; the Śaka year is not given. It records a grant of some land at the village of Ratnagiri in the district of (?) Nalavâḍi.

No. 12.

A set of three plates, each about 9″ long by 3¾″ broad at the ends and a little less in the middle, with a seal which bears the usual Western Chalukya boar; marked "No. 100; from T. D. C., Kurnool."—This is another Western Chalukya inscription of Vikramâditya I. It is dated, in words, in the tenth year of his reign, on the day of the full moon of the month Âshâḍha; the Śaka year is not given. It records a grant of some land at the village of Raṭṭagiri, on the west bank of the river Andirikâ. The grant was made at the request of king Dêvaśakti, of the Sêndraka family.

No. 13.

A set of three plates, each about 7⅝″ long by 3¼″ broad at the ends and a little less in the middle, with a seal which bears the usual Western Chalukya boar; marked "No. 98; from T. D. C., Kurnool."—This is a spurious and very corrupt Western Chalukya inscription of Vikramâditya I. It is not dated. It purports to record a grant at the villages of (?) Aguṇṭe and (?) Tebunılaüra.

Belgaum, 14th July 1881. J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S.

AWÂNS AND JODS.

Lieut.-Col. J. W. H. Johnstone reports that a tribe of Jods is still located in that part of the Panjâb where Baber found them.[1] "This tribe is known to be a branch of the Janjûâs, and there is no difficulty on the subject of the Jods, except that we now find the possessions of the Jods and Janjûâs with the Awâns. The explanation I would give of the Awâns' possession of the country is this: They were resident on both the branches of the Indus below the Salt Range. Baber found the present country of the Marwatis in the Bannû district occupied by Isâkhil Niâzis. Subsequently a wave of irruption took place from the hills; the Isâkhil Niâzis were displaced by the present Marwatis; the former ejected the Awans from Isâkhil and Mianvali, and drove them into the hills, compelling them in turn to expel the Jods and Janjûâs. The head man of Kâlâbâgh is still Mullah Muzaffar Khân, the Chief of the Awâns."[2]

[1] Leyden and Erskine's *Memoirs of Baber*, pp. 254, 30; and see Cunningham, *Archæol. Surv. Rep.*, vol. V., pp. 80, 81.

[2] *Proc. As. Soc. Beng.* 1881, p. 50.

THE DIVINE MOTHERS OR LOCAL GODDESSES OF INDIA.

BY MAJOR E. W. WEST.

In a former volume of this journal[1] Professor Monier Williams threw out some suggestive remarks regarding the deities worshipped as mothers, and I was glad to find that the opinion which I had always held, to the effect that these are aboriginal, or at least pre-Hindu deities, was supported by such high authority. I observe, however, that no further notice has been taken of the subject in this journal, and that no response has been given to the appeal made by the learned Professor. I draw attention now to the subject in the hope that further information may be elicited, and I contribute a few notices of the principal seats of worship of some of the mothers or places named after them. If my example is followed, it will be possible to ascertain how far the worship of each goddess extended, and in this way some light may possibly be thrown on the local distribution of tribes and races anterior to the Aryan invasion of India, or perhaps on the migration of Aryan tribes and races who adopted the worship of these goddesses.

As far as I can ascertain, the worship of Hiṅglâz[2] seems to have been the most widely extended of all in Western India. The present Admiralty Chart of the Persian Gulf shews a temple of Hiṅglâz on the Mekran coast which seems to be a well-known landmark. Tod[3] speaks of this as a favourite resort for pilgrims among the old Râjpûts, and also refers to a place of the same name in Râjputana, which was taken by Lord Lake's army.[4] Coming down to the Dekhan we find in the Kolhâpur State a Mâmlatdar's district called Gaḍh Hiṅglâz, so named from the head-quarter station, which derives its name from a shrine of the goddess. From a recent paper in this journal[5] it appears that Hiṅglâj is the favourite goddess of the Telirâjâs.

Very nearly as extensive in range seems to have been the worship of Ambâ Mâta. There is a temple dedicated to her in Mêwâd, at Udaipur if I remember rightly. The famous temple of Ambâ, or Ambâ Bhavânî, as she is sometimes termed,[6] situated in the State of Dânta in the north of the Mahi Kântha, attracts thousands of worshippers from all points of the compass, and a full account of it will be found in *Râs Mâlâ*,[7] and the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. V, p. 432. She has a shrine at Anjâr in Kachh, and again in Kolhâpur, we find that the most famous temple in the place, which has passed successively from Jains to orthodox Hindus, is still generally called the temple of Ambâbâi, and was probably originally dedicated to that pre-Aryan goddess, who is now identified at Kolhâpur with Mahâlakshmî, as she is in Gujarât with Bhavânî. Some particulars about this temple will be found in Graham's *Statistical Account of Kolhapur.*[8]

Yellammâ or Ellammâ is a very favourite goddess in the Canarese country, and judging from the company she keeps, or rather from the classes that worship her,[9] she is not a very reputable one. In a list of the wandering tribes of Kolhâpur given at p. 130 of the work above quoted, she is given as the patron-goddess of no less than three of these tribes, viz., the Dombaris, the Gols, and the Ganthi-chors, who earn their livelihood respectively by prostituting girls, by making kunku and beads, and by picking pockets. I subjoin a cutting from a newspaper regarding a temple of this goddess, which I find in a note-book. Is the extraordinary practice therein referred to still kept up? I remember reading of a similar practice observed by women in Maisur or Koḍag (Coorg) which is noted by Mr. R. H. Elliot in his *Experiences of a Planter*, but I have mislaid the reference:—

"*A Hindu Temple in the Jat Jahâgir.*—A correspondent of a Mufassal paper states that there is a temple of the goddess Ellammâ about a mile distant from the town of Jat, in the Jat Jahâgir. An annual fair is held in honour of this idol at which about ten thousand people assemble. It has been held there for the last fourteen

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, p. 211.

[2] It seems possible that Hiṅglâz may have been not an indigenous, but an imported deity, introduced by the Kshattriyas.

[3] *Rajasthan*, vol. II, pp. 5 and 572 (Madras reprint).

[4] *Ib.*, p. 658.

[5] Vol. IX, p. 280.

[6] To mark, I believe, that she has been brought into the Hindu Pantheon.

[7] New edition, pp. 321 et seq.

[8] *Selection from Bombay Government Records*, New Series, No. VIII, pp. 317-18.

[9] She is the same as the Rêṇukâdêvî of the Marâthâs, &c.—Ed.

or fifteen years. Fifteen years ago a Mâli or gardener set up the idol,[10] and began to cheat the people by stating that it had appeared there of its own accord. Both men and women visit the temple and worship the idol. The very strange fact regarding this worship is, says the writer, that the worshippers, before commencing the worship, strip naked, apply powdered sandalwood to their whole bodies, put on the ornaments they may have, hold a small branch of the nimb tree in their folded hands, and leave their places of residence to visit the idol. After visiting the idol, they go round the temple for a certain number of times. They then leave the temple to bathe in a neighbouring tank. After bathing, they return to the temple, worship the idol and return home. The writer wishes that this indecency should be put down. He states that when the Hon. Mr. Chapman, the present Chief Secretary to Government, was Collector of Sâtârâ, he punished some of the naked worshippers."

BUDDHIST PILGRIMS FROM CHINA TO INDIA.

BY THE REV. S. BEAL, B.A.

(*Concluded from p. 197.*)

IV. *Other Pilgrims who reached India mostly by the Northern route.*

1. Tao Hi, a Doctor of the Law, a man of the district Lih-shing, of the department Ts'ai chau (Shan-tung ?), his Sanskrit name Śridêva. He was a man of noble descent. Having gone through India visiting the sacred places, he came to the Mahâbodhi, where he remained several years, and then proceeded to Nâlanda. He likewise visited the country of Kusi(nagara). The Mung king of the Amaravat country greatly respected him. Whilst remaining at Nâlanda he studiously applied himself to the Great Vehicle. He resided also in the Chu-po-pun-na (the garden of the cremation; the Temple of the Nirvâna), and studied the *Vinayapiṭaka*, and the *Śabdavidya*. Whilst in the Ta-hsio temple (the Mahâbodhi) he engraved a memorial tablet in the Chinese language. He left more than 400 volumes, new and old, in Chinese, *Sûtras* and *Śâstras*, at Nâlanda. I-tsing did not meet him (he fell sick in the Amaravat country, and died aged 50 years or so), but he saw his chamber.

2. Sse-pin, a Doctor of the Law, a man of Ts'ai-chau, went after Huan-chin through North India, and then through Western India, till he came to Amârakuva. He there dwelt in the royal temple in high favour with the king. Here he met Taou-hi, a fellow townsman. After remaining here one summer, he sickened and died *æt.* 35 years.

3. Âryavarma, a Corean, in the middle period *Chêng-kwan*, 638 A.D., left Chang'an and came to Nâlanda, where he engaged himself in copying many *Sûtras*; and was deeply versed in the *Vinaya* and *Abidharma*. After going eastward and visiting the Cock-foot mountain, and bathing in the Dragon-pool to the westward, he died at Nâlanda *æt.* about 70.

4. Hwui-Nieh, a Doctor of the Law, a Corean, in the middle of the *Chêng-kwan* period, 638 A.D., went to the west and dwelt in the Bodhi temple, where he adored the sacred relics and then went to Nâlanda, where he dwelt for a long time, reading and studying. I-tsing when arranging some Chinese books suddenly saw under the title this record, "Whilst dwelling under the Tooth-brush tree, the Corean priest Hwui-Nich wrote this record." On enquiry at the temple, the priests said that he died there the same year, about 60 years of age. The Sanskrit books he wrote were preserved at Nâlanda.

5. Yuan Ta'i, a Doctor of the Law, a Corean, called by the Sanskrit name of Sarvajñânadeva. In the year *Yung-hwei* (650 A.D.) he went by the Thibetan road through Nepâl to Middle India; he there worshipped the relics at the Bodhi Tree, afterwards going to the Turkhâra country he met Tao-Hi, with whom he returned to the Ta-hsio temple (Mahâbodhi). Afterwards he returned to China, and was not heard of again.

6. Yuan-hau, a Doctor of the Law, a Corean, went with Yuan-chin in the middle of the *Chêng-kwan* period to India, and reaching the Ta-hsio temple, he died there.

7. Bodhidharma, a man of the Turkhâra country, of great bodily size and strength,

[10] The principal shrine or temple of Ellammâ is at Ugargol near Saundatti in the Belgaum district, and is certainly a very old one, and so probably is the idol. It would be interesting to know the details of its history within recent times.—ED. I. A.

came to China, and became a priest. He wandered through the nine provinces begging as a religious mendicant. Afterwards going to India to adore the sacred vestiges, I-tsing met him at Nâlanda. Afterwards he went to North India and died when 50 years old or so.

8. Taou-lih, a Doctor of the Law, of Ping-chau, went by way of the sandy desert and the Tsih rock to Nepâl, and afterwards came to the Ta-hsio temple, where he remained several years; he then returned to Nepâl where he still is.

9. Taou-sing, a Doctor of the Law, of Ping-chau, called in Sanskrit Chandradêva, in the last year of the *Chêng-kwan* period (649 A.D.) went by the Tu-fan road to mid India; he arrived at the Bodhi temple where he worshipped the Chaityas; afterwards going to Nâlanda, he was there much honoured by the king on account of his youth. After that, going twelve stages to the eastward, he came to the King's temple, where they study only the Little Vehicle. He remained here many years, learning the books of the *Tripiṭaka* according to the Hinayâna. Returning to China through Nepâl, he died.

10. Shang-tih, a contemplative priest, of Ping-chau. He longed with devotion for the joys of the Western Paradise, and with the view of being born there he devoted himself to a life of purity and religion (reciting the name of Buddha). He vowed to write out the whole of the *Prajña Sûtra*, occupying 10,000 chapters. Desiring to worship the sacred vestiges, and so by this to secure for himself the greater merit with a view to a birth in that heaven, he travelled through the nine provinces, desiring, wherever he went, to labour in the conversion of men and to write the sacred books. Coming to the coast he embarked in a ship for Kalinga. Thence he proceeded by sea to the Malaya country, and thence, wishing to go to mid India, he embarked in a merchant ship for that purpose. Being taken in a storm, the ship began to founder, and the sailors and merchants were all struggling with one another to get aboard a little boat that was near. The captain of the ship being a believer, and anxious to save the priest, called out to him with a loud voice to come aboard the boat; but Shang-tih replied, "I will not come; save the other people," and so he remained silently absorbed, as if his short term of life were agreeable to one possessed of the heart of Bodhi. Having refused all help, he clasped his hands in adoration, and looking towards the West he repeated the sacred name of Amita, and when the ship went down these were his last words. He was about 50 years of age. He had a follower, unknown to me, who also perished with his master, also calling on the name of Amita Buddha.

11. Matisinha, a man of the capital; his common name being Wong-po. This man accompanied the priest Sse-pin, and arriving at the middle land dwelt in the Sin-ché temple. Finding his progress little in the Sanskrit language, he went to Nepâl, and died on the way there, *æt.* 40.[1]

12. Yuan-hwui, a Doctor of the Law, son of a general, according to report. Leaving North India he dwelt in Kaśmir and took charge of the royal elephants. The king of this country delighted day by day in going to the different temples, the Dragon-lake Mountain temple, the Kung-Yang temple. This is where the 500 Rahats received charity. Here also the venerable Madhyantika, the disciple of Ânanda, converted the Dragon king. This priest exhorted the king of Kaśmir by a great exercise of royal clemency to remit the punishment of more than 1,000 persons who were condemned to death. The king in consequence let them go. Having remained here some years he went southwards, and came to the great Bodhi temple, where he worshipped the Bodhi tree, beheld the Lake of "Muchin" (Muchhalinda),[2] ascended the Vulture Peak, &c. After this he went back to Nepâl and died there.

13. Again there was a man who accompanied the envoy by the northern route to the Turkhâra country, and there lodged in the Nâva-vihâra. In this establishment the principles of the Little Vehicle were taught. Having become a priest he took the name of Chittavarma. Having received the precepts he declined to eat the three pure things, on which the Master of the Convent said, "Tathâgata, our Great Master, permitted these five things[3] as food, why do you object to them?" He answered: "All the Books of the Great Vehicle forbid them, this is what I formerly practised. I cannot now bring myself to change." The Superior answered,

[1] Nepâl has a poisonous medicine which kills many.
[2] Conf. St. Julien, *Mém. sur les Cont. Occ.*, tome I, pp. 348, 378.
[3] Vil. Jul. II. 2, n. 2.

"I have established a practice here in agreement with the three sacred collections, and you follow your own interpretation, which is contrary to mine. I cannot permit this difference of opinion, I cease to be your Master." Chittavarma was thus reluctantly obliged to yield. Then having learned a little Sanskṛit he returned by the northern route. I know no more about him.

14. Again there were two men who lived in Nepâl, they were the children of the wet-nurse of the Duke-prince of Tibet (Tu-fan). They both were ordained, but one went back to lay life. They lived in the temple of the Heavenly Kings. They spoke Sanskṛit well, and understood Sanskṛit books.

15. Lung, a Doctor of the Law; I know not whence he came. In the *Chêng-kwan* period, 627—650 A.D., he went by the northern route to North India, wishing to visit the sacred spots. In mid India he got a Sanskṛit copy of the *Fŭ-hwa* (Lotus of the Good Law), and having gone to Gandhâra he died there.

16. Ming Yuen, a man of Yih-chau, a Doctor of the Law, whose Sanskṛit name was Chintâdêva. He embarked in a ship of Cochin China and came to the Kaling a country and thence to Ceylon. Whilst the king was engaged in worship, this priest, concealing himself in a private chamber, tried to steal the Tooth-relic with a view to bring it to his own country and worship it. He had it concealed in his hand and was taking it away,* when by careless exposure of it he was detected, and driven disgracefully away. He went to South India, and it was related that he was going towards the Mahâbodhi, but then losing all power of digestion he died on the road, where he had rested. I know not what his age was.

They now keep this Tooth-relic carefully guarded in a high tower. It is locked up and sealed by five officers, and when opened, great uproar (of music?) is made, through the town and outskirts. It is worshipped every day with flowers and incense; when taken out it is placed on a golden flower, and its brilliancy is everywhere diffused. A tradition says that if this relic were lost then the Rakshas would devour (it?). There is also a tradition which says that some day it will be taken to China, but this must be by Divine interference and not by human contrivance.

17. I-long, a priest of Yih-chau, well versed in the *Vinayapiṭaka* and in the interpretation of the *Yoga*, set forth from Chang'an with a priest Chi-ngan of his own province, and an eminent man called I-huan; after travelling through the Southern Provinces, they came to Niau-Lui, and there embarked on board a merchant ship. Having arrived at Lang-kia (Kamalaṅka?) Chi-ngan died. I-long with his other companion went on to Ceylon, where they worshipped the tooth, and having obtained various books returned through Western India. It is not known where he is now residing. He has not been heard of in mid India.

18. Hwui Yen, a Doctor of the Law, and a disciple of Hing-Kung, went with his master to Singala (Siṅhala), and died there.

19. Sin-chin, a Doctor of the Law, his country not known. His Sanskṛit name Charitavarma. Taking the northern route he arrived in the Western country, and lived in the Sin-ché temple. In an upper room of this temple, he constructed a sick chamber, and left it for ever for the use of sick brothers. He himself died here. Some days after the beginning of his illness in the middle of the night he suddenly exclaimed:—"There is Bodhisatwa with outstretched hand beckoning me to his lovely abode"—and then closing his hands with a long sigh he expired, *æt.* 35.

20. Sanghavarma, a man of Samarkand, when young crossed the sandy desert and came to China. Afterwards, in company with the envoy he came to the Great Bodhi temple and the Vajrâsana, where he burnt lamps in worship for seven days and seven nights. Moreover, in the Bodhi Hall, under the Tree of Aśoka he carved a figure of Buddha and Kwan-tseu-tsai Bodhisatwa (*i.e.* Avalôkitesvara). He then returned to China. Afterwards being sent to Kwai-chau (Cochin China), there was great scarcity of food there. He daily distributed provisions, and was so touched by the sorrows of the fatherless and bereaved orphans, that he was moved to tears as he visited them. He was on this account named the weeping Bodhisatwa. He died shortly afterwards from infection caught there, which soon terminated fatally, *æt.* about 60.

21. Wan-yun, a Doctor of the Law, of Lo-yang, travelling through the southern parts of China came to Cochin China, thence went by ship to Kalinga, where he died.

* This story has its parallels in the thefts of relics by pilgrims in the middle ages.—ED.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from p. 19[illegible].)

No. CXVII.

The accompanying Old-Canarese inscription is edited from an ink-impression supplied to me by Mr. J. Fairlie Muir, Bo. C.S. The original stone-tablet is at Kargudari in the Hângal Tâlukâ of the Dhârwaḍ District, and stands on the south of a spot, on the west of the village, where there was formerly a temple of the god Nârâyaṇa, the stones of which were removed, about twenty years ago, to build the embankment of the tank close by.

The inscription is in bold and well executed Old-Canarese characters of the period to which it belongs. It is for the most part in a state of excellent preservation; but one or two letters are broken away at the commencement of lines 15 to 18, and lines 44 and 45 are a good deal weather-worn. The writing covers a space of about 5′ 9½″ high by 3′ 1″ broad. A transcription of it is given in the Elliot *MS. Collection*, Vol. I., p. 479. The emblems at the top of the stone are:—In the centre, a *liṅga*; on its right, a cow and calf, and the sun; and on its left, Nandî or Basava, and the moon.

The inscription is of the time of the Western Châlukya king, Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramâditya VI., and is dated in the thirty-third year of the Châlukya-Vikramavarsha, the Sarvadhâri *saṁvatsara*, i. e. in Śaka 1030 (A. D. 1108-9), while his feudatory, the *Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara* Tailapa or Taila II. of the family of the Kâdambas of Banawâsi, was governing the districts called the Banavâse Twelve-thousand and the Hânuṅgal Five-hundred, at his capital of Pârthapura. Of the places mentioned in the inscription, Karagudure is of course the modern Kargudari itself, the 'Kungoodree' and 'Kurgoodrakop' of the maps, four miles to the north by east [illegible] Hângal,—and Tâmaragere must be the mod[illegible] Tâvaragere, the 'Tawurgeree' of the [illegible] about five miles to the south by east [illegible] ghatgi. I cannot at present identify [illegible] and Pârthapura, the latter of which [illegible] any one of the several places in the [illegible] south-west parts of the Dhârwaḍ [illegible] in the neighbouring parts of North Canara, which are now called simply 'Pura.'

The genealogy of the Kâdambas of Banawâsi is given in this inscription, from Mayûravarmâ I., the founder of the family, down to Taila II., and is as below, with a few additions from other sources:—

Mayûravarmâ I.
Krishṇavarmâ.
Nâgavarmâ I.
Vishṇuvarmâ.
Mrigavarmâ.
Satyavarmâ.
Vijayavarmâ I.
Jayavarmâ I.
Nâgavarmâ II.
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[1] Sattiga is another [illegible] the name Satyâśraya [illegible] Satyâśraya II.

others,—which cannot at present be referred to their places in the genealogy.

In lines 1, 5, 20, 29, and 32, of this inscription, the name of the family is written Kadamba, with the vowel of the first syllable short. This is not usual, except for metrical exigencies; and the proper form of the name is Kâdamba, with the vowel of the first syllable long. And, as in the case of the Western Chalukyas and Châlukyas, this difference in the first syllable of the name seems to imply that the Kâdamba *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvaras* of Banawâsi, and their relatives of Goa, cannot claim a direct lineal descent from the early Kadamba kings, some of whose inscriptions I have published in Vol. VI., pp. 22, &c., and Vol. VII., pp. 33, &c.

The Kâdambas of Banawâsi derive their origin from the three-eyed and four-armed Mayûravarmâ I.,—the Mukkaṇṇa-Kadamba of one inscription,[2]—who was the on of the god Śiva and the Earth. This legend as to the birth of Mayûravarmâ I.,—taken in connection with the legend of the Kâdambas of Goa, that the founder of their family, Jayanta or Trilôchana-Kadamba, sprang from the earth at the foot of a *kadamba*-tree, where a drop of sweat fell from the forehead of Śiva,—suggests the inference that the Kâdambas, and perhaps the Kadambas before them, were an aboriginal race, and not one of the Âryan tribes there is another tradition that Mayûravarmâ I., not simply introduced, but brought with him twelve-thousand Brâhmaṇs, of thirty-two families, purified by performing the *agnihôtra*-sacrifice, from the *agrahâra* of Ahichchhatra,[5] and established them in the *agrahâra* of Sthâṇugûḍhapura[6] or Tâṇaguṇḍur,[7] the modern Tâḷgund or Tâḷdagundi in Maisûr. The present inscription says only that Mayûravarmâ I. brought eighteen Brâhmaṇs from Ahichchhatra, and established them in the country of Kuntala. It adds that he had been preceded by seventy-seven rulers of his line; but as yet we have no further information regarding them.

It is of course open to doubt whether the genealogy now given,—including, as it does, a number of names as to which we have no historical data,—is altogether authentic. And, one of the family titles being *Banavâsipuravarâdhîśvara*, or 'supreme lord of Banavâsi, the best of cities,' may suggest the inference that these Kâdambas only started from a parent stock already established at that city, which, under its name of Vaijayantî, had been one of the capitals of their predecessors, the Kadambas. But, as I have already said, I do not consider that they can claim to be the direct lineal descendants of those Kadambas.

These Kâdambas were *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvaras*, or feudatory nobles, entitled to the *pañchamahâśabda*. They were also entitled to have the musical instrument called *permaṭṭi* played before them,—to carry the banner of a monkey, or perhaps of Hanumân, the king of monkeys,[8] —and to use the signet of a lion.[9] Their family god was Vishṇu, under the form of Madhukê-

India) identifies apparently the same one with the modern Farukhâbâd, about 55 miles to the south-east of Badaun. Prof. Hall (*Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, Vol. II., p. 161) suggests that one of them was not far from the Vindhya mountains.—For other references, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX., p. 252, note.

[6] *P., S., and O-C., Inscriptions*, No. 221, l. 15. The name is not Sthânarudrapura, as Mr. Rice reads it there (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 1[illegible] [illegible] as he reads it in l. 25 of the sa[illegible] l. 7). In l. 13 of *P., S., and O-C.*, [illegible] reads Sthânakundûru (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 201); the photograph is somewhat indistinct, but,—as the nasal of the second syllable of both Sthâṇugûḍhapura and Tâṇaguṇḍûr is *ṇ*, not *n*,—until I can see the original, I adhere to my reading of [illegible] K[illegible]ndavige &c. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vo[illegible], of *sthâna* being perfectly [illegible] that follow *kund*, not *kunḍ*, being doubtful.

[7] *P., S., and O-C., Inscriptions*, No. 221, l. 25.

[8] *Śâkhâcharêndradhvaja*, l. 28 of the present inscription; equivalent to *vânarêndradhvaja*. Conf. the *vânaramahâdhvaja* of the Kâdambas of Goa.

[9] *Siṁhalâñchhana*. This was also used by the Kâdambas of Goa; on the seals of their copper-plate grants. No copper-plate of the Kâdambas of Banawâsi have been discovered yet.

[20] Â mahim-âspadamge śubhabimba-Kadamba-kul-âbjinî-nij-ôddâma-virâjita-dyumaṇig= indu-var-ânane Pâṇḍya-vamśa-ja(je) Śrî-ma-
[21] hadêvi tâm Siriyadêviy=avargg=abhirâmam=appinam Râmane puṭṭidam negardda(rda) Tailapan=endu dharitri baṇṇikum ||
[22] Nuḍi satyam sach-charitram naḍe guṇam=akhiḷ-ânandam=udyat-pratâpam toḍar-bardd=ârâti-bhûpâḷaka-baḷa-vijaya-śrî-sa-
[23] hakriḍe chittam Mṛiḍa-pâd-âmbhôja-bhakti prabaḷate śaraṇ-ârtthi-bra(vra)j-âdhînam= entum paḍed=arttham kûḍe lôkôttara-visa(śa)da-
[24] yaśam Taila-bhûpâḷa-dêvam || Svasti Samadhigatapamchamahâśabda-mahâmaṇḍaḷêśvaram Banavâsî-puravar-â-
[25] dhîśvaram Jayantî-Madhukêśvaradêva-labdha-vara-prasâdam mri(mṛi)gamad-âmôdam Tryaksha-kshmâ-sambhavam chatur-â(a)śîti-
[26] nagar-âdhishṭhita lalâṭa-lôchana chatur-bhbhu(bbhu)jam jagad-vidit-âshṭâdaś-âśvamêdha-yajña-dîkshâ-dîkshitam Hima-
[27] vad-girîmdra-rumdra-śikhara-śakti-samsthâpita-sphaṭika-si(śi)lâstambha-baddha-madagaja-mahâmahim-âbhirâmam Kâdam-
[28] bachakri-Mayûravarmma-mahâ-mahîpâḷa-kuḷa-bhûshaṇam permmaṭṭi-tûryya-nirgghôshaṇam śâkhâcharêm-
[29] dradhvaja-virâjamân-ôttumga-simhalâmcha(chha)nam datt-ârtthi-kâmchanam samara-jaya-kâraṇam Kadambar=âbharaṇam mâ-
[30] rkkoḷvara gaṇḍam pratâpa-mârttaṇḍam nâm-âvaḷi-virâjitar=appa śrîman-mahâmaṇḍaḷê-śvaram Tailapadêvar=Bbanavâse-
[31] pannirchchâsiramumam Hânumgall=aynûṟumam(ma)n=âḷdu Śrî-râjadhânî-Pârttha[16]purada neleviḍinal sukha-samka-
[32] thâ-vinôdadim râjyam-geyyuttam-ire || Kam || Asadri(dṛi)śa-râjya-śrîyam vasisi virâjipa Kadamba-kulamam sale
[33] perchchisuv=anvay-âgatam tân=esedam daṇḍâdhinâthan=Îśvaramayyam || Aparimita-guṇa-gaṇam Kâśyapa-gôtram vipra-kula-
[34] lalâmam daṇḍâdhipan=Îśvarayyan=agrajar=upa[17] . . . . . gaḷ Tîkimayyanum Bâvaṇanum || Pati Śânta-bhûmipam Pârvvati-[18]
[35] vallabhan=ishṭa-deyvam=âtm-âmgane sat-sati Dêba(va)kabbey=ene vasumatiyoḷ kṛita-kri(kṛi)tyan=Îśvarayya-chamûpam ||
[36] Pati-hitamam mârpp-eḍegam satatam dharmm-âbhivṛiddhiyam mârpp-eḍegam hite Malliyakkanam guṇavatiyam sat-sute-
[37] yan=Îśvarayyam paḍedam || Pati Mêdirâjan=esev=adhipati tâm Śrî-Taila-bhûmipam deyvam=Umâpati-Hari-Bhâskara-
[38] r=endaḍe satiyar Śrî-Malliyakkanoḷ=saman=oḷarê || Svasti Śrîmach-Châḷukya-Vikramavarshada 33neya
[39] Sarvvadhâri-samvatsarada Herjjuggiya puṇṇami Sômavârad-andina śubha-lagnadoḷ Palambiy[19]-erppattaṟa baḷiya
[40] grâmam Kaṟagudurey=uttara-dig-bhâgadoḷ Śrî-Śamkaradêvarumam Kêśavadêvarumam Bhâskaradêvarumam daṇḍanâya-
[41] kiti[20] Malliyakkam pratishṭhe-geyd=â mûvarum dêvar=amgabhôgakkam nivêdyakkam Tâmaragerey-oḷag=ondu mattaru ga-

[16] Sir Walter Elliot's copyist read *Pâmthipura*. But there is certainly no *Anusvâra* in the first syllable. And as regards the second syllable, the *th* is below the line, and is distinct; and, though the upper part is damaged and is somewhat doubtful in the impression, I cannot but read it as *rta*. Also the comparison of Śântivarmâ II. with Pârtha (Yudhishṭhira, Bhîmasêna, or Arjuna), in ll. 18 and 19, is decidedly a point in favour of Pârthapura being the correct reading.

[17] Two syllables are quite uncertain here. Sir Walter Elliot's copyist read *upagaḷigaḷ*; but it has no meaning as far as I can determine.

[18] The vowel *î* is shortened for the sake of the metre.

[19] Sir Walter Elliot's copyist read *Palamchiy*=; but wrongly.

[20] Sir Walter Elliot's copyist read *nâyakitti*,—through thinking of the feminine affix *gitti* in *okkalagitti*, 'a woman of the farmer caste', *pâtaragitti*, 'a dancing girl', *kuntanigitti*, 'a procuress', &c. But, if that affix were used here, we ought to have *nâyakagitti*, not *nâya-kiti*. The original is distinct, and as I give it, though it requires explanation, as the feminine form of *nâyaka* is *nâyikâ* or, in Canarese, *nâyakasâni*.

[42] rddeyuman=â kereya kelag=a[y]nûru-marada tômtamumam śriman-mahâmaṇḍaḷêśvaram Tailapadêvarum

[43] Śrî-Pâṇdyamahâdêvî-Bâchaladêviyarum=irddu kuḍe paḍedu biṭṭaru [||*] Mamgala-mahâ-śrî-śrî [||*]

[44] Bopagaḍana maga Simgagaḍa biṭa(ṭṭa)[21] . . . . vûra manê-dereyumam koḍêvaṇamumam biṭa(ṭṭa)ru [||*]

[45] Nîlakamṭa(ṭha)pamḍitadêvara maga Bammapamḍitadêvaru[22]

[46] Sva-datta(ttâ)m para-datta(ttâ)m vâ yô harêti(ta) vasumdharâm shashṭir-(shtim) -vvarisha(varsha)-sahasrâṇi vishṭhâyâm jâyatê krimiḥ ||

Translation.

May the glorious Andhâsuradhvamsî,[23]—who is the cause of the generation of creation; and who is capable of preserving the earth,—protect the Lakshmî of the waterlily which is the family of the Kadambas![24] Victorious is the form, which was that of a boar, that was manifested of Vishṇu,—which troubled the ocean, and which had the earth resting upon the tip of its uplifted right-hand tusk! Reverence to him, the lord of day, whose self was the (*source of the*) production of the three worlds; reverence, reverence, to Bhâskara,[25] whose form is (*the embodiment of*) all the gods!

(L. 4.)—Hail! While the victorious reign of the glorious Tribhuvanamalladêva,—the asylum of the universe; the favourite of the world; the great king; the supreme king; the most worshipful one; the glory of the family of Satyâśraya; the ornament of the Châḷukyas,—was flourishing with perpetual increase, so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars might last:—

(L. 5.)—The lineage of the Kadambas was as follows:—Glorious was Śrî-Mayûravarmâ, who, having been born to the glorious Śaśâṅkamauḷi[26] and to the Earth, possessed the great fame of being considered the abode of the greatness of having conquered all the hostile kings. He bound his infuriated elephants to a shining pillar of a rock of crystal of (*the mountain*) Himavân, and he performed the sacrifices called *aśvamêdha*; and, having himself brought eighteen Brâhmaṇs in succession from Ahichchhatra and having established them in the radiant country of Kuntaḷa, and having acquired prowess, Mayûravarmâ was resplendent in the government of the earth.

(L. 10.)—From the glorious Mayûravarmadêva,—who thus had his footstool coloured with the rays of the jewels in the diadems of all the hostile kings (*who bowed down before him*); who was established in dominion by a succession of seventy-seven thrones; who was invested with universal sovereignty over the lords of the earth which is stamped with a signet which is the ocean; and who was the sun of the white waterlilies of the family of the Kâdambas,—(*there was born*) his son, Kṛishṇavarmadêva. From him, his son, Nâgavarmadêva. From him, his son, Vishṇuvarmadêva. From him, his son, Mṛigavarmadêva. From him, his son, Satyavarmadêva. From him, his son, Vijayavarmadêva. From him, his son, Jayavarmadeva. From him, his son, Nâgavarmadêva. From him, his son, Śântivarmadêva. From him, his son, Kîrttivarmadêva. From him, his son, Âdityavarmadêva. From him, his son, Chaṭṭayadêva. From him, his son, Jayavarmadêva.

(L. 16.)—To that king Jayavarmâ, who was like king Pâṇḍu, there were born five sons, Mâvulidêva, Tailapadêva, Śântivarmadêva, Chokidêva,[27] and Vikramadêva, who resembled Yudhishṭhira and the other sons of Pâṇḍu in valour, and who were the torches of the lineage of the Kâdambas, which had come down more and more gloriously through him, and who pervaded (*the whole world*) with their prowess.

(L. 18.)—Among them:—Glorious was Śrî-Śântivarmâ, the Pârtha of the Kaliyuga, in whom (*there shone*) the valour of Pârtha, and in whom the objects of (*the life of*) man shone sig ificantly on account of the natural co-existence of fame with him.

[21] Four or five letters are quite illegible here.

[22] This is only a half line, and it appears to have been left unfinished.

[23] Śiva, as the destroyer of the demon Andha or Andhaka.

[24] See note 10 above.

[25] Bhâskara here is evidently simply the sun. But it is also a name of Śiva, and the sun is one of the forms under which he is addressed in the *Śiva-Purâṇa*. His title of 'destroyer of the demon Andha or Andhaka, *i. e.* of the darkness,' must have originated from the same connection of ideas.

[26] Śiva, as bearing the moon on his forehead.

[27] See note 15 above.

(L. 20.)—To him, that abode of greatness, who was himself the brilliant-orbed and most radiant sun of the pool of the white waterlilies of the family of the Kadambas, Siriyadêvî herself, whose lovely face was like the moon, and who was born in the family of the Pâṇḍyas, became queen; and to them, amidst the praises of the world, was born the glorious Tailapa, a very Râma, so that there was happiness to them. His speech was truth; his behaviour was good conduct; his virtues were the happiness of all people; his rising prowess was pastime with the goddess of victory over the power of the hostile kings who came to oppose him; his thoughts were devotion to the waterlilies which are the feet of (*the god*) Mṛiḍa; his strength devoted itself to the crowds of those who applied for protection; and the wealth that he acquired resulted straightway in extraordinary pure fame;—(*such was*) the king Tailapadêva.

(L. 24.)—Hail! While the glorious *Mahâmaṇḍaḷêśvara* Tailapadêva,—who was decorated with the titles of "the *Mahâmaṇḍaḷêśvara* who had attained the *pañchamahâśabda;* the supreme lord of Banavâsî, which is the best of cities; he who had acquired the excellent favour of the god Jayantî-Madhukêśvara; he who had the perfume of musk; he who was the offspring of (*the god*) Tryaksha and the earth; he who presided over eighty-four cities; he who had a (*third*) eye in his forehead; he who was four-armed; he who was consecrated by eighteen *aśvamêdhas*, famous in the world; he who was charming by reason of his extreme greatness which consisted in his infuriated elephants being bound to a column of crystal set up by his might on the lofty[28] summits of Himavân, the king of mountains; he who was the ornament of the family of the great king Mayûravarmâ, the Kâdamba emperor; he who possessed the sounds of the musical instrument called *permaṭṭi*; he who possessed the noble signet of a lion, which was made resplendent by the banner of (*Hanumân*) the chief of monkeys; he who gave gold to supplicants; he who was the cause of victory in war; he who was the ornament of the Kadambas; he who was the punisher of those who resisted him; he who was a very sun of valour,"—was governing the Banavâse Twelve-thousand and the Hânuṅgal Five-Hundred, at his capital of Śrî-Pârthapura,[29] with the recreation of pleasing conversations:—

(L. 32.)—Glorious was the *Daṇḍâdhinâtha* Îśvaramayya, who belonged to a lineage which excellently augmented the family of the Kadambas which, having inhabited the glory of a dominion which had no equal, was illustrious. The elder brothers of Îśvarayya, the *Daṇḍâdhipa*,—who was possessed of an unbounded quantity of good qualities, who was of the Kâśyapa *gôtra*, and who was the ornament of a family of Brâhmaṇs,—were . . . . Tikimayya and Bâvaṇa. His lord was king Śânta; his tutelary deity was Pârvatîvallabha; his wife was the most virtuous Dêvakabbe;—thus did the *Chamûpa* Îśvarayya accomplish his objects in the world. Îśvarayya obtained an excellent daughter, Malliyakka, who was so good a woman as to cause the welfare of her husband, and always to cause the increase of religion. Since her husband was Mêdirâja, her glorious sovereign was the king Śrî-Taila himself, and her deities were Umâpati and Hari and Bhâskara,—are there any wives who are equal to Śrî-Malliyakka?

(L. 38.)—Hail! At the auspicious moment of Monday, the full-moon day called Herjuggi[30] of the Sarvadhâri *saṁvatsara*, which was the thirty-third year of the glorious Châḷukya-Vikramavarsha,—the *Daṇḍanâyakiti* Malliyakka having established the god Śrî-Śaṁkara and the god Kêśava and the god Bhâskara in the northern portion of Karaguḍure, a village which was included in[31] the Palambi Seventy,—the glorious *Mahâmaṇḍaḷêśvara* Tailapadêva, and his Pâṇḍya queen Śrî-Bâchaladêvî, both together acquired and allotted, for the *aṅgabhôga* and the *nivêdya* of those three gods, one *mattar* of rice-land in (*the village of the tank called*) Tâmaragere, and the garden-land of five hundred trees below that same tank.

(L. 44.)—Siṅgagaḍa, the son of Bopagaḍa, ... allotted the house-tax of the

[28] *Rundra.*

[29] See note 16 above.

[30] Mr. V. R. Katti, corroborated by Mr. Sântavîrayya Râchidêva Kittûr, informs me that, though the name is but rarely used now, Herjuggi, or in its modern form Hejjuggi, is at some places still known among the Liṅgâyat cultivators as another name of the Śigî-hunnive or day of the full-moon of the month Âśvina,—and that the explanation of it is that on that day the cultivators prepare a *huggi*, or mess of boiled rice mixed with split pulse, salt, pepper, cummin seeds, &c. and, taking it to their fields, scatter it abroad in handfuls at every step (*hejju*).

[31] *Baḷiya.*

village and a *koḍévaṇa*.[32] Bammapaṇḍitadêva, the son of Nîlakaṇṭhapaṇḍitadêva . . . .

(L. 46.)—He is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years, who takes away land that has been given, whether by himself, or by another !

READINGS FROM THE BHARHUT STÛPA.

BY DR. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

(*Continued from p.* 121.)

PART II.

This instalment will be devoted to an examination of some of the Pillar Inscriptions. In another I hope to proceed with the inscriptions on the coping stones. In the following remarks I follow the order of the photographs in General Cunningham's work on the Bharhut Stûpa, beginning with Plate xiii.

(10.) Of two inscriptions on the inner face of the upper bas-relief of the South Gate Pillar, on Plate xiii, right side, transcribed on Plate liv, Nos. 39 and 40, and referred to on pp. 11, 90, 110, 111, 134,—one is read variously, as *Bhagavato dhama chakam*, on pp. 11, 90, *Bhagavato dhamma chakam*, on p. 110, and *Bhagavato dharma chakam*, on p. 134. The other,—*Rája Pasenaji Kosalo*, on pp. 90, 134, and *raja Pasenaji Kosalo*, on p. 111. Letter for letter, the first is

(a) *Bhagavato dhamachakaṁ*

and the second

(b) *Rájá Pasenaji*
Kosalo ;

or, as they should be in full, adding the double consonants, *Bhagavato dhammachakkaṁ*,—in Sanskrit *Bhagávato dharmachakraṁ*, i. e., "the Wheel of the Law of the Blessed One," and the other, *Rájá Pasenaji Kosalo*,[1] or in Sanskrit *Rájá Prasenajit Kausalaḥ*, i. e., "King Prasenajit of Kosala."

The scene is not quite correctly explained on p. 91. The leader of the procession is not a footman, but a horseman; and he is not followed by one, but by *two* footmen. Again, I do not think that the charioteer is one of the three servants about the king, but, as usual, the Râjâ himself, who sits in front; the position of the servants *behind* the Râjâ would seem to make it impossible for any of them to drive. The reins, however, are not represented as actually in the hands of the Râjâ, but as fastened to the splash-board of the carriage, close to the Râjâ's left hand. As the procession is moving at a slow pace, there would be no need to hold the reins. Further, the three figures, passing through the gateway, in the right-hand corner of the scene, are not "three followers," but the heads of two horses, and behind them is the head of the Râjâ himself. This is expressly indicated by the second legend *Rájá Pasenaji Kosalo*, inscribed on the gateway; moreover, turning to Plate xiv, the feet and forepart of the body of one of the horses may be seen in the furthest corner of the uppermost scene. In fact, this compartment contains two scenes: 1, a subordinate one, representing the departure of the Râjâ from his palace-gate; and 2, the principal one, representing the arrival of the Râjâ with his retinue at the residence of Buddha, which is indicated by the legend *Bhagavato dhamachakaṁ* inscribed on it.

(11.) An inscription, on the outer face of the upper bas-relief of the South Gate Pillar; on Plate xiii, left side, is transcribed on Plate liv, No. 28, and referred to on pp. 45, 115, 120, 127, 134, where it is uniformly read *bhagavato sákamunino bodhi*. The actual letters of the legend are—

Bhagavato Sakamunino
bodho.

The letter *s* has no vowel sign (*á*); and the vowel attached to *dh* is not *i* (as in the transcript on Plate liv), but *o*. The absence of the vowel *á* shows that the name must be read *sakko*, a regular Pâli equivalent for the Sanskrit *śákya*; one of the two *k*'s, as usual, not being represented.[2] *Bodho* is a mere synonym of *bodhi*; both mean properly "the knowledge of a *buddha*" or "buddhaship"; whence, in a derivative sense, "the tree under which buddhaship is attained." The usual form, however, is *bodhi*; for which reason the use here of the form *bodho* is worth noting.

[32] Apparently a *haṇa* or *paṇa* stamped with the device of an umbrella (*koḍe*).

[1] Or it might be *Kosallo*=Skr. *Kausalyaḥ*.

[2] The rule is to shorten a long vowel before a double consonant. When the long vowel is to be preserved, the following conjunct consonant is dissolved; thus *sákiya*, which is an actual alternative Pâli form of the name; but it is not used in the present case.

Spelt fully and correctly, the inscription would run: *Bhagavato Sakkamunino bodho*, or in Sanskrit—*Bhagavataḥ Śâkyamuner bodhaḥ*, i.e., "the bodha-tree of the blessed Śâkyamuni." The tree seems to be represented as standing within a circular colonnade. The curious action of the two persons who stand by the side of the tree and whom bad perspective has apparently placed in the air, I take to mean, that they are eating of the fruit of the tree. The latter is the *pippala* or the *ficus religiosa*, which bears small edible berries. The tree is represented as loaded with these berries. What General Cunningham has taken as the "tip of the tongue," is simply a berry which the man is holding with the thumb and forefinger of his left hand, in the act of putting it to his mouth. The action of "holding the tip of the tongue with the thumb and forefinger of the left hand" could hardly have any intelligible meaning, while the eating of the fruit of the *bodhi* tree may have been looked upon as a meritorious act; or it may have been part of the ceremonies of its worship, as seems to be indicated in the scene on Plate xvii, top.[3] With their right hands the two persons do not seem to me to "raise garlands," as General Cunningham explains, but one end of their long scarf (or *dupaṭṭâ*), with the object, apparently, of knocking off berries from the higher branches of the tree. The same action may be seen in the upper scene on Plate xvii. That the object is the usual scarf which was generally worn "thrown over the shoulders with the ends hanging down outside the thighs" may be seen from the fact that it can be traced from the right hand of the figure down behind his back, then over the left arm or left shoulder, whence the other end hangs down. And this is confirmed by the fact that the texture of the scarf is quite different from that of the real garlands, which are shown in the hands of the two flying creatures[4] and between the branches of the tree.

(12.) Two inscriptions, in the intermediate space, below the last-mentioned scene (No. 11), unfortunately are imperfectly preserved and only partially legible, in consequence of the stone having been broken right across them. Accordingly they are partly on Plate xiii, partly on Plate xiv. They are transcribed on Plate liv, Nos. 29 and 30, and transliterated on p. 134 as—*Purathimapusa sudha vasa deva*, and —*Utarâm disatuni savatanisisa*; but no explanation is given. The actual letters of the two legends, however, are, of the first—

(a) *Purathima* [*di*]*sa*·*sudhâ*-
vâsâ de[*vâ*],

and of the second,

(b) *Utaraṁ disa* [*tini sa*]-
vatani sisâ[*ṇi*]

The letter *di* of the first legend is broken in two; but it is quite distinctly *di*, not *pu*; moreover, a comparison with the second legend and with a third, which I shall presently notice, makes the reading *di* absolutely certain. The last letter *vâ* is not quite distinct, but it looks more like *vâ* than anything else. In the second legend, the three letters *ti ni sa*, which are broken across, are rather indistinct, except the tops which are quite clear, and from which it is certain that the first letter is *ti*, not *tu*. After *sisâ* one letter is lost, owing to a splinter having been chipped off the stone; but there are indications of the former existence of a letter here which, as will be seen presently, must be *ṇi*, as required by the context. Supplying the defective double consonants and anusvâras, the two inscriptions will be as follows:

(a) *Puratthimaṁ disaṁ suddhâvâsâ devâ*, or in Sanskrit *Purastimâṁ*[5] *diśaṁ śuddhâvâsâ devâḥ*, i.e., "to the eastern (*or right-hand*) side (*are*) the gods of the pure abode." And

(b) *Uttaraṁ disaṁ tîni saṁvattâni sîsâṇi*, or in Sanskrit *uttarâṁ diśaṁ triṇi saṁvartâni śîrshâṇi*, i.e., "to the northern (*or upper*) side (*are*) three heads turned towards each other." It will be observed that the long vowel *î* of *tîni* and *sîsâṇi*, as well as the long *â* of *saṁvattâni* are not distinguished. Also that *tîni* ought to be *tîṇi* (with cerebral *ṇ*), and that the final *anusvâra*

[3] In the bottom-scene of the same Plate xvii, the two persons are apparently represented in the act of distributing the sacred berries among the worshippers. In the left hand they hold cups made of the long pointed leaves of the tree (the well-known leaf-cups or *donâs* of the present day), and filled with berries; with the right they throw handfuls of them among the worshippers. In that scene, as well as in the middle-scenes of Plates xiii and xvii, the two persons are represented as flying, whence it appears probable that they are intended to represent *Supaṇṇas* (see note 4) in human form. This would account, in the present scene, for their eating of the fruit and for their apparently standing in the air.

[4] These winged creatures, I suppose, are the *Supaṇṇas* or *Garuḍas*, a kind of semi-divine birds, who, like the *Nâgas* or semi-divine serpents, could assume the human form. The wings in one case, and the serpent's hood in the other, indicate them in their human guise.

[5] This phonetic Sanskrit equivalent is not in actual use.

BHARHUT INSCRIPTIONS.

10 a.

11.

10 b.

12 a.

13.

12 b.

14.

15 a.

15 b.

15 c.

16 a.

16 b.

17.

18.

A.F.R. Hoernle.

Scale—Half the originals.

is omitted in *disaṁ* (twice) and *purathimaṁ*; but in Pâli (as well as in Prâkrit) some license is permitted in the use of the cerebral *ṇ* and the final *anusvâra*.[6] For the rest the two sentences are grammatically and orthographically correct.[7] In order to explain the meaning of these two enigmatical sentences, it is necessary first to examine a third inscription, which evidently forms, with the other two, a distinct set; viz.,

(13.) An inscription, on Plate xiv, left side, in the intermediate space, above the theatrical scene in the bottom compartment of Plate xv, is transcribed on Plate liv, No. 31; and read on p. 134 as—*Dakhini disa chhaki mavam cha rasahâsani*. But the actual letters are:

Dakhinaṁ disa chha kâ-
mâvacharasa hasâni,

and the words should be so divided. Adding the necessary complements, the correct reading would be—*Dakkhinaṁ disaṁ chha kâmâvacharassa hassâni*, or in Sanskrit—*Dakshiṇâṁ diśaṁ shaṭ kâmâvacharasya hâsyâni*, i. e., "to the southern (*or lower*) side (*are*) six amusements of the pleasure-world."[8] In *dakkhinaṁ* there is another instance of the lax use of the dental *n*, instead of the cerebral; the regular form being *dakkhiṇaṁ*. That this inscription refers to the scene of amusements immediately below it, is, of course, at once evident, and that it is closely related to the two previously noticed inscriptions is very probable from the fact of their containing notices of direction (south, north, east). Now the scene below the present inscription contains 13 figures, all female, except one little boy, and they form three distinct groups. On the *right-hand* side there are four Apsarases (or *goddesses*) engaged in dancing; on the *upper* left-hand side there are *three* sitting figures, *turning their heads towards each other*, and engaged either in singing or, perhaps, in gambling. On the *lower* left-hand side there are *six* figures, of whom five are sitting and *playing* on various instruments, while the sixth (the little boy) is *dancing* in imitation of the Apsarases. The agreement of these three groups with the three inscriptions will be seen at once; and there can be no doubt that the object of the legends really is to explain in detail the three groups of the amusement scene over which they are inscribed.[9] The two first inscriptions are, it is true, somewhat removed from the groups to which they refer; but the object in placing the inscriptions was evidently to arrange them so as to indicate by their very position the directions and the groups to which they refer. A comparison of the position of the inscriptions with the position of the groups in the scene will at once show this. This amusement-scene appears to have been a particular object of attention to the waggish monks of the Bharhut vihâra, for not less than eight distinct inscriptions are devoted to it alone, and all its details are elucidated with evident relish. Before proceeding to the others, therefore, I shall conclude the examination of the series of these legends.

(14.) The inscription, in the intermediate space, below the amusement-scene, on Plate xv, left side, is transcribed on Plate liv, No. 32, and read on page 29 as—*Sâdikasammadamturam' devânam*, where no explanation is given. But on page 134 it is read as—*Sâdika sammadan turam devânam*, and the phrase *sâdika devânam* is there said to mean "praises of the gods." I do not understand how *sâdika* should come to mean "praises"; but the inscription is not without difficulties, and I am unable to offer an altogether satisfactory interpretation. Letter for letter the inscription runs:

Sâḍikasaṁmadaṁ
turaṁ devânaṁ,

where the only correction required is *tûraṁ* for *turaṁ*; but, as already noted, the length of the vowels *î* and *û* is not usually indicated. The word *sâḍika*, I take to be a somewhat irregularly formed equivalent of the Sanskrit *śâṭaka*, "a kind of dramatic performance" applicable to the dancing of the Apsarases.[10] *Sammada* is both an adjective "gay," and a substantive "gaiety;" but as the latter is masculine, the word must here be an adjective, agreeing

[6] See Kuhn, *Beiträge zur Pâli Grammatik*, pp. 37, 57, and my edition of *Chaṇḍa's Prâkṛita Lakshaṇaṁ*, p. xxx and sûtra ii, 15.

[7] That is, according to the usual rules of orthography in such monumental inscriptions.

[8] The *kâmâvachara* as well as the *suddhâvâsa* mentioned in No. 12 are technical terms of the Buddhist Cosmogony; see Spence Hardy's *Manual of Budhism*, pp. 3, 30, 261, and Childers' *Pâli Dictionary*, sub voce.

[9] The Buddhists enumerate six kinds of amusements; viz., dancing, singing, beating of drums, gambling, clapping of hands. See Hardy's *Manual of Budhism*, p. 494. But it is clear that the number six of the inscription refers to the six figures and not to *these* six amusments, some of which are not at all represented in the scene.

[10] The termination *aka* and the surd *ṭ* have a tendency to change to *ika* and *ḍ* respectively. See Kuhn's *Beiträge*, pp. 22 and 39; and my *Prâkṛita Lakshaṇa*, pp. xiv, xxvi, sûtra iii, 12. Mr. Tawney suggests to me the Skr. *śârikâ*, "gambling with dice," which would also give a good sense, though the interchange of *ḍ* and *r*, would be unusual.

with *túraṁ* and forming a compound with *sáḍika*. *Túraṁ* is the Sanskrit *túryaṁ* "musical instrument," "music."[11] The whole would then mean "the music of the gods, gay with dancing." But it does not quite satisfy me. The three words *sáḍika*, *saṁmadà* and *túra* might respectively refer to the three groups of dancers, singers, and players on instruments. That the inscription refers to the amusement-scene below which it stands is, of course, unquestionable.

15. Four Inscriptions on the outer face of the lower bas-relief of the South Gate Pillar, on Plate xv, left side, are transcribed on Plate liv, Nos. 33-36, and referred to on pp. 29 and 134. At the latter place they are read—*Misakosa achharâ*; *Alambusa achharâ*; *Padumâvati achharâ*; and *Subhada achharâ*. In the former, *sudasana* is given instead of *Padumâvati*; also *Misakosi*, *Subhadâ* and *Alambusâ*. The actual readings are:—

(a) *Misakesi achharâ*,

or in full, *Missakesî achchharâ*. There is a slight production of the horizontal line of the vowel *e* to the right beyond the perpendicular line of the *k*, which at first sight looks like the vowel *o*; as if the word were *Misakosi*; but I have no doubt that this is owing to an accidental slip of the mason's chisel. Its Sanskrit equivalent is *Miśrakeśî apsarâ*, i. e., "the Apsaras M i ś r a k e ś î."

(b) *Alaṁ-*
busâ achharâ,

or, in full, *Alaṁbusâ achchharâ*; in Sanskrit—*Alambushâ apsarâ*, i. e., "the Apsaras A l a m b u s h â."

(c) *Padumâvati*
achharâ,

or, in full, *Padumâvatî achchharâ*, in Sanskrit *Padmâvatî apsarâ*, i. e., "the Apsaras P a d m â v a t î."

(d) *Subhadâ achharâ*,[12]

or, in full, *Subhaddâ achchharâ*, in Sanskrit—*Subhadrâ apsarâ*, i. e., "the Apsaras S u b h a d r â."

16. Two inscriptions on the inner face of the middle bas-relief of the South Gate Pillar, on Plate xiv, left side, are transcribed on Plate liv, Nos. 41 and 42, and referred to on pp. 11, 27, 134, 135, where they are read *Erapato nâga râja bhagavato vandate*[13] and *Erapato nâga râja* respectively. The former is spelt on the stone thus:

(a) *Erâpato nâgarâjâ*
bhagavato vadate.

The last word, of course, is *vaṁdate* (or *vandate*); the anusvâra being, as usual, omitted. It means: "A i r â p a t a the Serpent-King worships the Blessed One." In Sanskrit it would be *Airâvato nâgarâjâ bhagavantaṁ vandate.* The genitive *bhagavato* is noticeable. Usually the verb *vand* takes in Pâli, as in Sanskrit, the accusative of the object of worship; but according to a general Pâli rule the genitive may occasionally be substituted for the accusative; of this usage the present case is an example.[14] There are two more points of interest in this inscription. In the first place, the preservation of the *âtmanepada* form *vandate* is noteworthy; in the ordinary Pâli, as a rule, only *parasmaipada* forms are used;[15] the former practice agrees with the old Prâkrit of Chaṇḍa.[16] In the second place, the form of the name *Erâpato* for the Sanskrit *Airâvataḥ*, with the very unusual change of a sonant into a surd, is noticeable. Another instance of this occurs in the name *Kupiro*, for Sanskrit *Kuberaḥ* or *Kuveraḥ*, on Plate xxii, No. 1.[17] In the old Hindî of Chand, the name appears in the mongrel form *Airâpati*.[18]

The other inscription reads—

(b) *Erapato* [*nâ*]*garajâ*.

The letter *nâ* is not legible; it being exactly on the line of breakage of the stone; one-half of the inscription is on Plate xv. Correctly spelt, the legend would run *Erâpato nâgarâjâ*, in Sanskrit *Airâvato nâgarâjâ*, i.e., "A i r â v a t a, the Serpent-king." The explanation of the scene is correctly given on p. 27, with one exception. The three figures behind the kneeling king are not "a Nâga and two Nâgnis," but king A i r â v a t a himself, accompanied by two (Nâganî) wives; this is shown by the five-

[11] Curiously enough, the photograph reads *taraṁ*, the long *â* being invisible, though, on the stone, it is as distinct as the rest of the word.

[12] This is not included among the facsimiles on the accompanying plate.

[13] On p. 11 *nâga raja*; on p. 27 *nagarâja*.

[14] See Kachchâyana (ed. Senart) p. 156, sûtra 38. The same usage obtains in Prâkrit; see Hemachandra (ed. Pischel), p. 98, sûtra iii, 134, where the verb *vand* is given as an example, *sîmâdharassa vaṁde*, i. e., "I worship the mark-bearer." To construe the sentence elliptically as Gen. Cunningham does, supplying "feet of" or "bodhi-tree of" is hardly admissible.

[15] See Kachchâyana (ed. Senart), p. 263; Kuhn's *Beiträge*, p. 93.

[16] See my edition of the *Prâkrita Lakshana*, p. lii.

[17] Other examples will be found in Kuhn's *Beiträge*, p. 40.

[18] See *Prithirâj Râsau*, canto xxvii, verse 2.

hooded snake-canopy over his head, as well as by the inscription—*Erâpato nâgarâjâ* below him. In fact, the scene represents three events; first, in the upper part of the compartment, the king appears in his five-hooded serpent-form attended by two wives, in the act of departure to see Buddha; next, in the lower right-hand corner, the king with his two wives is represented as arriving near Buddha's residence and having regained his human form; lastly, in the lower left-hand corner, the king is shown in his own human form humbly and gratefully kneeling in adoration of Buddha. Each time he is identified by the five hoods of the nâga-form.

(17.) Another inscription, also on the inner face of the middle bas-relief of the South Gate Pillar, given on Plate xiv, left side, is transcribed on Plate liv, No. 27, and given on p. 134 as *Aya Isadinasa bhânakasa dânam,* and translated "gift of the reverend Isadina of Bhânaka"; which, on the whole, is correct. Letter for letter the inscription is:

Aya Isidinasa Bhânakasa dânaṁ,[10]

or, in full, *Ayya Isidinnassa Bhânakassa dânaṁ,* or in Sanskrit—*Aryasya Ṛishidattasya Bhânakasya dânaṁ,* i. e., "the gift of the venerable Isidinna, a preacher." That is, the stone bearing the sculpture of Airâvata was given by Isidinna. The more usual form of the latter name is *isidatta*; so on one of the rails of the South Gate (*Isidattasa dânaṁ*, p. 140, No. 15). As a rule, the Sanskrit form *datta* "given" is preserved in Pâli names; still there are occasional instances of names made with the Pâli form *dinna*; e. g., *Sudinno* and *Dhammadinnâ* in *Jâtakam* (ed. Fausböll) p. 39. *Bhânaka* is a Buddhist term for a preacher or tutor. Between the letters *na* and *sa* of *dinasa* there is a curious mark, which does not seem to have been hitherto noticed. If read in the same position as the inscription, it exactly resembles an Arian Pâli *v* (ٔ7); or, if read in the opposite position, it may be an Indian Pâli *u* (L). It is probably a mason's mark, like the other Arian Pâli letters which have been noticed by General Cunningham (p. 8 and Plate viii).

(18.) An inscription, on the side of the middle bas-relief of the South Gate Pillar, on Plate xiv, middle, is transcribed on Plate liv, No. 37, and on p. 134 read—*Kadariki,* or rather, as it should be—

Kaḍariki.

It is inscribed over two figures, one male, the other female, and would seem to be the name of the woman. In full it should probably be read *Kaṁḍarikí* or *Kaṁḍarîkî*, Sanskrit *Kaṇḍarîkî*. There is a Sanskrit male name Kaṇḍarîka.

(To be continued.)

THE BHADRACHELLAM AND REKAPALLI TALUQAS.

BY REV. J. CAIN.

(*Continued from vol. VIII, p. 221.*)

Pressure of work and ill-health have prevented me from sending this article before, and also from making it as complete as I had hoped to do. At present I simply give a bare sketch of the Koi language as spoken round Dummagudem, but hope to be able at some future time to discuss its relation to other languages. Its connection with the Gond is very apparent, and also the influence of its neighbour Telugu. This latter will account for many of the irregularities, which would probably disappear in the language spoken by the Kois living further away from the Telugu country.

DECLENSION OF NOUNS.

	Sing.	Plural.
Father	Tappe	Tapperô
Of a father	Tappen	Tapperenu
Father (accus.)	Tappeni	Tappereni
To a father	Tappeniki	Tapperiki
By a father	Tappenaske	Tapperenaske
From a father	Tappenagaḍa	Tapperenagaḍa
With a father	Tappenitô	Tapperetô
In a father	Tappenaga	Tapperenaga
Tree	Mâra	Mâraku or Mârangu
Of a tree	Mârate	Mârkangu
Tree (acc.)	Mâranu	Mârakini
To a tree	Mâratki	Mâraku
By a tree	Mârataske	Mâratkunchi
From a tree	Mâratagaḍa	Mâratkunchi
With a tree	Mâratatô	Mârakatô
In a tree	Mârate	Martkivite

---

[10] Or possibly *dinnasa*, if the indistinct mark before *na* is meant for an anusvâra.

	Sing.	Plural.
Cow	Goḍḍu	Goḍku
Of a cow	Goḍḍine	Goḍkinto
Cow (acc.)	Goḍḍunu	Goḍkin
To a cow	Goḍḍinki	Goḍkinki
By a cow	Goḍḍinivalla	Goḍkinivalla
From a cow	Goḍḍini	Goḍkinunchi
With a cow	Goḍḍinitô	Goḍkinitô
In a cow	Goḍḍinilô	Goḍkinilô
House	Lônu	Lôhakku or Lônku
Of a house	Lôtaska	Lôhakkinaska
House (acc.)	Lôtini	Lôhakkini
To a house	Lôtiki	Lôhakkiniki
By a house	Lôtivalla	Lôhakkinivalla
From a house	Lôtinunchi	Lôhakkininunchi
With a house	Lôtitô	Lôhakkinitô
In a house	Lôtelo	Lôhakkinilô
Plough	Nâgali	Nâgalingu
Of a plough	Nâgalitaska	Nâgalinganaska
Plough (acc.)	Nâgalitini	Nâgalinu
To a plough	Nâgalitiki	Nâgalikinki
By a plough	Nâgaltivalla	Nâgalinivalla
From a plough	Nâgaltinunchi	Nâgalininunchi
With a plough	Nâgaltitô	Nâgalinitô
In a plough	Nâgaltelô	Nâgalinilô

Pronouns.

		Inclusive.	Exclusive.
I	Nanna	Mannaḍa	Mamma
My	Nâ	Manaska	Maska
Me	Nanna	Mana	Mamma
To me	Nâki	Manaki	Mâki
By me	Nâyagga	Managga	Mâyagga
Near me	Nâyagga	Managga	Mâyagga
Thou	Nimma	Mîru	
Thy	Nî	Mî	
Thee	Nimma	Mimmunu	
To thee	Nîku	Mîku	
By thee	Nîyagga or nikaide	Mikaide	
Near thee	Nîyagga	Miyagga	
He	Ônḍu	Óru	
His	Ônagga	Ôri	
Him	Ôni	Ôrini	
To him	Ôniki	Ôriki	
By him	Ônikaide	Ôrikaide	
Near him	Ônagga	Ôridagga	
He (this one)	Vînḍu	Vîru	
Who	Benônḍu	Benôru	

Numerals.

One	Orrôṭi
Two	Renḍu
Three	Munḍu

The higher numerals used are all Telugu forms.

Adjectives.

Sweet	Tîyyanga	Straight	Saya
Bitter	Kalute	Crooked	Vanku
Long	Poḍuguṭadu	High	Gôkoḍi
Short	Guṭṭoḍi	Low	Vâya
Salt	Uvvôriga	Wide	Velpuṭadu
Red	Erranga	Strait	Orikiḍi
White	Tellanga	Thin	Sannaṭadu
Pretty	Tsakkanga	Green	Paśśaṭadu
Ugly	Uḍavavaho	Ripe	Kammanadu
		Ripened	Panḍtadu

Postpositions.

Above	Porro	To above	Porroṭiki
Below	Idupo	To below	Idupoṭiki
Outside	Baiḍa	To outside	Baiḍiki

Verbs.

Indicative Mood.

Present Tense.

	I am doing.		*I go or am going.*
S. 1	Tungôruminnânu	1	Dâyôruminnânu
2	Tungôruminnînî	2	Dâyôruminuîni
3 m.	Tungôruminnônḍu	3 m.	Dâyôruminnônḍu
3 n.	Tungôruminne	3 n.	Anjôruminde
P. 1	Tungôruminnâmu	1	Dâyôruminnâmu
2	Tungôruminnîri	2	Dâyôruminnîri
3 m.	Tungôruninnôru	3 m.	Dâyâruminnôru
3 n.	Tungôruminne	3 n.	Anjôruminde

Past Tense.

	I did.		*I went.*
S. 1	Tungitîni	1	Dâyunṭini
2	Tungiṭivi	2	Dayaṭîni, dâyunṭivi
3 m.	Tungitônḍu	3 m.	Dâyunṭitonḍu
3 n.	Tungite	3 n.	Atte
P. 1	Tungitâmu	1	Dâyunṭimi
2	Tungitîri	2	Dâyunṭîri
3 m.	Tungutôru	3 m.	Dâyunṭitôru
3 n.	Tungite	3 n.	Atte

Future Tense.

	I shall do.		*I shall go.*
S. 1	Tungitânu	1	Dayatânu
2	Tungitîni	2	Dayatîni
3 m.	Tungitônḍu	3 m.	Dayatônḍu
3 n.	Tungite	3 n.	Dayate
P. 1	Tungutâmu	1	Dayatâmu
2	Tungitîri	2	Dayatîri
3 m.	Tungitôru	3 m.	Dayatôru
3 n.	Tungite	3 n.	Dayate

Conditional Mood.

	If I do.		*If I go.*
S. 1, 2, 3 m.	Tungataskê	1, 2, 3 m.	Dayatanaskê
3 n.	Tunganaske	3 n.	Dâyanaskê
P. 1, 2, 3 m.	Tungataskê	1, 2, 3 m.	Dayatanaskê
3 n.	Tunganaske	3 n.	Dayanaskê

Future Tense.

	I will sing.		*I will give.*
S. 1	Pâḍitâna	1	Îtâna
2	Pâḍitîni	2	Îtîni
3 m.	Pâḍitônḍu	3 m.	Îtônḍu
3 n.	Pâḍite	3 n.	Îte
P. 1	Pâḍitâmu	1	Îtâmu
2	Pâḍitîri	2	Îtîri
3 m.	Pâḍitôru	3 m.	Îtôru
3 n.	Pâḍite	3 n.	Îtângo

Conditional Mood.

	If I sing.		*If I give.*
1, 2	*Sing. and Plur.*	1, 2	*Sing. and Plur.*
3 m., 3 n.	Pâḍinaske	3 m., 3 n.	Ittaske

Imperative Mood.

Sing.	Dâḍâṭi	*Sing.*	Îmu
Plur.	Pâḍâṭi	*Plur.*	Îmûṭi

Indicative Mood.

Present Tense.

	I eat.		*I drink.*
S. 1	Tinjôruminnânu	1	Uṇujôruminnânu
2	Tinjôruminnîni	2	Uṇujôruminnîni
3 m.	Tinjôruminnônḍu	3 m.	Uṇujôruminnônḍu
3 n.	Tinjôruminde	3 n.	Uṇujôruminde
P. 1	Tinjôruminnâmu	1	Uṇujôruminnâmu
2	Tinjôruminnîri	2	Uṇujôruminnîri
3 m.	Tinjôruminnôru	3 m.	Uṇujôruminnôru
3 n.	Tinjôrumannângo	3 n.	Uṇujôrumannâgo

Past Tense.

	I ate.		*I drank.*
S. 1	Tittâna	1	Uṭṭânu
2	Tittîni	2	Uṭṭîni
3 m.	Tittônḍu	3 m.	Uṭṭônḍu
3 n.	Titte	3 n.	Uṭṭe
P. 1	Tittâmu	1	Uṭṭâmu
2	Tittîri	2	Uṭṭîri
3 m.	Tittôru	3 m.	Uṭṭôru
3 n.	Tittângo	3 n.	Uṭṭângo

Future Tense.

	I will eat.		*I will drink.*
S. 1	Tintâna	1	Unḍukônu
2	Tintîni	2	Unḍikîni
3 m.	Tintônḍu	3 m.	Uṭṭônḍu
3 n.	Tinte	3 n.	Uṇujôruminde
P. 1	Tintâmu	1	Unḍukômu
2	Tintîri	2	Unḍikîri
3 m.	Tintôru	3 m.	Unḍukôru
3 n.	Tintângu	3 n.	Uṇujôrumango

Conditional Mood.

	If I eat.		*If I drink.*
1, 2	*Sing. and Plur.*	1, 2	*Sing. and Plur.*
3 m., 3 n.	Tinnanastaskê.	3 m., 3 n.	Unḍanatkaskê.

Imperative Mood.

Sing.	Tinu.	*Sing.*	Unnu.
Plur.	Tinûṭi.	*Plur.*	Unnûṭi

Indicative Mood.

Present Tense.

	I am.		*I have (Impersonal).*
S. 1	Minnânu	1	Minde
2	Minnîni	2	
3 m.	Minnônḍu	3 m.	
3 n.	Minde	3 n.	
P. 1	Minnâmu	1	Minde
2	Minnîri	2	
3 m.	Minnôru	3 m.	
3 n.	Mannângô	3 n.	

Past Tense.

S. 1	Mattîni	1	Matte
2	Mattîni	2	
3 m.	Mattônḍu	3 m.	
3 n.	Mante	3 n.	
P. 1	Mattânmu	1	Matte
2	Mattîri	2	
3 m.	Mattôru	3 m.	
3 n.	Mantte	3 n.	

Future Tense.

S. 1	Mandakônu	1	Mandukôru
2	Mandakîni	2	
3 m.	Mandakônḍu	3 m	
3 n.	Mante.	3 n.	
P. 1	Mandakômu	1	Mandukôru
2	Mandakîri	2	
3 m.	Mandakôru	3 m.	
3 n.	Mantângu	3 n.	

Conditional Mood.

1, 2, &c.	Mandanatku	1, 2, 3&c.	Mattunaskê

Imperative Mood.

Sing.	Mandâ
Plur.	Mandâṭi

To eat	Tinnandu	To consent to pay a debt	Baki armimannanadu
To drink	Unḍanadu	To chip away	Ekkanadu
To come	Vaḍanadu	To root up	Pîkanadu
To go	Dayanadu	To take	Tîsanadu
To stand	Nilichimannanadu	To wander	Uḍḍanadu
To walk	Dayanadu	To laugh	Kavudanadu
To run	Mirrânadu	To cry	Aḍadanadu
To sleep	Unjânadu	To kill	Avukanadu
To dream	Kalaganskanadu	To strike	Tannanadu
To see	Uḍanadu	To fell	Nârakanidu
To hear	Kanjanadu	To drive	Tôlanadu
To tell	Kettaanadu	To sell	Ammanadu
To descend	Diganadu	To do	Tunganadu
To place	Vaṭanadu	To collect	Kuppuvaṭanadu
To turn	Uhudinadu		

To fall	Ardanadu	To draw	Sâganadu
To shut	Mutstsanadu	To buy	Asanadu
To rub	Râsanadu	To exchange	Mârtsanadu
To plough	Udadanadu	To worship	Maṭkanadu
To cut	Koyaḍanadu	To mount	Tarranadu
To squeeze	Piranadu	To cross	Dâṭanadu
To tie	Tohiḍanadu	To weave	Allanadu

ADVERBS, &c.

Where	Begga	After	Payya
Here	Igga	How much	Betstsu
There	Agga	Thus much	Atsu
When	Beppôḍê	Very	Bâna
At intervals	Aste aste		

SENTENCES.

There is not	Ille
There are not	Illoru
It is not	Ayyo
They are not	Ayyoru
I ploughed this field.	Nanna î chênu ûḍtenu.
Having taken ten cows from him I gave him this ground instead.	Nanna onagga padi godku tisimandi vanṭki badalu î nêla ittâna.
If you come again I will talk to you.	Nimma malli vaḍanatku nîtoṭi kirigitâna.
If you sell that which you have bought you will gain a great deal.	Nimma tastedânini amutku nîki ekkuva pâlurâlaite.
The ground which you ploughed is not good.	Mîru uḍte nêli manchidayyo.
When that cow comes again, seize it.	Âgoḍḍu malli vaḍanaske dînini poyumu.
I will not do the work which he told me.	Onḍu ketti pani nanna tuṇgônu.
You may give these torn clothes to poor people.	Buyungite guḍḍâṅgu bîdoriki idavala.
If you are put in prison who will release you?	Ninini khaidini vattku viḍipintsanondru benôndo?
No one can do it excepting him.	Oniniki tappa inka benôru tungalôru.
If you ascend that hill how far can you see?	Â meṭṭa tetarku betstsu duramu uḍitîri.
Having collected these fallen leaves burn them.	Î râliatte âkâṅgu kuppa vaṭi poḍisivaṭa.
Where is he going?	Begga anjôri minnonḍu?
Who are here?	Igga benôru mantôru?
By what road did you come?	Bêni arri mîru igga vattiri?
There is no one there.	Agga benôru illôru
When did that horse come?	Â gurramu beppoḍê vatte.
I have just obtained it.	Injana nâki dorikite.
It rains at intervals.	Vâna aste aste vaporuminde.
I will never do that work.	Beppoḍtiki â pani tuṇgôna.
I do not want these sticks.	I verki nâku akkarille
I will go to work after eating my food.	Nanna goḍe tittapayya paniki daitâna.
He does not like bathing.	Êru pundanandi onḍiki ishṭamille
This is not my work.	Indu na paṇi ayyo.
He said that if he went with us I will give him wages.	Manatôṭi vatku kûli itaninjore onḍu nâku kettônḍu.
Although much rain has fallen we cannot plough.	Vâna bâga vatkukanakôni uḍḍaloḍa.
Because you have done thus to me I will beat you.	Î lane nanini tungatku ninini tannitâna.
In the way he spoke to me in that I answered him.	Ônḍu hela tariṭonḍa alâgane oniki zavâbu ittâna.
He helped me to walk.	Nanna naḍḍanaṭṭu sahayamu tungatônḍu.
We cannot take the bandy which they brought.	Vîru tette banḍi dummatehodu.
The child which my elder brother brought up is dead.	Nâ anna porṭite pilla dollotte.
The man who is going to assist is my younger brother.	Vinḍu sahayamutungâna manushunḍu nâ tammuḍu.
The road which you came is a rough one.	Mîru vatte arrikalku bâṭa minna.
We became well after drinking that medicine.	A mattu uṭṭupayya bâga partôma.
The house which I built is burnt.	Nanna tuhante lônu vesette.
Who are those who came.	Vattôru benôru.
Behold, the cat has returned.	Oro verkaḍi malli vatte.
Which is that which you gave?	Miru itadu vêdu?
What is the work which he did?	Onḍu tungite pani batadi?
If you look at this it would be well.	Idi udktuku bâga manda porubônu.
These were blown away by the wind.	Ivvu gâltiki toḍittavu.
As I was coming home a tiger fell upon me, and bit me severely.	Nanna lônu varapôru nannanga poru duvva arasi nanine bâga kachchite.
Do you want an iron box or a wooden one?	Niku inupu peṭṭe kâvale ille [illegible]ṭe kâvale?
Any will suit.	

What proofs can you give of the accusations you have brought?	Mîru môptine ratki bêni ruzuvulu agapardisitîri?
Can he do all this?	Ondu idi anta kinga. tonda?
How much hire do you want to cut down these teak trees?	Î ṭêki marangu narandanaku betstu kûli idavale?
If you do not give it, it will not be obtained.	Nimma ittenagone adi dorko.
I will give you as many fruits as you give me.	Nimma betstsku pasingu itivo atsukuniku malli itâna.
How many oxen did he buy?	Betstsuku konangu astonḍu?
He begs from me in proportion to my giving.	Nanna ittakoddi onḍu talaporuminno.
The villagers have gone away, they say.	Inâṭi nôru tedimiritoralle
I was not there when this shed was burnt.	I guḍise vesattakaḍi nanna illâna.
If you do not give up that calf a great blow will befall you.	Nimma â lênga iyyaku nîku manchi debba tagilite.
I know that they have come, nevertheless I will not go near them.	Ôru tattorindore nâku tellite atkâna namma oragga annônâ.
A great storm arose just as we had buried that body.	Â pinnumu kabachchi va ṭaṭamutoṭe pedda gali vatte.
She died after bearing the fifth child.	Addu aidava pilla attaskê dolliatte.
There is no necessity for me to talk to him.	Onitoṭi tiriandiki nâku bâta pani ille.
As they were crossing that nallah on a sangadi they sank.	Sangôḍte porru a vângu dâtorumananga ôru munigiattôru.
It is very heavy therefore it will not float.	Idu pâna baruvu minde atkadelo.
The blight has attacked that cholam field.	Â zonna chêndiki kâṭike poitte.
What do you know?	Nîku telitte?
He did not say even a word to me.	Ondu nâtoṭi orro mataina.
If you come or they come, all right.	Oranna miranna vatku sare.
After I have walked so great a distance will you give me nothing?	Ichcho dûramu naḍtapayya mîru nâku bata ina ivirâ?

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(*Continued from p.* 242.)

XI.

When Wang Khân received the list of grievances indited by Chinghiz Khân, as I have described, we are told in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* that he reproached himself, and cutting his little finger with a knife, he filled a little birch-bark vessel with the blood, and said, "If I in future do my son, Temujin, any harm may I be cut to pieces," and with these words he gave the blood to the envoys, who brought it to Chinghiz.

The latter now sent a bitter message to Chamukha. "Out of envy and malice you have sown discord between the Khân my father and me," he said. "In former days it was customary for the one who was up first to drink mare's milk out of the father's (Wang Khân's) green cup.[1] I alway rose early and in consequence you hated me. You may now drink out of the full green cup of our father. It will be very little diminished." This somewhat enigmatical message doubtless conveyed a threat. Palladius says it seems to hint that Chinghiz Khân in his young days lived with Wang Khân.[2]

Chinghiz also sent a message to his relatives, Altan and Khujer or Khuchar. "I do not know why you determined to desert me. Khuchar, you as the son of Nikuntaishi,[3] would have been made ruler of our people, but that you refused it." "Altan, your father, the Khân Khutula, once ruled, and the people therefore wished to make you their Khân, but you refused.[4] The sons of Bartan, Sacha and Taichu were senior branches of the family, but they also refused.[5] By general consent you elected me Khân against my own wish. Now that you have deserted me, pray, help Wang Khân diligently, but don't begin a business which you cannot complete, and thus secure the people's hatred for

[1] Perhaps jade cup is meant.

[2] *Op. cit.*, note 320.

[3] Nikuntaishi was Yessugei's elder brother, so Khuchar had better claims to the throne than his cousin Temujin. See Palladius, note 322.

[4] Altan was cousin to Chinghiz Khân's father.

[5] Sacha and Taichu were not sons of Bartan, but sons of Khutukhtu-Jurki, son of Ukin Barkhakh, Bartan's elder brother, and had therefore also superior claims to the latter's descendants.

yourselves. Trust in Temujin, for you cannot do without him. Defend to the last the sources of the three rivers,[6] and do not let any one occupy them." To Toorin, otherwise called Tooril, whom he addressed as brother, he said. "I call you brother because in former times Tunbina[7] and Charakhailinkhu[8] had a slave called Okhda, and Okhda had a son called Subegai, who had a son Kokochakirsaan, who had a son Yegaikhuantokhar, who was thy father. For the sake of whom are you flattering Wang Khân. If Altan and Khuchar will not have me, they will never allow any one else to rule over our people, and you are my slave by descent."[9] Chinghiz also sent a message to Wang Khân's son, Sankun or Sengun. "I am your father's son, and was born with clothes: you are his son, but you were born naked. Our father never caressed us both equally. You became suspicious and afraid that I should come before you, you hated and sent me away. Cease now to cause your father grief and suffering. Go to him and dispel his sorrow and loneliness. If you do not rid yourself of your old jealous spirit you will be trying to become ruler during his lifetime and cause him suffering."

When Arkhaikhasar and Sugyegaijiun had delivered Chinghiz Khân's message to Sankun, the latter said, "When he gave my father the title of Khân, he really meant to call him 'the Butcher of the people,' and when he styled me Anda, he meant to say Tokhtoashuin.[10] I have discovered the hidden meaning of his words. They mean war. You Bilgebike and Todoyan raise the great standard and feed the horses. There is no room for further doubt." Then Arkhaikhasar[11] returned, but his companion Sugyegaijiun remained behind, inasmuch as his wife was in the hands of Toorin.[12]

The correspondence between Chinghiz Khân and the princes at the court of Wang Khân is also mentioned by other authorities. The *Yuan-shi* merely refers to the message sent to Altan and Khuchar, and in much the same terms as above quoted, but makes the letter conclude with the words—"at present you are on friendly terms with Wang Khân, but no one is more fickle than he. See how he treated me, and if he has treated me thus who have been his friend so often, what may not you expect from him?"[13] Mr. Douglas, I may add, reads the names Altan and Khuchar, Alertan and Hutser. Hyacinthe reads them Altan and Khusher; De Mailla[14] And anand Hosara. DeMailla also names with them Talitai, doubtless the Toorin or Tooril of the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi.*

Rashidu'd-dîn and the *Huang-Yuan* report this matter in almost identical phrases. They make Chinghiz begin his letter to Altan and Khuchar by an accusation that they wished to kill him, and either to leave his body on the surface or to bury it underneath. They then relate the story very much as in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi.* The *Huang-Yuan* adds a little local colour in a phrase in which Chinghiz explains how, when the others refused the Khânship, he took it *because he did not wish to see an old inhabited country overgrown with wild grass, nor the cart roads obstructed by broken doors.*[15] These authorities close the letter with a reminder how Chinghiz had made over to his relatives the booty in cattle in *kibitkas*, women and children which he had captured, and how he had enclosed for them the wild game of the plains and driven to them the wild game of the mountains.[16] Both the authorities just cited refer to the incident about Tooril or Toghril. Berezine and Erdmann read the name Togrul or Toghril. In the *Huang-Yuan* it is given as Tolin; Rashidu'd-dîn makes him the son of Eke Khunktogir, the son of Kukjukhirsa, the son of Sueke Buul, the son of Tuken Tudula.[17] The *Huang-Yuan* makes him the son of Jegaikhuantokhor, the son of Kokochakhersi, the son of Sueyeyege, the son of Tata.[18] Rashidu'd-dîn makes Chinghiz remind Toghril that he was a slave of his family, and if he had any intentions of appropriating his[19] *ulus*,

[6] *i. e.* the Onon, Kerulon, and Tula, the cradle land of the Mongols.
[7] *i. e.* Tumeneh Khân.
[8] *i. e.* Jerki Lingun.
[9] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, pp. 93 and 94.
[10] This is no doubt some proverbial phrase in use among the Mongols. Palladius says the last expression means to have connection with the Myerkitams, to whom was allotted the plaiting of sheeps' tails and curls, and was a term of opprobrium, since sheeps' tails and curls were deemed useless. Id., notes 330 and 331.
[11] *i. e.* Chinghiz Khân's envoy.
[12] *Op. cit.*, pp. 94 and 95.
[13] Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 37; Hyacinthe, pp. 27 and 28.
[14] Tom. IX, p. 31.
[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 173.
[16] Berezine, vol. II, pp. 139 and 140; Erdmann, pp. 292 and 293; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 77 and 78; *Huang-Yuan*, pp. 172 and 173.
[17] Berezine, vol. II, p. 140.
[18] *Op. cit.*, p. 173.
[19] Chinghiz Khân's.

that Altan and Khuchar would frustrate him, meaning, no doubt, that he was a mere slave or dependent, and had no claims like they to royal descent, and therefore to the throne. Chinghiz Khân, we are further told by Rashid, requested[20] Wang Khân to send Altan Ashuka (called Altan Astukh by Erdmann) and Kul Buru as envoys to treat for peace, or if not both, one of them, and also to send him the black horse with a silver saddle and bridle which Mukhuli Bakhadur had lost in the battle of Khalaljin Alat, as we described. The *Huang-Yuan* calls the two persons who ere to be sent by Wang Khân Andunashu and 'unbali.[21] Chinghiz also asked that Sankun or engun would send as envoys Bilge Biki[22] and oduan or Tudan. That Chamukha would send ıla or Khaulah and Khajiun, and that Ajik and hiroyun, Alabuga or Altabukha, and Dair, Altan ıd Khuchar, should each send an envoy, who ere to confer with him, if he was then in the ıst at the upper part of lake Buyur. The *Huang-uan* says at the sources of the river Nurtolin Khuchinzibu. If he was in the west, they were to cross the mountain Khâbala-Khantarkha,[23] and follow the river Khulubin-bukhuajusi, till they met him. Rashid seems to make Chinghiz say that if he was at the latter place he would be back in three days.[24]

Wang Khân reproached his son with the probable consequences of his rash quarrel, and confessed that the right was on Chinghiz Khân's side. Sengun or Sankun, in a rage, asked why Chinghiz called him *anda* and yet slandered him. How did he presume to style Wang Khân his father? "He wishes us to send him envoys. This shall not be; we want war and strife. If he wins, our *ulusses* shall be his. If we win, so must his people obey us." Having sent back Chinghiz Khân's messengers with these words, he ordered his generals Bilge-biki and Tudan at once to collect the army to plant the *Tuks* or standards, to beat the drums, and to mount the horses.[25] We may now revert to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*. When Chinghiz received Wang Khân's answer he moved his camp to the lake Baljuna. There he met with Soosi Chakhan and others of the tribe Khorulas, who submitted to him without a struggle. He also met with the Khoikhoi, Asan,[26] who had come from Alakhushidigitkhuri of the Ongut.[27] He had 1,000 sheep and a white camel with him, and had been down the river Argun to buy ermines and squirrels, and was going to the lake Baljuna to let his sheep drink when he met Chinghiz in whose service he remained.[28] This authority says nothing of the distress and penury which other writers would make out attended Chinghiz Khan when at Baljuna, and which seems inconsistent with his recent victory at Khalaljin Alat and with his subsequent success, and if the stories are true, they doubtless refer to some other period of Chinghiz Khân's career. In regard to this distress we read in the *Yuan-shi*, in the biography of Jabar Khoja,[29] and also in De Mailla, that Chingiz Khân fled from Wang Khân, and on his arrival at the *river* Panjuna (*sic*), whose waters were then very muddy, his provisions were all consumed. A wild horse passing by was shot by Khasar, and a kettle having been made from its skin, water was heated by means of stones, and they managed to cook some of the meat and ate it. Chinghiz Khân then, raising his hand towards heaven, swore as follows:—"If I attain my great object, then I will divide the sweets and bitters equally with you, and if I break my word, may I be as the water of this river."[30] In the text of the *Yuan-shi* we are merely told how at this time the power of Chinghiz Khân having greatly declined, he and those who remained faithful to him bound themselves by a solemn oath, each drinking of the muddy waters of the Panjuna, and swearing that as each of them had drunk of its clear and muddy waters, so they would share together the sweets and bitters of life.[31] Mr. Douglas has printed an anecdote somewhat like the one above quoted from the biography of Chapar or Jabar, which as it does not occur in Hyacinthe, is probably derived like other stories from the *She-wei* or Woof of

20 Berezine, vol. II, p. 140; Erdmann, p. 292.

21 *Op. cit.*, p. 174.

22 Called Ilgah Bigi by Erdmann.

23 Called Khikhar-Khalturgan by Berezine and Khabkhar Khalterkhan by Erdmann.

24 *Huang-Yuan*, p. 174; Berezine, vol. II, pp. 140 and 141; Erdmann, p. 292; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 78.

25 Berezine, vol. II, pp. 141 and 142; Erdmann, p. 295.

26 *i. e.* the Musâlmân Hassan.

27 *i. e.* the Alakush. Togin Kuri, chief of the Ongut of Rashidu'd-din. The Ongut, whom we shall describe later on, were a Turkish tribe living on the Chinese frontier.

28 *Op. cit.*, p. 95, and notes 334 and 336.

29 Vide *infra* for this person.

30 *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, note 337 by Palladius; De Mailla, tom. IX, pp. 32 and 33.

31 Douglas, pp. 39 and 40. Hyacinthe calls the place Banjur-gol; Douglas reads it Panchune, and De Mailla, Panchuni.

History by Chin Yun-Seih. According to this account, Chinghiz Khân having suffered a very *severe* defeat at the hands of Wang Khân, had to fly with but 19 followers, and escaped to the river Panchune. His provisions being exhausted, and being in distress, a crow passed by, whereupon a flight of arrows was shot, which killed it. A difficulty arose as to how it was to be cooked, upon which Chapar or the Ghebr, a tall, square-eyed, broad-foreheaded western worshipper of fire said, 'Give me the bird.' He took it, and skinned it, and having put as much of the flesh as would make a meal for Chinghiz Khân into the skin, and having added water from the river, he boiled the flesh in the skin over the fire.[32] Mr. Douglas says that the Chinese editor adds a marginal note of exclamation, "A wonderful pot, indeed!" I would remark that Chapar is mentioned in the *Yuan-shi-lei-pen* as one of Chinghiz Khân's companions at this time. In that work we are told he belonged to a royal family of the west called Sai-i.[33] He was well skilled in war, and was a worshipper of fire, and the Chinese text adds as a gloss to his name Cha-pa-ul,[34] the character *ho* meaning fire, and the text explains that this is added to shew what the religion of Chapar was.[35] The *Yuan-shi-lei-pen* also refers to the distress of Chinghiz at Pan-chu-ni, tells us that Khasar killed a horse for him there, and that he and his companions swore a solemn oath of fidelity to each other, drinking meanwhile from the muddy water of the Pan-chu-ni. It adds that the officers with their families who thus drank together were always highly regarded and piqued themselves on their special fidelity.[36]

Rashidu'd-dîn says that after the battle of Khalaljin Alat, Chinghiz Khân was obliged to withdraw, and retired to Baljuna, where both men and cattle had to drink from turbid water, inasmuch as there was only an insignificant and scanty supply. On his way the greater part of his army left him under the pretext that he had altered the existing laws and regulations, and that he had grown too weak to make a stand. He thereupon insisted that those who were faithful to him should swear with their eyes raised to heaven and their hands clasped, to remain true, through bitter and through sweet, and that if they broke their word that they might become like the muddy water of the Baljuna. Having drunk from the bowl, he gave it to his companions, who also drank. These faithful companions, we are told, were afterwards known as Baljuntu, and were magnificently rewarded. Von Hammer compares the name with that of Mohâjirin, *i.e.* outcasts, borne by the companions of Muhammed's early misfortunes.[37] The *Yuan-shi* says that Chinghiz Khân, while in his weak condition at Banchu-ni, was joined by a section of the Kongurut and by Putu, the chief of the Ekhil-asze or Inkirasses, who had been driven away by the Khurulas.[38] The *Yuan-shi-lei-pen* says he was joined by his brothers-in-law Wa-chen, chief of the Hongila, *i.e.* the Kongurut, and Pu-tu of the Ikiliesse, by Kueli, brother of Toli,[39] by Chapar and several other chiefs.[40] The *Huang-Yuan* and Rashidu'd-dîn also mention that the Inkirasses, who were being pressed by the Khurulas, joined Chinghiz Khân at this time.[41] All the authorities mention that he was also joined by his brother Khasar. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us that Khasar, who had been with Wang Khân, left his wife and his three sons Yegu, Yesungi, and Tukhu in the latter's hands, and escaped without anything, and with some of his companions went to search for his brother. He got as far as the Kharaun, *i.e.* the Khing-gam, but could not see him from its summit. His provisions were exhausted, and he was reduced to feed on the raw hide and the sinews of a cow. In this condition he reached lake Baljuna, where he had an interview with Chinghiz.[42]

In the *Yuan--shi* we read that Chinghiz was joined by Khasar (called Khojar by Hyacinthe, and Hochar by Douglas) with his little son To-kan or Tokwan, who came from the Kalagun-ol.[43] He had been routed by Wang Khân, who had captured his wives and his other

[32] Douglas, p. 38. [33] Descendant of the Sassanian princes.

[34] The Chinese way of writing Chapar.

[35] Gaubil, pp. 6 and 9. Chapar or Jabar is mentioned in chapter 120, in the biographical section of the *Yuan-Shi*. Bretschneider reads Dja-ba-r huo-djo. He says that he was reported to belong to Sai-yi in the Si-yü (*i.e.* the Western land, meaning here Persia). He was the chief of his tribe, whence the title of *Hun-djo*, which we are told, in their language was the name of an office (doubtless the Persian *Khojah*). He was tall, with a long beard, large eyes, and broad forehead, brave, and a skilful rider and archer.—Bretschneider, *Notices*, &c. p. 49. [36] *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

[37] Berezine, vol. II, pp. 132 and 133; Erdmann, p. 288; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 71 and 72; Von Hammer, *Golden Horde*, p. 65.

[38] Hyacinthe, pp. 28 and 29; Douglas, pp. 38 and 39.

[39] *i. e.* of Wang Khân. [40] Gaubil, p. 9.

[41] *Huang-Yuan*, p. 175; Erdmann, p. 288.

[42] *Op. cit.*, p. 96.

[43] Douglas reads it Holakwan, but Hyacinthe's is doubtless the correct reading, the name being the Chinese transcript of Karaun.

children. On the road he had run short of provisions and been forced to subsist on the birds' eggs he found on the way.[44] De Mailla tells the same story.[45]

The two brothers having met, consulted together, and arranged a plot to circumvent Wang Khân. They agreed to send Khaliutar of the tribe Jaorid or Juriat, and Chaurkhân of the tribe Uriangkut, to him. They were to profess to have come from Khasar with the following message: "I have not seen the shadow of my brother. I have traversed many roads, but have not met him; have called to him, but he has not heard me. At night I have slept with the earth for my pillow and with the stars overhead. My wife and children are in your hands; Father Khân, if you will send me a trusty man, I will come to you." Chinghiz bade the messengers go with this message, and told them he should order the camp to be raised and to be moved to the plain of Arkhalgougi on the river Kerulon. Having made these arrangements, he ordered Jurchidai and Arkhai to lead, and pitched his camp with Khasar in the plain just mentioned.[46]

The two messengers on their arrival delivered their master's message. Wang Khân had only just erected a golden tent and was feasting. On hearing their story, he said "if this be really so, then let Khasar come." He then sent them back, and with them one of the most trusty of his people, Iturgian. On nearing the appointed rendezvous Iturgian noticed in the distance a number of figures and shadows. Suspecting something, he halted, turned round and galloped towards home. Khaliutar, who rode a swifter horse, speedily overtook him, but not daring to touch him, merely blocked up the road, so that he could not proceed. Thereupon Chakhurkhân, who was on a heavier horse, took aim and shot Iturgian's horse in the hip. The horse fell; and he then seized its rider and took him to Chinghiz, who handed him over to Khasar with orders to kill him. His messengers informed Chinghiz that Wang Khân was feasting, and that if he marched speedily he might surprise him. He accordingly ordered the army to set out, and told Jurchidai and Arkhai to lead.[47] According to the *Yuan-shi*, Chinghiz, before fighting with Wang Khân, wanted to secure the safety of Khasar's wives and children, and he accordingly sent two of his trusty dependents, who feigned to be Khasar's servants, and said the latter offered to submit himself with bound hands, if the Khân would forget their recent quarrels and renew their old friendship. These words put Wang Khân off his guard. He sent back a bag of blood with which to consecrate the oath of friendship he was prepared to swear with Khasar.[48] Rashidu'd-dîn tells the story at greater length. He calls the place where Khasar had been living Karaun Chidun and his two messengers Khalindar the Juriat and Chaurkhan[49] the Uriangkit, and reports their message as follows:—Juchi Khasar has sent us with this message:—

"May it be well with my patron. My heart is indeed full of my elder brother, my lord, and yet I know not if I may be permitted to see him. Although I wish to unite myself closely with thee, yet there is no way open for me to do so? I have heard O Khân my Father! that my wife and children are with thee. I have already passed a long time on barren journeys and arid pastures, my pillow has been the rock and hard clod, and I have wandered about without friend or helper, I have the highest confidence in thee, and that is why I have sent these messengers to show thee my condition and ask for my wife and children again that with all my belongings I may attach myself to thee."

As Wang Khân knew the messengers to be dependents of Khasar; as he also knew the unsettled condition of Chinghiz Khân's affairs and the miserable position of Khasar; he did not suspect any treachery, but received the messengers with special marks of favour, and when he dismissed them he also sent back with them one of his people called Iturgin,[50] and also sent some blood taken from his hand in a horn, for, says Rashidû'd-dîn, it is the custom with the Mongols to seal a compact by the shedding of blood. The three companions set out on their return, while Chinghiz Khân at the head of his army rode night and day to surprise his enemy. Presently Khalindar saw Chinghiz Khân's *Tuk* or standard in the distance, and fearing that Iturgin, if he also saw

[44] Hyacinthe, p 2?; Douglas, p. 39.
[45] *Op. cit.*, tom. IX, p. 32.
[46] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, p. 96.
[47] Id., 97.
[48] Hyacinthe, pp. 29 and 30; Douglas, pp. 40 and 41.
[49] Called Jarwergha Ilaghan by Erdmann.
[50] Erdmann reads it Ayatürgan.

it, would at once set off on his swift horse and give his master warning; he dismounted, pretending that a stone had got into his horse's hoof, and asked Iturgin to dismount too and hold the foot, thus causing some delay. Meanwhile Chinghiz Khân arrived. Iturgin was dumb-foundered. He was handed over to Juchi Khasar, inasmuch as he had appropriated his wives and children and worldly goods.[51] The *Huang-Yuan* as usual tells the story like Rashidu'd-dîn. It calls the place where Khasar took shelter after the battle of Khalaljin Alat, Khalakhunjidun,[52] and says the blood which Wang Khân took from his hand he sent in a vessel used for boiling water.[53]

This use of blood as a symbol of fidelity in making an oath is a very wide-spread custom among the Nomades. Herodotus speaking of the Skyths says: 'Oaths among them are accompanied among other things by the following ceremonies:—a large earthen bowl is filled with wine, and the parties to the oath, wounding themselves slightly with a knife or an awl, drop some of their blood into the wine, then they plunge into the mixture a scymitar, some arrows, a battle axe and a javelin, all the while repeating prayers; lastly, the two contracting parties drink each a draught from the bowl as do also the chief men among their followers.[54] Lucian[55] gives a similar notice of the Skythian custom and Mela[56] assigns it to the Axiakae. Speaking of the Medes and Lydians, Herodotus says, oaths are taken by these people in the same way as by the Greeks, except that they make a slight flesh wound in their arms from which each sucks a portion of the other's blood.[57] Speaking of the struggle between the Armenians and Iberians, Tacitus says it was the custom of their kings when they made a pact to take each other by the right hand, and binding their thumbs together with a tight ligature until the blood was forced to the extremities, to make a slight puncture until the blood exuded, which they then sucked. This form of treaty was held very sacred inasmuch as it was ratified by the blood of each party.[58] Valerius tells us how, when the Armenian king Sariastes was at issue with his father Tigranes, this practice was carried out. The practice was in vogue also among the early Romans. Festus explains the word *assiratum* thus: *assiratum apud antiquos dicebatur genus quoddam potionis ex vino at sanguine temperatum, quod Latini prisci assis vocarunt.* Sallust, speaking of Catiline, says, *humani corporis sanguinem vino permixtum in pateris circumtulisse inde cum post execrationem omnes degustavissent, sicuti in solemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, quasisse consilium suum, &c.*

In the Magyar Sagas we read how the Hetu Moger or Seven Mogers or Magyars swore to be faithful to their chief Almus while standing round a tub with their left arms outstretched and pierced so that the blood ran out into the tub as they swore.[59] These are all instances from races of Asiatic origin, but the custom also extended to Africa. The ancient Lybians and Numidians, in swearing mutual oaths, drank out of their hollow hands, or in default of sufficient material licked them.[60] Livingstone speaking of the Kasendi or contract of friendship in South Africa says: "the hands of the parties are joined, small incisions are made in the clasped hands on the pits of the stomach of each, and on the right cheeks and foreheads a small quantity of blood is taken from these points by means of a stalk of grass. The blood from one person is put into a pot of beer, and that of the second into another; each then drinks the other's blood, and they are supposed to become perpetual friends and relations."[61]

M. SENART ON THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

From the French.[1]

(*Continued from p.* 211.)

Thirteenth Edict.[2]

The breaks in the Girnâr inscription and the insufficiency of the copies of the Kapur-di-giri version at this part render the Khâlsi text specially important. It is accordingly made the basis of translation.

[51] Berezine, vol. II, pp. 143-145; Erdmann, pp. 296 and 297; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 80 and 81.
[52] *i. e.* Karaun Chidun.
[53] *Op. cit.*, pp. 175 and 176.
[54] Book IV. c. 70, ed. Rawlinson.
[55] *Taxares*, XXXVII.
[56] II. I. 120.
[57] *Op. cit.* bk. 1, c. 74.
[58] Tacitus *Annales*, lib. XII, c. 47.
[59] Erdmann, note 155.
[60] Id.
[61] *Travels*, pp. xxiv., 488; Rawlinson, *op. cit.* book I, ch. 70, note 6.
[1] *Journal Asiat.*, tom. XVII, pp. 97ff; also now published separately as *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, tome I, pp. 265ff.
[2] Prinsep, *J. A. S. Ben.*, vol. VII, pp. 261f.; Wilson, *J. R. As. Soc.*, vol. XII, pp. 223f.; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* (2 Auf.) Bd. II, S. 241 n. 1, 242 n. 4, 243 n. 1, 259 n. 6.

Khâlsi (or *Kâlsi*).	*Girnâr.*
[35] Devânampiyasa pi-	[1] . . . .
yadasine lâjine kalikhyam	. . . .
vijitâ[3] diyâḍhamâte[4][.]	. . . .
pânasatâsahaseye tuphâ	. . . .
aharuḍhena satesapa-	. . . . satasahasra-
samâta tata hate bahu	mâtram[6] tatrâ hatam[6]
tivateke[5] vâ miṭe[.] tatâ	bahu[6] tâvatakam ma-
ṭhavâ[7] sâdhuyâ[8] ladhesu	ta[.] tatâ pachâ adhunâ
Kalimgesu tive dhamma-	ladhesu Kalimgesu[6]
vaye [36] dhammakam-	tivo[6] dhammavâyo[9]. .
matâ dhammânusaṭhi cha	. . . .
devânampiyasâ je[10] athi	[2]. . . . .
anusaye devânampiyesâ	. . . .
vijitavi kalikhyâni[11][.]	. . . .
avijitam hi vijimnemane	. . . .
e tatâ vadha va maline va	. vadho va maraṇam va
apâvâhe va *janasâ che*[12]	*apavâho va janasa tam*[13]
bâḍhi vedamnayamate[14]	bâḍham vedanamata
galamate cha bava[15] devâ-	cha ganamata cha devâ-
nampiyasâ[.] iyam pi cha	. . . .
tato galumatatâle[16] devâ-	[3]. . . . .
nampiyasâ [.] [37] savatâ	. . . .
vasati bambhanâ va sama	. . . .
vâ *una*[17] vâ *pâsamḍa gihi-*	. . . .
thâ vâ yesu vihitâṭhasa	. . . .
agine[18] . sususâ mâtâpi-	. . . . -sâ mâtâpi-
tisususâ gulususa	tari susumsâ gurusu-
mitâsathatasahâyanâtike-	sumsâ[19] mitasamstata-
sususa[20] bhâtikâsa sâmâ-	sahâyañâtikesu dâsa
patipati[21] damḍhaliti-	[4] . . . .
tâ[22][.] tesam te(?)tâ	. . . .
poti[23] . pasaghâte[24] vâ	. . . .
vadhe vâ abhilâtânam	. . . .
vikhi[25] nikhamane[.]	. . . .
[38] yesam vâpi vâvihi-	. . . .
tânam sine pe avipâhine[26]	. . . .
etânam mitasamthutâsa-	. . . .

Khâlsi (or *Kâlsi*).	*Girnâr.*
pânatike vayâsanam[27]	. yañâtikâ vyasanam
pâpanâta[.] tatâ so pi	prâpunoti[.] tatâ[28] so
tanâmevâ upâghâtâ	pi tesam[28] upaghâto
pati[29][.] paṭibhâgam châ	hoti[28][.] paṭibhâge[28]
esa savamanayanam gu-	chesâ sava [5]. . . .
lumate mâ devânam-	. . . .
piyasâ[30][.] nâthi cha se	. . . .
janapade yâtâ nâṭhi ime	. . . .
nikâyâ ânamtâ[31] yenesa	. . . .
[39] bambhane cha samane	. . . .
châ nathi châ kuvâpi	. . . .
janapadasi yatâ nathi	. . . . i yatra nâsti
mûnisânam ekatalasi pi	mânusânam[32] ekata-
pâsaḍasi[33] no nâma	ramhi pâsamḍamhi na
pasâde[.] se avatake jane	nama prâsâdo[.] yâva-
tadâ Kalimgesu	tako[34] jana tada . . .
pi(?)nete[35] châ maṭa châpe	. . . .
pavuḍha[36] . ba . tatâ	[6] . . . .
putebhâga[37] va sahasâ-	. . . .
bhâga va aja galumate	. . . .
vâ devânampiyasâ[.]	. . . .
[40] (*yo*[38] *pi cha aprakati*	. . . .
yati cha(?)mitaviyamate	. . . .
ta devanampriyasa yam	. . . . . . naya saka
śako cha(?)manaya[.] *ya*	vamitave[39][.] yâ cha[40] pi
pi hi aṭabi devanampriya-	aṭaviyo devânampiyasa
sa aa?tam bhoti tati[41] *ana-*	na . . . .
deti ananija piti hanatra-	pijite pâti[40] . . . .
pe pi cha pabhatre [8] *deva-*	[7] . . . .
nampriyasa vachati tisha	. . . .
kitri a tatra payane(?) cha	. . . .
amñeyasu bichha . ti hi	. . . .
devanampriyo savabha-	
taam ?chhati suyama	. savabhû . tânâm
samavariya va[42] *bhasi*[.])	achhatim[44] cha saya-
[1] . . vanapanake[43] icha-	mam cha
ma [2] savata . . yama	sama . . . .

[3] Read °*tâ*=°*tam*. [4] Read *mâta* for *mâtam*.

[5] Read °*satâsahasâni tatâ apavuḍhani satâsahasamâtam tata hate* (for *hatam*) *bahu tâvatake* (*tavatakam*).

[6] Gen. Cunningham's plate differs from these readings of the B. facsimile. [7] Read *tato pachâ*, "after that."

[8] Read as in Girnâr *adhunâ*.

[9] Equivalent to *dhammâvâyo*, *dham[illegible]ya*, the second term having the sense of 'con[illegible], reflexion, intelligence,' from *avaiti*, hence 'in[illegible] founded on religion.' *Tive* = 'lively, ardent.'

[10] i. e. *ye*. [11] Read vijitasi *ka*[illegible] (for °*khyamsi*).

[12] G. and K. agree in warranting [illegible] correction of *che* into *tam*. [13] C. reads °*ta bâ*°.

[14] Read *vedaniyamate*, K. has *vedaneya*.

[15] Perhaps for *baḍha*, *bâḍham*. [16] Read *galumatatale*.

[17] Read *samaṇâ vâ ane*, *amne*=*aññe*.

[18] *Gihitha* is probably for *gihetha*, *grihestha*, as *vihitâṭhesu* for *vihitaṭṭhesu*; and for *agine* read *agâne*=*agânam*.

[19] C. reads *gutasusâ*.

[20] Read *gulususâ mitâsamthutasahâyanâtikasususâ*.

[21] Read *bhâtikesu sâmâpatipati* (for *sammâ*).

[22] Read *damḍhabhatitâ*, 'fidelity in devotion (to the king).'

[23] Read *tatâ hoti*. [24] Read *upaghâte*.

[25] *Abhilâtânam* is equivalent to *abhirattânâm*, 'the beloved ones'; for *vikhi* read *vâpi*.

[26] K. reads *Samvihitanam*, hence we should read *Sâvihitânam* here; and in the next word K. reads *sava*, hence read *sâve pi*=*sarvam api*; in *avipâhine*, for *aviprahiṇam*, the long *â* is a mistake.

[27] Read °*Sahâyanâtikâ viyasanam*.

[28] In these four words the reading in the copy C. is different.

[29] *Tanâm* for *tânam*=*teshâm*. Read *upaghate hoti*.

[30] *Savam anayanam* equivalent to *sarvo 'nayaḥ*. For *gulumate*, C. reads *gulachate*. *Mâ* for *me*.

[31] From *Se janapade* to *ekatalasâ* is omitted in K., hence there is nothing to guide in correcting this passage. *Kuvâpi* is evidently *kutâpi*. [32] C. has *nâstâ manu.*°

[33] G. shows that *ekatalasâ*. *pi pâsanisi*, the reading in C. is wrong. [34] C. has °*sâde ya.*°

[35] Read perhaps *hanete*=*hanyate*.

[36] *Châpe* for *châpi apavuḍha*. [37] *Satabhâgam*.

[38] *The following portion being obliterated in* Khâlsi version is here supplied, *in italics*, from the Kapur-di-giri one; the last few words, however, are parallel with the commencement on the south face of the Khâlsi rock.

[39] *Saka*=*śaka*, 'possible'; *vamitave* or *khamitave*.

[40] The readings of C. are different.

[41] By the help of G. restore here: *ya pi hi aṭavi devanampriyasa na vijitam bhoti tatra* . . .

[42] Read *devanampriyo savabhutânam achhatim sayamam* (for *samyam*°) *samachariyam va*°.

[43] The inscription on the south face of the rock begins here, C. plate iv in *Corpus Inscrip. Ind.*

[44] C. reads °*châtim cha*°.

Khâlsi (or Kâlsi).	*Girnâr.*
samavaliya madavaṁ ti[.]	. cheraṁ[45] cha mâdava
iya vâ mu-	cha
[3] devânaṁpiyesâ[.] ye	[5]. . . . .
dhaṁmavijaya sa cha-	. . . .
pe(??)nâ ladhe[46] devânaṁ-	. . . .
pi . . . . cha [4] savesa	. . . .
cha atesu asasu[47](?) pi	. . . .
chhâjane . . sa[.] tesa ate	. . . .
Aṁtiyogo nâma Yone	. . . . Yona-
. . . la . châ[48] tenâ	râja paraṁ . cha[49]
[5] Aṁtiyogena chatali[51]	tena chatpâro râjâno
4 lajâne Tulamaye nâma	Turamâyo cha Aṁta-
Aṁtekina nama Mâkâ	kâna[50] cha Magâ cha
nâ-[6]ma Alikasadale	[9]. . . . .
nâma nichaṁ Choḍapaṁ-	. . . .
diyâ avaṁ Taṁbapaṁ-	. . . .
niyâ hevamevâ heva-	. . . .
mevâ [7] . palâjâ Visma-	. . . .
vasi[.] Yonakabojesu	. . . .
Nâbhakunâbhapaṁtisaṁ	. . . .
Bhojapitinikesu [8] Adha-	. . . . idhe
puladesu[52] savatâ devâ-	pârimdesu[54] savata
napiyasâ dhaṁmânuchû-	devânaṁpiyasa[54] dhaṁ-
thi anavataṁti[53][.] yâta	mânusasṭiṁ anuva-
pi duta [9] devânaṁpiyasi	tare[.] yata pi dûtâ[55]
niyaṁti[55] te(?) pi sutu	[10] . . . .
devânaṁpiniya lavavu-	. . . .
taṁ mâdhunaṁ [10] dhaṁ-	. . . .
mânusathi dhaṁma anu-	. . . .
vidhiyaṁa aṁnuvidhi-	. . . .
yisâa châ ye . . lodha[.]	. . . .
[11] . takenâ[56] hoti savatâ	. vijayo savathâ[57] puna
vijaye[.] pitilase se gadhâ	vijayo pîti . so sâ ladhâ
sâ hoti piti hoti[60] dhaṁ-	sâ[58] pîti hoti dhaṁma-
mavijayaṁ-[12]si[.] laha-	vijayamhi[59]
kâ ve kho sâ piti	[11] . . . .
pâlaṁtikameve mahapha-	. . . .
jali manaṁti[61] devânaṁ-	. . . .
piye[.] [13] etâye cha	. . . .
aṭhâye iyaṁ dhaṁmalipi	. . . .
likhitâ kiti putâ pâpotâ	. . . .
me ana [14] nava vijaya	. . . . yaṁ
ma vijayataviya mani-	vijayaṁ mâ[63] vijeta-
su[62][.] sayakasi no vijaya-	vyaṁ maṁñâsa ra(?)-
sâkhaṁ ti . châlaṁ va	sake eva vijayechhâti
[15] daḍatâ vâ lochepa	cha
tameva châ vijayaṁ	[12] . . . .
manata[64] ye dhaṁmavi-	. . . .
jaye[.] se hidalokikapa-	. . . . ilokikâ
lalo- [16] kiye savâ cha ku	cha pâra. . . . . .
nilati ho . u yâ malati	. . . .
pâ pi hidâ . lokikapala-	. . . lokikâ cha [.]
lokikâ[65][.]	

Translation.

Great is Kaliṁga conquered by the king Piyadasi, beloved of the Devas. There have been hundreds of thousands of creatures carried off. A hundred thousand have been smitten there; many times that number have died there (*in that conquest*). Then (*wanting in* K. *which adds* On learning it) the king beloved of the Devas has immediately (*wanting in* K.) after the acquisition of Kaliṁga, turned to religion (K. *adds* he has occupied himself with religion), he has conceived a zeal for religion, he applies himself to the spread of religion, so great is the regret which the king beloved of the Devas has felt [regarding what happened] in the conquest of Kaliṁga. Indeed in subjugating the territory which was not subject to me, the murders, the deaths, the carrying off of men which were caused in it, altogether has been clearly and sorrowfully felt by me, the king beloved of the Devas. But behold what has been felt more sadly [*still*] by the king beloved of the Devas. Everywhere there live Brâhmaṇs or Sramaṇas or those of other sects, [ascetics] or householders, and among these men, when one attends to their wants, prevail obedience to authorities, obedience to fathers and mothers, kindliness towards friends, comrades, relations, respect for (K.: slaves and) servants, steadfastness in affections. These men in it [i. e. *in the conquest*] are exposed to violence, to death, to separation from those beings who are dear to them. With

[45] C. reads *chairaṁ*.

[46] In K. *sa naṁdana ladhaṁ*, for *sa naṁdanâ*.

[47] For *asasu*,? K. has *ashushu*, but by a slight correction we may read °*bahushu pi yojanaśateshu*. Hence read *devânaṁpi* [*yasa eta* (ettha)] *cha savesu cha aṁtesu bahusu yojanasatesu*.

[48] *Tesa aṁte=teshâṁ antaḥ*. Read *Yona* [*lâjâ pa*] *laṁ châ*°.

[49] C. reads ° *râjâpara . . . cha*.

[50] C. has °*takina*°.

[51] For *chatule*, *chaturo*.

[52] Read *Nâbhaka*° for *Nabhaku*°. K. has °*nabhatina* for °*nabhatisa* or *tishu-Adhapuladesu* for *Aṁdhrapuliṁdeshu*.

[53] Read *dhaṁmânusathiṁ anuvataṁti*.

[54] C. differs in these three readings. Read *adhapuriṁdesu*.

[55] G. gives *dûtâ* the correct form, "the envoys, those sent." *Niyaṁti* for *niyaṁtâ*, i. e. *niyutâ=niyuktâ*, 'appointed.'

[56] Read *Sutu* (=*śrutvâ*) *devânaṁpiyasa dhamavutaṁ adhunaṁ dhammanusathiṁ dhaṁmaṁ anuvidhiyaṁti anuvidhi yiśôti châ* (for °*saṁti*°). For *ye . . lodha*, K. has *ya . . ludha*, (perhaps for *nirodhaṁ*) *etakena*.

[57] Perhaps *sarvathâ = sarvatra*.

[58] C. reads °*yo pîtiraso sâ ladhâ sa*°.

[59] C. has °*yami*.

[60] For *gadhâ* read *ladhe*, *labdho*; *hoti* is repeated by mistake after *piti*.

[61] Read *lahukâ*, and *mahaphali*, i. e. *mahâphalaṁ*. *Manaṁti* for *maṁnati*, *maññati*.

[62] *Kiti*, read *kiṁti*. *Ana*, i. e. *aṁna*, *aṁnaṁ=aññaṁ*. *Ma* for *mâ*; and *manisu* for *maññisu*.

[63] C. has°—*ṁ vi*°.

[64] Read *lochetu*, *locheṁtu*, and *maṁnatu* = [illegible]

[65] Read *khu nirati hotu ya dhaṁmalati*

regard to those even who, thanks to a [*special*] protection, have not suffered any personal injury, their friends, acquaintances, comrades, or relations have met with ruin. Thus it is that, these same, have there [*in the conquest*] a blow to sustain. All violence of that sort is sadly felt by me, the king beloved of the Devas. There is no country where there may not be found such corporations as of Brâhmaṇs and Sramaṇas, and there is no [*place*] in any country where men do not confess the faith of some sect (*this phrase is quite mutilated in* K.) This is why so many people have, of late, been smitten, are dead, have been carried off in Kaliṅga, the king, beloved of the Devas, feels it at present a hundred and a thousandfold more sorrowfully . . . . In fact, the king beloved of the Devas, desires (K.: to see prevail) security for all creatures, regard for life, peace and gentleness (*the last word is wanting in* K.). Now it is this which the king beloved of the Devas regards as the conquest of religion. It is in these conquests of religion that the king beloved of the Devas finds his pleasure, and in his empire and on all its frontiers to a distance of many hundreds of yojanas. Among these [*neighbours*] (K.: such) [*are*] Antiochos, king of the Yavanas, and to the north of that Antiochos, four kings, Ptolemy, Antigonos, Magas, Alexander; to the south, the Choḍas, the Pâṁḍyas, as far as Tambapanni, and moreover also the king of the Huns (?), Vismavasi (?). Among the Greeks, the Kambojas, the Nâbhakas and the Nâbhapaṁtis, the Bhojas and the Petenikas, the Andras and the Pulindas, everywhere they conform to the religious instructions of the king beloved of the Devas. Wherever there have been sent envoys from the king beloved of the Devas, there also, after having heard from the king beloved of the Devas, the duties of religion, they have at once confessed (K.: with zeal) and will conform to the religious instructions, to religion, that barrier against. . . It is thus that conquest is extended in all places. I have found in it an inner joy; such is the contentment which the conquests of religion secure. But to tell the truth, contentment is a secondary matter; and the king beloved of the Devas does not attach great value, except to those fruits which are secured for the other life. It is for that that this religious inscription has been engraved (K.: written), in order that our sons and our grandsons may not think that they ought to make any other new conquest. Let them not think that conquest by the sword (*literally* by the arrow) deserves the name of conquest; let them not see in it anything but disturbance, violence. Let them not consider any conquest real except the conquests of religion. They are of importance for this world and for the other; let them make all their enjoyment of the pleasures of religion, for those have their value both in this world and in the other.

Fourteenth Edict.[66]

Of this the Girnâr version, being entire, is again made the basis. Of the Dhauli and Jaugada versions only fragments are left, while the Khâlsi one is entire and the Kapurdigiri one nearly so.

[1] Ayaṁ dhammalipî devânaṁpriyena Priyadasinâ[67] rãñâ lekhâpitâ asti eva

[2] saṁkhitena asti majhamena asti vistatana[68] nâ cha sarvaṁ sarvata[69] ghaṭitaṁ [.]

[3] mahâlake hi vijitaṁ bahu cha likhitaṁ likhâpayisaṁ[70] cheva[70] [.] asti cha etakaṁ.

[4] punapuna vutaṁ tasatasa athasa mâdhuritâya kiṁti[70] jano tathâ paṭipajetha[70][.]

[5] tatra ekadâ asamâtaṁ likhitaṁ asa desaṁ va sachâya[71] kâraṇaṁ va

[6] alochetpâ lipikarâparâdhena va[.]

Translation.

This edict has been engraved by the king Piyadasi beloved of the Devas, under a form whether abridged, whether of moderate length, or expanded, and the whole is not everywhere put together; for my empire is large, and I have engraved much and I will yet engrave [Kh.: and I will continue always to inscribe]. Certain precepts are repeated with urgency, because of the special importance I attach to seeing the people put them in practice (Dh. J.: because of the special importance that I attach to them, and of my desire to see the people put them in practice). There may be found faults of the copy, perhaps that a passage has been mutilated,

[66] Prinsep, *J. A. S. Ben.* vol. VII, pp. 262 and 270; Wilson, *J. R. A. Soc.* vol. XII, p. 233; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, Bd. II, S. 220, n. 3; Burnouf, *Lotus*, pp. 751ff.; Kern, *Jaartell.* pp. 104ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. V, p. 275.

[67] C. has °*naṁpiyena piya.*°

[68] Read *vistatena.*

[69] C. has *savaṁ parvata*°

[70] C. differs from the reading of facsimile B. in these places.

[71] Khâlsi reads *saṁkhaye*, and Kapurdigiri *sukhaye.*

perhaps that the sense has been misunderstood: all this is the fault of the engraver.

Below the 13th edict at Girnâr is a line of which the commencement has been destroyed. What is left reads—

va sveto hasti sarvalokasukhâharo nâma.

Possibly the line accompanied a tracing of an elephant, now broken away, and I propose to translate it by simply supplying the pronoun—

"That white elephant is in truth the benefactor of the whole world."

Between the legs of the elephant above the inscription at Khalsi is the word

Gajatame,

which we translate, in the light of the Girnâr legend, as

"The elephant *par excellence*, the great elephant."

MISCELLANEA.

A NOTE ON THE WORD *SIDDHAM* USED IN INSCRIPTIONS.

For the benefit of those epigraphists who still adhere to Dr. Stevenson's translation of the word *siddham*, which frequently stands in the beginning of ancient Prâkrit and Sanskrit inscriptions, by '*To the Perfect one*', I call attention to two inscriptions—(1) Amarâvati fragment from a slab now in the British Museum, represented in Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. xciv, fig. 3 (where, however, the inscription is partly cut away, and what is left is indistinct),[1] and (2) Cunningham, *Arch. Reports*, vol. V., pl. xv, No. 20. The former begins with the phrase—सिधं नमो भगवतो, which can mean nothing but 'Success! adoration to the divine one' (*i. e.* Buddha). The first words of the latter are, according to the plate—सिद्ध ओ नमो अरहतो महावीरस्ये, while the transcript[2] has,—*Siddham Aum(?) Namo Arahate Mahâvîrasya*. Both are, no doubt, faulty, and the correct reading is probably सिद्धम् नमो अरहतो महावीरस्य—'Success! adoration to the Arhat Mahâvîra.' But, whether the reading be सिद्धमों or simply सिद्धम्, it is perfectly clear that the word *siddham* cannot contain the invocation of a deity. The correctness of the explanation which I have proposed, viz., to take *siddham* as the nom. neuter of the part. perf. pass. and as an equivalent of सिद्धिः 'success,' is attested by the fact that the latter word actually occurs for *siddham*, *e. g.* Cunningham *Arch. Reports*, vol. V., Pl. xli, H,—सिद्धिः श्रीः सम्वत् १५७१. The *Mahâbhâshya*, pp. 6 and 7 (Dr. Kielhorn's edition) asserts besides, that *siddha* was used as a *maṅgala*; see also, Bhâṇḍârkar, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. V, p. 346.

G. Bühler.

ḌAMBAL BUDDHIST INSCRIPTION OF Ś. 1017.

At p. 185 *ante*, Mr. Fleet has published the text of an interesting inscription, which indicates that Buddhism still held a place among the natives of the Karṇâṭaka as late as the end of the 11th century A.D. In his remarks, Mr. Fleet seems to confound the Buddhists with the Jains; but though both sects used a very similar ecclesiastical nomenclature, it is almost always possible to discriminate clearly to which of them any image, inscription or document belonged; and it is very desirable that this should be carefully done, and the distinction attended to,—for no end of confusion has arisen from the mistake so frequently made, of regarding these two sects as almost identical. Even into books treating on mythology the error has found its way; in Birdwood's *Industrial Arts of India*, for example, (plate G, fig. 4) a figure of Pârśvanâtha does duty for "the ninth avatâr of Vishṇu as Buddha," though one would have thought the *Śêshaphaṇî* over his head and the jewel on the breast might have sufficiently distinguished the Tîrthaṁkara.

In the inscription under notice, the Dêvî, figured at the head of the stone and invoked after Buddha, is Târâ. This name is known, I believe, among the Jains, but she holds no prominent place in their mythology—is not a *śâsanadêvî* or *yakshiṇî* to any of the twenty-four Tîrthaṁkaras,—while among the Mahâyâna sect of Buddhists, Ârya-Târâdêvî stands almost first in favour among the female *śaktis*. She belongs to Amôghasiddha, the fifth of the Jñânâtmaka Buddhas, and had temples dedicated to her worship at Buddha-Gayâ and elsewhere, and she is figured in the Nâsik, Auraṅgâbâd and Elurâ Buddhist caves (*ante*, vol. IX, p. 115; *Archæol. Rep. W. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 78; *Cave Temples*, pp. 133, 371, 384). Like Avalôkitêśvara or Karuṇârṇava she is especially distinguished by her efforts for the salvation of men (Vassilief, *Bouddisme*, p. 125). Indeed in Nêpâl, and in the Kaṇheri caves, Ârya-Avalôkitêśvara is figured with Lôchanâ (the *śakti* of Akshôbhya) at his right hand and Târâ at his left (see *Cave Temples*, pl. lv). She is represented on this slab, as usually among the Buddhists, holding a flower in her left hand, and an opening blossom apparently springs up behind her right side, while the hand, now broken, perhaps hung over the knee. It is curious to remark too that, in the inscription, she is addressed

[1] I have used a facsimile and copy made from the slab by Dr. Burgess.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 35.

as delivering her votaries from these very eight forms of evil—the fear (1) of lions, (2) of elephants, (3) of fire, (4) of hooded-snakes, (5) of thieves, (6) of fetters, (7) of the ocean waves, and (8) of demons,—which Avalôkitêśvara is represented, in the bas-reliefs at Aurangâbâd, Ajaṇṭâ, Elurâ, and Kaṇheri, as saving men from. The inscription identifies Ârya-Târâdêvi with Prajñâ, as does also the *Sarakâdhâra* of Sarvajña-Mitrapâda. The words *Tathâgata* and *Sugata* are constantly applied to Buddha, but rarely used by the Jains. All the terms in the inscription are those in common use among Buddhists, and none of them specially Jaina,—for the conjectural reading of *śâṁbariṁ*, in the verses at the top, can hardly be admitted, *since Śrî-Saṁvara, the 18th Jina of the future* cycle, is never alluded to, except in the formal lists. Nor would Jains address Buddha at all in an inscription.

These remarks, I think, show beyond doubt that this inscription is purely Buddhist. Is there not a trait of the Bauddha scorn for the Jaina-Banajigas, in joining them with outcasts and Châṇḍâlas? Buddhists, too, would not be likely to become converts to Jainism—the two sects hated each other too heartily—but as the Episcopalian of modern times, who leaves his church, rarely joins any closely allied form of worship, but goes to the extreme of Plymouthism—so the Buddhists when they changed at all, would go over at once to the popular Liṅgâyat religion.

J. B.

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

The *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Part I, Nos. 3 and 4, contain few papers of much interest. Each number opens with a lengthy paper by Lieut. R. C. Temple, B. S. C., of "Remarks on the Afghâns found along the route of the Tal Chotiali Field Force in the spring of 1879." The first gives an account of the tribes *en route* and their affiliation, the result evidently of much intelligent enquiry; and the second paper describes the distribution of the tribes; their polity; civilization; language; and place names. Both papers are illustrated by maps and sketches. Dr. G. Thibaut has also part of a paper, in each number, 'On the *Sûryaprajñapti*—a Jaina astronomical work first brought to the notice of orientalists by Prof. Weber, in his *Indische Studien* (vol. x). The peculiarity of the Jaina system seems to be that it assumes two suns, two moons, and a pair of each planet and star, rising and setting alternately, the greater portion of the revolution of each being occupied in revolving round Mount Meru. Dr. Thibaut discusses with much acuteness the leading principles of the theory, and at the close points out the resemblance between the cosmological and astronomical ideas of the Jainas and those contained in an old Chinese work, the *Cheu-Pei* translated by E. Biot (*Jour. Asiatique* for 1841, pp. 532-639).

Mr. H. Rivett-Carnac contributes a "*Memorandum on Clay Discs called 'Spindle Whorls,' and* votive Seals found at Sankisa and other Buddhist ruins in the N. W. Provinces." The article is illustrated by numerous specimens of these curious objects. This is followed by a "Note on some Copper Buddhist Coins," with two illustrative plates. To No. 3 is added an appendix to Dr. Hoernle's "Collection of Hindi Roots," being an index to the Sanskrit roots and words in an earlier part of the volume.

The last two papers in No. 4 are valuable contributions by C. J. Rodgers, first *on "Coins* supplementary to Thomas' *Chronicles of the Pathân Kings of Dehli.*" Mr. Rodgers takes occasion at the outset to remark on the great destruction of rare coins that is constantly going on in northern India, while no one looks after them or attempts to purchase them for museums where they would be so valuable. The paper describes a considerable number of varieties of coins mostly already known. The second paper, with two plates, is on 28 copper coins of Akbar. Both are interesting to *oriental numismatists.*

Part II, Nos 3 and 4, are chiefly devoted to Natural History. No. 4, (not containing the completion of the volume for 1880), was only issued on 7th March 1881.

BOOK NOTICES.

DES ORIGINES DU ZOROASTRISME, par M. C. de Harlez. Paris; extrait du Journal Asiatique, 1879-80.

This essay consists of an extremely severe criticism of Darmesteter's *Ormazd et Ahriman*[1] and a shorter statement of the author's own theory of the origin of Zoroastrism, which he advocates with much zeal and ability. As the two works draw very different conclusions from the same facts, they should be carefully read in conjunction as mutually corrective, and also because M. de Harlez seems to be rather careless about quoting the exact words of the book he is criticising, though he may give the sense sufficiently well. *The reader has also to recollect that* there is a third, and older, theory of the origin of Zoroastrism, which holds a somewhat intermediate

[1] Bibliothèque de l'E'cole des Hautes E'tudes; 29me fascicule. *Ormazd et Ahriman, leurs origines et leur histoire*, par J. Darmesteter. Paris, Libraire A. Franck, 1877.

position between the extreme views of MM. de Harlez and Darmesteter, and is the result of the labours of several scholars, though finally elaborated by Haug in his *Essays on the Religion of the Parsis*. All three theories agree in considering Zoroastrism as a modification of the ancient Indo-Iranian faith, whence the Vedic religion also sprang, but they account for the modification in such totally different ways that the reader may safely conclude that the data at present available for forming an opinion on the subject are very insufficient.

The old hypothesis, advanced by Haug and others, which may be termed 'the ancient-schism theory,' was formed to account for the fact that the name of the Zoroastrian god, Ahura, has become the Brahmanical term Asura, applied to demons in the later Vedic literature (although still a title of gods in the earlier part of the Veda), while the usual Brahmanical term for a god (*deva*) has become the Zoroastrian term for a demon (*daêva*). To account for this strange metamorphosis, and others of a somewhat similar character, this theory assumes that a schism broke out in the Indo-Iranian religion about the time of the composition of the older Vedic hymns, and that, while the predecessors of the Iranian priesthood remained true to their ancient faith, the Brahmans began to introduce the worship of new gods, or to change the order of precedence of those which already existed, until the schism led to a disruption of the nation, when, under the tuition of Spitama Zarathushtra, the Iranians not only renounced the new-fangled gods and dogmas of the Brahmans, but also adopted many reforms in their older faith. Regarding the age in which Spitama Zarathushtra lived there have been many different opinions. Haug, in his *Essays*, was inclined to place him before B. C. 1000; but latterly, he thought it more probable that he lived in the time of Cyaxares, about B. C. 600.

Darmesteter's hypothesis, which may be termed 'the storm-myth theory,' supposes that the whole Indo-Iranian mythology was nothing but an embodiment of men's observations and conceptions of meteorological phenomena and their causes. And that Zoroastrism and Brahmanism are merely two separate developments of this mythology, starting from the same original by different and widely-diverging paths. According to this theory Spitama Zarathushtra, like a host of other legendary beings, was originally only a manifestation of the conflict of the elements in stormy weather.

The hypothesis of M. de Harlez, which may be termed 'the foreign-influence-reform theory,' goes to the opposite extreme. It rejects all idea of the gradual development of the essential doctrines of Zoroastrism from the ancient Indo-Iranian faith. Admitting that such development continued to produce new myths and legends long after the separation of the two races, it assumes that a radical reform, connected with the name of Spitama Zarathushtra, was introduced into the old religion as late as the time of Darius Hystaspes. It further considers this reform as the true origin of Zoroastrism, and attributes it to the influence of foreign religions. Some of the Zoroastrian customs and beliefs it traces to the Turanians (the deadly enemies of the Iranian race); and it points out others so analogous to those of the Jews as to indicate the possibility that Zoroastrism may have borrowed some of its best doctrines from the Jewish captives.

M. de Harlez finds no storm-myth in the *Avesta*, and, no doubt, many of Darmesteter's conclusions on this point are more the effects of a vivid imagination than of any tangible reality. The Vedic poets used a variety of metaphorical terms in their imaginative descriptions of meteorological phenomena, but it does not follow from this that whenever similar terms are used in the *Avesta* they are to be taken in the same metaphorical sense. Even in the *Veda* itself there are probably far fewer storm-myths than it is now the fashion to assume. On the other hand, if the 'storm' has disappeared from the Avesta myths, so it has likewise from nearly all those of modern Hinduism; the poet's metaphors naturally degenerate into legendary tales, and whether such legends refer to actual beings, or to imaginary personifications, can be ascertained only by tracing them back to their primitive source. This is evidently the course that Darmesteter has endeavoured to take, but his enthusiasm has often led him to forget that there are other sources of myths besides elemental storms. M. de Harlez adopts another method, and the chief cause of the difference of his results from those of Darmesteter is that he does not attempt to trace the legends so far back as their primitive source.

To date the origin of Zoroastrism merely from the time of Spitama Zarathushtra is hardly to begin at the beginning, but is rather like commencing the history of England with the Norman Conquest. The *Avesta* contains far too many vestiges of an earlier form of the religion to admit of their being considered otherwise than as essential components of Zoroastrism, however repugnant they may appear to be to the views attributed to Zarathushtra himself in the *Gâthas*. It is in such vestiges, however, that relics of storm-myths are most likely to be discovered, and, therefore, their exclusion from Zoroastrism is an effectual mode of banishing the storm-myth also.

Regarding the separation of the Brahmans from

the Iranians, though it cannot be proved to have been occasioned by a religious schism, it is still most reasonable to suppose that the two races remained in contact until they had developed the leading characteristics of their divergent faiths; long enough, at least, for the Iranians to contract that horror of the *daêvas* (the Brahman's gods, but their own demons) which has ever since remained one of their most distinctive tenets. The reform attributed to Spitama Zarathushtra is only another name for a rapid form of development, so that in this respect all three theories are really much more in accord than is at first apparent; and as all developments are more or less influenced by external circumstances (more especially when progress is rapid) there is every probability that Spitama Zarathushtra was influenced by some foreign forms of religious thought. But as we know neither the age in which he lived, nor the foreign religions with which he came in contact, it is mere waste of time to attempt to point out the sources of the tenets he taught, whether Iranian or foreign.

In fixing the period of the Zoroastrian reform about the time of Darius Hystaspes, M. de Harlez has brought it down to the latest possible date; in fact, later than is at all probable, as we may conclude from the name of Aûramazdâ being already compounded in the cuneiform inscriptions of that monarch, whereas its component parts, Ahura and Mazda, are not only distinct words, but are also generally used separately in the *Gâthas* of Spitama Zarathushtra. This condensation of the two distinct titles into one name must surely indicate some interval of development between the period of the *Gâthas* and that of Darius. M. de Harlez, however, argues that, if the Zoroastrian reform had occurred before the time of Darius Hystaspes, the name of Zoroaster would have been mentioned by Herodotus and Xenophon. This argument would have been perfectly sound if these two historians had lived before the time of Darius, as, in that case, they could have known nothing about the events of his reign. But the fact is that Herodotus acquired his knowledge of Persia about twenty-five years after the death of Darius, and Xenophon lived in Persia about sixty years later still. Now if a great reformer had appeared in the reign of Darius, and if the reform he carried out were of the important and sweeping character that M. de Harlez supposes, it is hardly to be supposed that his name and work would have been so far forgotten by the Persian people, in the course of half a century, as not to have come to the ears of these two Greek historians. Their silence on the subject rather indicates that a period of some centuries had elapsed since the reform had occurred in another land, before the religion had travelled westward, and that the name of the reformer had been forgotten by all but the priesthood, who were not likely to be very communicative to foreigners. This seems to be the most reasonable conclusion from the scanty information we possess, but it is, of course, fatal to all ideas of Jewish influence upon the reformer.

It would far exceed our limits even to mention the numerous details discussed by M. de Harlez in his essay, and as he brings to the discussion all the experience acquired during his recent translation of such fragments of the *Avesta* as are still extant, it would be presumptuous to differ from him without undertaking an elaborate examination of the whole of the existing texts. Although it is hardly possible to assent to some of his conclusions, he has certainly done good service in showing that Spitama Zarathushtra was something more than a storm-myth, and that there is every probability that he was an ardent reformer. This is very much the opinion that has long been entertained, and is nearly all that can be safely asserted in the present state of our knowledge. Beyond this point there is certainly ground for speculation, but the less we dogmatize upon it the better. E. W. WEST.

München, 28th May 1881.

LES INSCRIPTIONS de PIYADASI, par É. Senart. Tome premier: les quatorze édits. Paris: 1881.

This volume of 326 pages has appeared by instalments in the recent parts of the *Journal Asiatique*, and is partly known to our readers by reproductions which have been published in these pages[1] giving the text of the Girnâr version, with M. Senart's translation turned into English. It is to be understood however that besides the text of all the Girnâr edicts (except in the case of the 13th) in Pâli characters, and that of all the versions in Roman characters, the volume contains a very full commentary, discussing all doubtful readings, differences of the various texts, and difficulties of translation. Nothing at all so elaborate and able has hitherto been written on these earliest and most extensive of Indian Pâli inscriptions. It is only to be regretted that even at this late date, the copies of some of the northern versions are so inaccurate or defective. This will be at once apparent from a comparison of the first edict in the previously published copies of Kapur-di-giri and Kâlsi, and the plate quite recently given in this journal by Pandit Bhagvânlâl Indraji (p. 107). We fear the copies available to M. Senart for the separate and pillar edicts are not more trustworthy, and will task all his talent to divine the correct readings. We hail the present volume as a most valuable contribution to Pâli studies.

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. IX, pp. 282ff; vol. X, pp. 83ff, 180ff, 209ff, 269ff.

VALABHÎ GRANTS.

EDITED BY DR. G. BÜHLER, C.I.E.

(Continued from vol. IX. p. 239.)

No. XVI.—A Forged Grant of Dharasena II, dated Śaka Saṁvat 400.

THE subjoined grant purporting to be issued by D h a r a s e n a II, of Valabhî, in Śaka Saṁvat 400, belongs to the Museum of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society. It was first noticed by the late Mr. Bhâû Dâjî (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. VIII, p. 244) and later by myself (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. V, p. 110; vol. VII, p. 163). In 1878 it was transmitted by the Bombay Government to Dr. Burgess for the purpose of being photozincographed.

The grant is incised on two plates 10½ inches by 7¼, which originally were held together by two rings. The left hand ring alone, to which the seal is attached, has been preserved. The latter bears the representation of a standing bull, facing the proper right and the inscription *Śrî-Dharasena*. The first four letters of the name stand in one line below the animal and the last a little higher just opposite its face. The letters of the grant are *Gurjara*, and closely resemble those of the Ilâo and Umetâ plates of D a d d a II of Bharûch. In the word *śoḍaśatam* (Pl. II, l. 2) a peculiar form of *ḍa* occurs, which is found in a few words on Dr. Burnes' Kheḍâ plates of Dadda II, and throughout in the Valabhî grant of Ś î l â d i t y a V, dated 441.[1] The execution of the engraver's work is good and the preservation of the plates likewise. A few letters have been slightly damaged by verdigris. The language is Sanskṛit, and, as regards the spelling, throughout very incorrect. In grammar and style a difference is observable between the preamble and the portion referring to the donation (Pl. I, l. 15—Pl. II, l. 17). The former evidently has been composed by a Pandit, and is free from gross mistakes, while several bad ones occur in the latter, which in many respects closely resembles the corresponding part of the Umetâ Śâsana of Dadda II. As has been already mentioned, the grant is dated V a l a b h î, full moon day of *Vaiśâkha Śaka-saṁvat* 400 (478 A.D.). The donor is stated to be D h a r a s e n a d ê v a, son of G u h a s e n a and grandson of B h a ṭ- ṭ â r k a (i.e. *Bhaṭârka*). The donee is B h a ṭ ṭ a G o m i n d a (i. e. Govinda) son of B h a ṭ ṭ a Î s a r a (i. e. Îśvara), a Chaturvedî of D a ś a- p u r a, who belonged to the K a u ś i k a *gotra* and to the C h h a n d o g a *śâkhâ* of the *Sâmaveda*. The object granted is the village of N a n d î a r or N a n d î s a r,[2] situated in the *vishaya* or zillâ *Kantâragrâmaśoḍaśata*, i. e. the Sixteen-hundred of K a n t â r a g r â m a. The boundaries of the village are stated to be to the east the village of G i r i v i l i, to the south the river M a d â v i, to the west the Ocean, and to the north the village of D e y a t h a l i. Repeated references to the Revenue Survey maps of Gujarât and enquiries in Surat and Bharûch regarding the whereabouts of the village of N a n d î a r or N a n d î s a r have not led to any very satisfactory results. This much only seems certain from the mention of the Ocean as its western boundary that it lay on the eastern shore of the Gulf of Cambay. As K a n t â r a g r â- m a, after which the *vishaya* or zillâ is named, was the ancient, and is still the modern Sanskṛit appellation of the large village of K a t t a r g â m, north-east of Surat, it seems probable that N a n d î a r must be looked for either in the Olpâḍ or the Chorâsî Tâlukâs.

The use of the Gurjara characters and of the Śaka era in a grant, stated to have been issued by a Valabhî king, the close agreement of its second and chief portion with the Gurjara Śâsana of Umetâ, and the obvious error in the genealogy of the Valabhî kings induced both Mr. Bhâû Dâjî and myself to declare these plates to be a forgery. Though, as stated formerly, my condemnation of them was pronounced after a cursory inspection, I do not find that a more careful examination obliges me to alter my opinion regarding them. But some facts which have been discovered since I wrote my articles on the Kâvî and the Umetâ Śâsanas, as well as some points which the closer examination of the grant has revealed, make the proof of its being a forgery more difficult, and force me to alter the course of reasoning which I formerly adopted.

The argument drawn from the employment of the Gurjara characters and of the

[1] *Indian Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 16.

[2] The letter is very indistinct.

Śaka era is considerably weakened by the discovery that Gujarât east of the Gulf of Cambay during a considerable period formed part of the dominions of the Râjâs of Valabhî. For a long time I distrusted the arguments used to prove the supremacy of the Valabhîans over continental Gujarât, because the geographical names such as Khetaka, Godrahaka, &c. whose occurrence on the plates of the Śîlâdityas was supposed to furnish the requisite proof, occur not unfrequently in various parts of Western India. But I am now compelled to admit the correctness of the view which I have formerly combated. For the facsimile of the grant of Dharasena IV, dated Saṁvat 330, distinctly shows that that document was issued at Bharukachchha or Bharûch.[3] It is not possible to assume that two towns of this name existed in Gujarât. On the contrary it must be admitted that Dharasena IV, when issuing his *śâsana* of Saṁvat 330, had pitched his camp on the banks of the Narmadâ, and for the time, at least, had conquered Central Gujarât. But if Dharasena IV held Bharûch, it becomes exceedingly probable that the town of Kheṭaka, which is mentioned in his grant and in those of the later Valabhîan kings, Kharagraha II, Śîlâditya III, Śîlâditya IV, and Śîlâditya VI, both as the pitching-place of the royal camps and as the head-quarters of an *Âhâra* or Zillâ,[4] is the ancient capital of the Kheḍâ Collectorate on the confluence of the Vâtrak and Sherî rivers. Further, it now seems advisable to identify Godrahaka,[5] where Śîlâditya V issued his śâsana of Saṁvat 441, with the modern Godhrâ, the capital of the Panch Mahâls. Finally, it is hardly possible to take the Kheṭaka, which is mentioned in the grant of Dharasena II, dated Saṁvat 270,[6] to be different from the modern Kheḍâ, especially as the name of the village granted, Âśilapallikâ, agrees very closely with that of the modern Aślâlî near Ahmadabad. In short, I can no longer deny that the kings of Valabhî ruled from the time of Dharasena II over continental Gujarât as far as the Mahî, and that later they extended their sway much further south, certainly as far as the Narmadâ. But if that be so, an advocate of the genuineness of our plates might argue that there was no particular objection to assuming Dharasena II, too, having held Southern Gujarât, and having used in this grant the Gurjara characters and Śaka era in conformity with the usage of the country. For though each Indian dynasty usually adopts one kind of alphabet only, and a change in the characters usually occurs with a change of the dynasty only, still there are some clear cases where princes, in obedience to local usage, either used different alphabets for different parts of their dominions, or changed the alphabet on acquiring or settling in a new province. Well known instances of the former kind are furnished by the inscriptions of Aśoka and of the Indo-Scythian kings who used the so-called Ariano-Pâli alphabet for their northern inscriptions and the Indo-Pâli for those in Central India. A case of the latter kind we meet in the grants of the Râshṭrakûṭas, who, on conquering Gujarât about 800 A.D., gave up the Devanâgarî alphabet of their Dekhan inscriptions, and substituted for it Gujarâtî characters. Nor can it be denied that the kings of Valabhî sometimes used characters differing from those on their plates. The Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bombay contains a mutilated stone-slab, found at Valabhî, which shows the curious pointed characters of Durgagaṇa's Jhâlrâpâṭhan inscription.[7] It must be admitted that these facts, taken together, would make the use of Gurjara characters on plates issued by a king of Valabhî in Gujarât, perfectly explicable, and that they certainly prevent its being used as an argument against the genuineness of our grant. The same remarks apply to the argument drawn from the use of the Śaka era. The latter was, as we know, from Dadda's and the Rathoḍ inscriptions usually employed in Gujarât previous to the accession of the Solankî dynasty.

But in spite of the removal of these two grounds of suspicion, there remains enough to condemn our śâsana as a forgery. The first argument against it is furnished by a mistake

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, p. 73. I prepared my transcript of the grant from the plate itself, not from the facsimile, and was unable to make out more of the name of the king's camp than Bhara. The facsimile has clearly *vijayaskandhâvârâd bharukachchhavâsakât.* 'From the victorious camp, located at *Bharukachchha*!' The stroke marking the *u* has, however, been attached to the left of the *ra* instead of to the right.

[4] See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. I, p. 45; vol. VII, pp. 73, 81; *Journ. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. XI, p. 335.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 17.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, p. 71.

[7] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. V, p. 180.

in the genealogy of the Valabhî kings. The grant states (Pl. I, l. 4) that Guhasena was the *son* of Bhaṭârka. All the other grants of Dharasena II expressly assert that Guhasena was Bhaṭârka's *grandson* and the son of Dharapaṭṭa. That this version is the correct one may be gathered from Guhasena's own inscriptions. The only complete one published[8] enumerates, after Bhaṭârka, his three sons Dharasena I, Droṇasiṁha, and Dhruvasena I, but omits the name of Guhasena's father, Dharapaṭṭa, while, as far as I was able to make out, the first unpublished plate of his grant of Saṁvat 248[9] contains Dharapaṭṭa's name. If our grant were genuine, the mistake would be perfectly inexplicable. But if it is a forgery, the solution of the difficulty is easily found. For the grants issued by the successors of Dharasena II, from his son Śîlâditya I down to Śîlâditya VI, Dhruvabhaṭa, omit the names of Bhaṭârka's four sons, and after mentioning the founder of the dynasty, at once turn to the description of Guhasena, premising the remark that the succession of kings between these two was unbroken and regular. A forger who had no access to a grant of Guhasena or of Dharasena II, but to one issued by a later king, might easily fall into the error which we find in our inscription, and interpret the phrase regarding the unbroken succession of kings between Bhaṭârka and Guhasena to mean that the latter was the son of the former.

A second mistake which these plates show, confirms this suspicion, and indicates that the forger derived his knowledge of the Valabhî dynasty from a grant of one of the later Śîlâdityas. Contrary to the usage of all other grants of Dharasena II, that king is in our grant twice called Dharasenadeva (Pl. I, l. 15; Pl. II, l. 17). Now the title *deva* is not found attached to the names of Valabhî kings before the times of Śîlâditya II. It actually occurs on all the grants of Śîlâditya III, Śîlâditya IV, Śîlâditya V, and Śîlâditya VI, and the first ruler who receives it, is just Śîlâditya II.[10] Now a forger who had seen and not very carefully studied a grant of one of these last four or five princes, where the grantor added *deva* to his name, would naturally transfer the epithet to the prince on whom he fathered his own production. On a genuine plate it could not be explained, because the Gurjara princes do not adopt it any more than the earlier Valabhians.

A third ground of suspicion arises out of the cognizance and the inscription on the seal. The seals of the undoubted Valabhî grants show a bull *couchant*, placed in the peculiar attitude of the great stone Nandî at Walâ and facing the proper left, as well as the inscription *Śrî-Bhaṭârkaḥ*. In no case is the animal represented standing and facing the proper right as on the seal of our grant, and in no case do we find the name of the grantor instead of that of the founder of the dynasty. It would be useless to attempt an explanation of the differences in the device and the inscription through Gurjara influence. For the Gurjara plates show on their seals nothing but the inscription *Śrî-Sâmanta-Dadda*. The conclusion to be drawn from the peculiarities of the attitude of the Bull and of the inscription is that the grant is a forgery, and that the forger was acquainted with the cognizance of the Valabhians, but was unable or neglected to give to the coppersmith a proper model.

A fourth argument against the genuineness of our plates is furnished by their relation to the grants of the Gurjara prince Dadda II. I have formerly asserted that the chief portion of this grant is an exact copy of Dadda's Umetâ plates of Śaka Saṁvat 400. A more careful examination and comparison of the two documents shows, however, that there are some important discrepancies, and that in some points the forged grant is independent, while in others it agrees with the Ilâo grant of Dadda, which is dated Śaka Saṁvat 417. In order to enable the reader to gain an insight into the relation of the three grants, I give their corresponding portions in parallel columns.

Umetâ grant Pl. 1, *l.* 14.	*The forged grant Plate* 1, *l.* 15.	*Ilâo grant Pl.* 11, *l.* 11.
कुशली सर्व्वानेव राष्ट्रपतिविषयपति- ग्रामकुटायुक्तकनियुक्तकाधिकमहत्तरा-	कुशली सर्व्वानेव राष्ट्रपतिविषयपति- ग्रामकूटायुक्तकानियुक्तकाधिकमहत्तरा-	कुशली सर्व्वानेव राष्ट्रपतिविषयपति- ग्रामकूटयुक्तकानियुक्तकाधिकमहत्तरा-

[8] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, p. 66. [9] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. V, p. 206.
[10] I have not seen the grant of Śîlâditya II, dated 348, which is preserved in the Museum of the As. Soc. Bombay, and do not know if *dêva* is used there.

Umetá grant Pl. 1, *l.* 14.

दीन्समाज्ञपयति भस्तु वो विदितं यथा
मय मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चैवामुष्मिकपु-
न्ययशोभिवृद्धये कान्यकुब्जवास्तव्य
तचातुर्विद्यसमान्यवशिष्टसगोत्रबह्वृचस-
ब्रह्मचारिभट्टमहिधरस्तस्य सुनु भट्ट
मधव वलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रपञ्चमहा-
यज्ञादिकृयोत्सर्पणार्थं कमणीयशोडशतं
भुक्त्यन्तःपातिनिगुडग्रामोस्य घटस्थ-
नानि पुर्वस्यां दिशिवघेरिग्रामः दक्षिण-
स्यां दिशि फलहवद्रग्रामःप्रतिच्यां दिशि
विहाणग्रामः उत्तरस्यां दिशि दहियलि-
ग्रामः एवंमयं स्वचतुराघटनविशुद्धो
ग्रामः सोदृङ्गसपारिकरसधान्यहिरन्या-
देयसोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकसमस्तराजकिया -
नम प्रवेश्य अचन्द्राकर्ण्णवक्षिति सरि-
त्पर्वतसमकालिन पुत्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमो-
पभोग्य पुर्वप्रत्तदेवब्रह्मदायवर्ज्जम-
भ्यांतरसिध्य शकनृपकालातीतसंव-
त्सरचतुष्टये वैशाखपौर्ण्णमास्यां
उदकातिसर्गेण प्रतिपादितं यतोस्यो-
चितय ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या कृपतः कर्ष-
यतो भुंजतो भोजयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा
न व्यासेधः प्रवर्तितव्य तथागामिभि-
रपि नृपतिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्वा सा-
मान्यभूमिदानफलमवेत्य विन्दूल्लो-
लान्यनित्यान्यैश्वर्याणि नृणग्रलग्नज-
लविन्दुवञ्चलञ्च जीवितमाकलय्य
स्वदायनिर्विशेषो यमस्मद्दायोनु-
मन्तव्यः पालयितव्यश्च तथा चोक्तं
वहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरा-
दिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य
तस्य तदा फलं यश्चाज्ञानतिमिर-
वृतमतिराच्छींद्यादाच्छिद्यमानमनुमोदेत
वा स पञ्चभिर्म्महापातकैरु-
पपातकैश्च संयुक्तः स्यादिनि उक्तं च
भगवता व्याशेन वेदव्याशेन षष्टि व-
र्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्टति भूमिदः आच्छे-
त्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्
यानीह दत्तानि पुरातनानि दानानि ध-
र्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रति-
मानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराद-
दीत स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष-
नराधिपः महीं महीमतां श्रेष्ठ दा-
नाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं लिखितंश्चैतरपदानु-
जीविश्रीवलाधिकृतगिलकसूनुना
माधवभट्टेन स्वहस्तोयं मम श्री-
वितरागसूनो श्रीप्रसंतरागस्य

The forged grant Plate 1, *l.* 15.

दित्समाज्ञापयाति भस्तु वो विदितं यथा
मय मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चैवामुष्मिकपु-
ण्याययशोभिवृद्धाये दशपुरविनिर्गत-
तचातुर्विद्यसामान्यकौसिकस्यगोत्रच्छं-
दोगासब्रह्मचारिभाट्टाइसरस्तस्य सुत-
भाट्टगोमिंद वलिचरुवैस्वदेवाग्निहोत्रपन्च
महायज्ञार्थे कंतारग्रामशोडशतं
विषयंतःपाति नंदीअरकग्रामो
तस्य च घटानानि पुर्व्वतः गिरि-
विलिग्रामः दक्षिणतः मदाविनदि
पश्चिमतः समुंद्रो उतरतः देयथलि
ग्रामः एवमयं स्वचतुराघटनविशुद्धो
ग्रामः सोद्रंग सपरिकर सधान्याहिरन्या-
देयसोत्पद्यमानवेष्टिक समस्तराजकिय-
नम प्रवेस्यमाचन्द्राकार्ण्णवक्षितिसरी-
त्पर्व्वतसमकालिना पुत्रपौत्रांन्वयक्रमो
पभोग्य पुर्व्वप्रतदेवब्रह्मदायवर्ज्जम-
भ्यंतरशिध्य शकनृपकालातीतसंव-
च्छरशतचतुष्टये वैशाख्यं पौर्ण्णमाशि
उदकानिस्वर्गेण प्रतिपादितं यतोस्यो-
चितया ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या कृपतः कर्ष-
यतो भुंजतो भोजयतः अतिदिशतो वा
न व्यासेधः प्रवर्तितव्यश्च तथागामिभि-
रापि नृपतिभिरास्मद्वंस्यैरन्यैर्व्वा सा-
मान्यभुमिदानफलमवेत्य विन्दूलो-
लान्यनित्यैन्यैश्वर्याणि तृणग्रलग्नाज-
लविन्दुचण्चलण्च जिवितमकलय्य
स्वदायोनिर्विसेषो यमस्मद्वायो नु-
मन्तव्य पलयितव्यःश्च तथा चोक्तं
वहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्त राजभि सागरा-
दिभिः जस्य जस्य यदा भुमिस्तस्य
तस्य तदा फलं जश्चज्ञनतिमिरवृत-
मतिराच्छींद्यदाच्छिद्यमनमनु-
मोदेता व स पंचभिर्म्महापातकैरु-
पपातकैश्च शंयुक्त स्यादिति उक्तं च
भगवता व्यासेन वेदव्यासेन षष्टि व-
षसहस्त्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भुमिदः अच्छे-
त्त चानुमंत च तानिव नरके वसेत्
जनिह दतानि गुरतनानि दानानि भ-
र्म्मार्ध्धयषस्कराणि निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रति-
मानि त.नि को नाम माधुः पुनरादा-
दित स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रपा
नराधिपः महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ट दा-
नाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं लिखितं संधी-
विग्रहाधिकृतेन माधवसुतेन
रेवेण स्वहस्तोयं ममः श्रीधर-
सेनदेवास्य ॥ ॥

Ilâo grant Pl. 11, *l.* 11.

दीत्समाज्ञापयति अस्तु वो विदितं यथा
मया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चैवामुष्मिकपु-
ण्ययशोभिवृद्धये भव्विच्छत्रवास्तव्य-
तचातुर्विद्यसामान्य कश्यपशगोत्रबह्वृ-
चसब्रह्मचारिभट्टगोविन्दस्तस्य सूनु-
नरयणय वलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रपण्च-
महाजज्ञादिक्रियोत्सर्पणर्थं अङ्कुले-
श्वरविषयन्तःपातिराछुवं ग्रामो
स्याघटस्थनानि पूर्व्वतः वारणेरग्रामः
दक्षिणतः वरंदनदः पाश्चिमतः
शुंठवडकग्रामः उत्तरत अरतुअं
ग्रामः एवमयं स्वचतुराघाटनविशुद्धो
ग्रामः सोद्रङ्गसपरिकरसधान्याहिरण्य -
देयसोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकसमस्तराजकीय -
नमप्रवेश्यमचंद्रकार्ण्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्वत -
समानकालीन पुत्रपौत्रान्ययक्रमोपभोग्य
पूर्वप्रत्तदेवब्रह्मदायवर्ज्जमभ्यांतरसिध्य
शकनृपकालातीतसंवच्छरचतुष्टये
सप्तदशाधिके ज्येष्ठमावास्यासूर्यग्राहे
उदकातिसर्गेण प्रतिपादितं यतोस्यो-
चितय ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या कृपनः कर्ष-
यतो भुञ्जतो भोजयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा
न व्यासेधः प्रवर्तितव्य तथागामिभि-
रपि नृपतिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्वा सा-
मान्यभूमिदानफलमवेत्य विन्दूल्लो-
लान्यनित्यान्यैश्वर्याणि तृणाग्रज-
लविन्दु चण्चलण्च जीवितमाकलय्य
स्वदायनिर्विसेषोयमस्मद्दयोनु-
मन्तन्यः पालयितव्यश्च तथा चोक्तं
बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्त राजभिः सगरा-
दिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य
तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ यश्चज्ञानतिमिरावृत-
मतिराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानमनु-
मोदेत वा स पण्चभिर्म्महापानकैरु-
पपातकैश्च संयुक्त स्यादिनि उक्तं च
भगवता व्याशेन वेदव्याशेन षष्टि व-
र्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः। आच्छे-
त्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥
यानीह दत्तानि पुरातनामि दानानि ध-
र्मार्थयसस्कराणि निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रति-
मानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराद-
दीत । स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष
नराधिपः महीं महीमतां श्रेष्ठ दा-
नाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं। लिखितमिदं संधि-
विग्रहाधिकृतेन रेवेण मधवसु-
तेन श्रीवीतरागसूनोः स्वहस्तो-
यं मम श्रीप्रशान्तरागस्य

acknowledge that the name of the writer and the date of our grant are an additional argument against its genuineness. But while I thus think it necessary to declare the grant spurious, I must add that in my opinion it is not a recent forgery, but dates from 100 to 200 years after Śaka Saṁvat 400. The grounds for this belief are, firstly, the fact that the characters are of the real and genuine Gurjara type; secondly, the fact that the forger knew something about the history of the Gurjara period; and thirdly, the probability that in later times a forger would not have fabricated a grant with the name of a king of the Valabhî dynasty.

As regards the first point, everybody who compares our grant with those of Jayabhaṭa and Dadda II, must acknowledge that whatever the grant may be, the letters are genuine, and agree with those of the Gurjara princes. Now Indian forgers do not, as a rule, even attempt to imitate an ancient character. But, if they do it, the attempt is of the feeblest kind possible.[16] Nobody who carefully examines the numerous forgeries from Southern India, *e. g.* the Chera grant dated 159 Śaka,[17] the British Museum grant of Pulikeśi, dated Śaka Saṁvat 411,[18] or Mr. L. Rice's early Chera grants, published in the *Ind. Ant.*, will easily see that the letters do not belong to the centuries in which the grants are dated. The same remark holds good for the few forgeries found in Gujarât. I may mention, as an instance of this kind, a plate which was sent to me in 1879 for examination by the Assistant Political Agent in charge of Luṇâvâḍâ. It bears the name of Jayasiṁha Siddharâja of Aṇhilvâḍ Pâṭhaṇ, but the letters belong to the last century, and the document is full of absurd anachronisms. There are also good reasons why it is almost impossible for a forger to adopt an ancient character or to imitate it successfully.

Firstly, palæography is not a branch of learning which is or ever has been much cultivated in India. Even learned Brâhmaṇs can hardly read the ancient literary alphabets of their own provinces. They are utterly unacquainted with the characters used in inscriptions. This state of things seems to be ancient. For it is indicated by some curious blunders which Hiwen Thsang makes with regard to inscribed monuments. Thus the learned Chinese traveller asserts that Tathâgata frequently travelled in the kingdom of Valabhî, and that Aśoka raised columns in all the places where he stopped.[19] Now it is a curious fact that Kâṭhiâvâḍ possesses a number of old pillars, several of which, like those near Jasdan, at Lâṭhî,[20] and near Dvârkâ, are inscribed. But not one of them belongs to Aśoka: they were all erected by the Western Kshatrapa kings or their subjects. Hiwen Thsang no doubt drew his information regarding them from the Buddhist priests at Valabhî. His erroneous statements prove that his informants were not palæographists and antiquarians, but as ignorant of such matters as the Pandits of our days. But, supposing the case that an intending forger had mastered an ancient alphabet, he would still be very far from being able to produce a grant written in it. For the grant has to be incised by a coppersmith or *Kansâr*. Kansârs, though sometimes clever enough in imitating a given document, are utterly helpless if left to themselves. A Kansâr would be able to copy an old copper plate with perfect exactness, and probably succeed in making a tolerable copy of a grant written on paper. The forger would, therefore, not only have to give him the grant in Devanâgarî characters and an ancient alphabet, but he would have to write out the document itself in the old characters, and then to have it transferred to copper. Patient and industrious as the Pandits are, so much trouble would not suit their taste, and their deficiency in historical sense and knowledge would not allow them to undertake it. Under these circumstances, and with the actual facts regarding forged grants before our eyes, it is not too much to say that a forged grant may be assigned to that period the characters of which it shows. Now our grant shows Gurjara letters, and therefore most probably belongs to the period when Gurjara characters were used in Gujarât. The latest date which a genuine grant written in Gurjara character shows, is Śaka Saṁvat 749, or 827 A.D., which occurs on the Kâvî plates.[21] It may

[16] Burnell, *South Indian Pal.*, p. 119.
[17] See Burnell, *loc. cit.*, plate XI.
[18] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, p. 210.
[19] *Mémoires*, tom. II., p. 163.
[20] Now in the Museum of the Bom. Br. Roy. As. Soc.
[21] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. V, p. 144.

J. F. FLEET, BO. C. S.

W. GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH PECKHAM.

PLATES FULL-SIZE; SEAL REDUCED ONE-HALF.

be that the Gurjara characters continued to be used a little longer,—perhaps up to the end of the ninth century. In the tenth century they were supplanted by the northern Kâyastha-Nâgarî, which we find on Mûlrâja's grant[22] and other unpublished documents. For these reasons, I think, our grant can in no case be placed later than 850 or 900. But as its characters come very close to those of Dadda's plates, it is probably older and belongs to the 6th or 7th century.

The fact that the forger knew something of the ancient political history of Gujarât points to the same date. I have shown above that the second part of our grant agrees in the main with the Umetâ and Ilâo grants, but that in two important particulars the date and the name of the writer wavers between the two. The date is that of the Umetâ śâsana, while the name of the writer is identical with that of the Ilâo grant. This circumstance *may* be explained by assuming that the forger had access to both documents and mixed their contents. But such an assumption is not safe because the two grants were not given to members of the same family or of the same Brâhmanical tribe. The Umetâ grant originally belonged to a Kânyakubja Brâhmaṇ and the Ilâo grant to an Abhichhattra (*i.e.* Ahichhattra) Brâhmaṇ. Now Brâhmaṇs are not at all communicative with regard to their family documents, and it must be a curious accident which gave to one and the same person access to both documents. It is much more likely that he saw only one of the documents, the Umetâ śâsana, and took from this the wording of the second part of his composition, and the date, which he could not have possibly given. But if that be so, he must have got the name of Reva, the son of Mâdhava, from his knowledge of history. The fact that such a man existed and held the office of *Sândhivigrahika*, could, in the absence of annals, only be known to a person who lived not long after the times of Dadda II, *i. e.* in the 6th or perhaps in the 7th century. Later the knowledge of this whole period of history was buried in oblivion, as a perusal of the Jaina chronicles will show.

Irrespective of this point, there is another historical fact which the forger must have known, viz., that Gujarât for a time belonged to the kings of Valabhî. That this actually was the case, I have proved by the grant of Dharasena IV, dated Saṁ. 330. Now neither the bards nor the Jainas have the slightest notion of it. Nay it will be news to most antiquarians that Bharûch was actually conquered by the Mahârâjâdhirâja Chakravartin of Valabhî. Is it, under these circumstances, likely that anybody but a man who lived shortly after the time when the conquest happened should know the fact? That he knew it is plain enough, because he makes Dharasena II dispose of a village situated probably in the Surat collectorate. The forgery would finally have been without any practical object, if it had been made during a period when the dominion of the Valabhîans over Gujarât had ceased or was no longer fresh in the memory of the actual rulers. The forger, of course, wanted to prove his own, or his employer's title to the village of Nandîar. If the actual rulers had not either been Valabhîans or at least had known something about the fact that the Valabhîans once held the country, he would certainly not have taken the trouble to insert the name of Dharasena. He would have chosen some other king whose name was known. Hence and because the fact of the Valabhîan rule over Gujarât was soon forgotten, we are driven again to the same conclusion that the forger lived not very long after the date which he inserted in his grant.

Enough has been said, I think, to make this point credible. The conclusions to be drawn from it regarding the credibility of the chief historical statement of our grant, viz., that the Śaka year 400 fell in the reign of Dharasena II, and that Dharasena possessed Gujarât in that year, I reserve for another paper, in which I intend to discuss the question of the Valabhî and Gupta eras.

Plate I.

[1] ओं स्वस्ति श्रीवलभितः सकलपृथ्वीपालमौलिमालापरिचुंबितचरणारविन्दो निजभुजस्तम्भोद्धृतवि-[23]
[2] श्वविश्वंभरभारः परममाहेस्वरो निजभुजबलनिहतसकलरिपुकुलललनालोचनः कमलविनि-

[22] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. V, p. 191.

[23] L. 1, read °भीतः.—L. 2, read विश्वंभर°; °श्वरो; लोचन.

[3] स्सृतवारिधारापरिशांतकोपानलःकलिकालकलङ्कङ्कितलोकपापनिर्ण्णाशनचतुरतराशुभाचरितःश्री-[24]
[4] भट्टार्कस्तस्य सूनुराखन्डल इव खन्डितविक्रम पृथुरिव पृथुतरयशोवितानविमलीकृतसकल-
[5] दिगान्तश्चतु:सागरमेखलाय भुवः पालयिता संस्कृतप्रकृतापभ्रंशाभाषात्रयप्रतिवद्धप्रबन्धरच-
[6] नानिपुणातरांतकरणो विपश्चितसमाजमानसरजहंस समरशिरोविदारितरातिकरीघटकुंभस्थलप्र-
[7] क्षालितरुधिरधारनिकुरुंबकालसंध्योजितविश्वांतारालः करीराज इव सदादानार्द्रिकृतकरो हिमाचल
[8] इवांतसरालोतितुगश्चा रत्नाकर इवबहुसत्वाश्रयोतिगंभिरश्च शिशिरेतरकिरणा इव निजपादच्छाया-
[9] क्रांतमहामहीधरचक्रवालः श्रीगुहसेनस्तस्य सुनुरनुपमगुणगणाधरभूतो भुतनथ-
[10] इव रिपुपूरां भेत चतुरांभोधिवेलामेखलाय भुतधाऽया भर्त्ता निजभुजवलहठाकृष्णसमस्तसापत्नसंपत्कः
[11] पङ्कजनाभ इव सदा लक्ष्मिनिवासो विवुद्धधुनीप्रवाह इव भुवनत्रयपवित्रकरणोद्यतो दिन-
[12] कर इव करनिकरनिहतवहुनारारिपुतिमिरविसारो विशादतरयशोराशिप्रसरप्रसाधि-
[13] तासकलदिगंतभुतलः कमलासन इव विवुद्धवृन्दसंसेवित पयोदसमयजलधरनिवाह इव सकलाशा-
[14] परीपूरुणाकुशलो लोकसंतापहारी च वज्रधर इव पटुतरधिषणो वहुद्रेकच **महाराजाधिराजप-**
[15] **रमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकः श्रीधरसेनदव** कुशली सर्व्वानेव राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटायुक्तका-
[16] नियुक्तकाधिकमहात्तारादित्समाज्ञापयति अस्तु वो विदितं यथा मय मा-
[17] तापित्रोरात्मनश्चैवामुष्मिकपुण्यायशोभिवृद्धाये दशपुरविनिर्ग्गत-

Plate II.

[1] तचातुर्विद्यसामान्यकौसिकस्यगोत्रच्छंदोगासब्रह्मचारिभाट्टा इसरस्तस्य सुत-[25]
[2] भाट्टगोमिंद वलिचरुवैस्वदेवाग्निहोत्रपन्चमहायज्ञार्थं **कंतारग्रामशोडशतं** वि-
[3] षयंतःपातिनंदीअरकग्रामो तस्य च घटानानि पुर्व्वतः **गिरिथिलिग्रामः** दक्षिणतः **म-**
[4] **दाविनदि** पश्चिमतः **समुंद्रो** उतरतः **देयथलिग्रामः** एवमयं स्वचतुराघटनविशुद्धो ग्रामः सोद्रंग सप-
[5] रिकर सधान्यहिरन्यादेय सोत्पद्यमानवेष्टिक समस्तराजाकियनमप्रवेस्यमाचद्राकार्ण्णवक्षितिसरी-
[6] त्पर्व्वतसमानकालिना पुत्रपौत्रांन्वयक्रमोपभोग्य पुर्व्वप्रतदेवब्रह्मदायवर्ज्जमभ्यंतराशिध्य शकनृप-
[7] कालातीतसंवच्छरशतचतुष्टये वैशाख्यं पौर्ण्णमशि उदकातिस्वर्ग्गेण प्रतिपादितं यतोस्योचि-
[8] तया ब्रह्मदायस्थिया कृषतः कर्षयतो भुंजतो भोजयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न व्यासेधः प्रवर्ति-
[9] तव्यश्च तथागामिभिरापि नृपतिभिरास्मद्वंस्यैरन्यैर्व्वा सामान्य भुमिदानफलमवेत्य बिन्दूलो-
[10] लान्यनित्यैन्यैश्वर्याणि तृणग्रलग्नाजलबिन्दुचण्चलण्च जिवितमकलय्य स्वदायोनिर्विसेषोयम-
[11] स्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्य पलयितव्यःश्च तथा चोक्तं वहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्त राजभि सागरादिभिः जस्य जस्य य-
[12] दा भुमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं जश्चज्ञनतिमिरवृतमतिराच्छींद्यदाच्छिद्यमनमनुमोदेता व स पंचभिर्म्महा-
[13] पातकैरुपपातकैश्च शंयुक्त स्यादिति उक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन षाष्टिं वर्षसहस्त्राणि स्व-

[24] L. 3, read परिश्रान्त°;—कलङ्काङ्कित°; °तरशुभचरितः. L. 4, read भटार्क°; °राखण्ड°; °वाखण्डितविक्रमः.—L. 5, read दिगन्त°; °मेखलाया; °प्राकृता°.—L. 6, read निपुणतरान्तः;—°राजहंसः; °तारातिकरिघटा.—L. 7, read धारा°; कारि°; °नार्द्रीकृत°; L. 8, read इवातिसरलो;° तुङ्गश्च; °गंभीर°; °किरण; L. 9, read सूनुर°; गणधर°; भूतनाथ.—L. 10, read रिपुपुरां भेत्ता; चतुरंभो°; °मेखलाया भूत°; °कृष्ट.— L. 11, read लक्ष्मी°; विबुध°; L. 12, read °बहुतर°; °विस्तारो विशद°.—L. 13, read तसकल°;—भूतलः;—विबुध°;—सेवितः;—L. 14, read °परिपूरण°; बहुद्रकच.—L. 15, read °देवः; °युक्तक°;—L. 16, read महत्तरादीन्स°; मया. L. 17, read पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये.

[25] L. 1, read तचातुर्विद्य°; कौशिकसगोत्रच्छंदोग;—भट. L. 2, read भट्टगोविन्दाय; वैश्वदेवा°; पञ्च°.—L. 3, read °षयान्तः°; चाघाटनानि; पूर्वतः L. 4, read °दावी नदी; समुद्र उत्तर°; °राघाटन°; सोद्रंगः—L. 5, read °करः; °ण्यादेयः; °विष्टिकः; राजकीयानामप्रवेश्य आ;-सरि°.—L. 6, read °समानकालीनः; पौत्रान्वय°; °भोग्यः पूर्वप्रत्त; °माभ्यंतरसिद्ध्या. L. 7, read °वैशाख्यां पौर्णमास्यां; °सर्गेण प्रतिपादितः. L. 9, read °तव्यः तथा; °रपि°; रस्मद्वंश्यैर°; सामान्यं भूमि°; बिन्दु°.—L. 10, read °नित्यान्यै°; तृणाग्रलग्न°; चञ्चलञ्च; °माकलय्य; स्वदायनिर्विशेषो.—L. 11, read °स्मद्दा°; °मन्तव्यः पा°; भुक्ता; राजभिः स°;-यस्य यस्य. L. 12, read भूमि°; यश्चाज्ञान°; °राच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानम°; देत वा. L. 13, read संयुक्तः; °सहस्राणि.

[14] र्गे तिष्ठति भुमिदः अच्छेत चानुमंत च तांनेव नरके वसेत् जनिह दतानि पुरतनानि दानानि धर्म्मा-[26]
[15] र्थयषस्कराणि निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रातिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनरादादित स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्ना-
[16] द्रषा नराधिपः महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं लिखितं संधीविग्रहाधिकृतेन माधवसू-
[17] तेन रेवेण स्वहस्तोयं ममः श्रीधरसेनदेवास्य ॥ ॥

Translation.

Plate I.

Om. Hail, from famous Valabhî! (*There was*) the ardent devotee of Maheśvara, the illustrious Bhaṭṭârka (Bhaṭârka), whose lotus feet were kissed by the diadems of all kings, that encircled them like a garland,—who upheld with his arms stronglike pillars the load of the whole earth,—the fire of whose anger was extinguished by the streams of tears, flowing from eyes of the wives of all his enemies, who had been slain by his strong arm,—whose pious conduct was exceedingly efficient in destroying the crimes of the world which the Age of Sin makes foul.

His son (*was*) the illustrious Guhasena, who resembled Âkhaṇḍala (Indra), because his valour was unchecked (*akhaṇḍita*), and Prithu because all the quarters of the world were purified by the canopy of his very extended (*prithutara*) fame,—who protected the earth that is encircled by the four oceans as by a girdle, and excelled in composing works in the three languages, viz., in Sanskrit, Prâkrit, and Apabhraṁśa,—who was an illustrious king (*râjahaṁsa*) dwelling in the minds (*mânasa*) of a multitude of Pandits, and thus resembled a royal swan dwelling on lake Mânasa,—who conquered all the regions of the earth with numerous streams of blood, red like the dawn of Time, that gushed from the frontal globes of troops of hostile elephants which he split in the van of battle, who conquered all the intermediate regions,—whose hands were always wet with (*libations made in conferring*) gifts (*sadâdânârdrîkritakara*), and who thus resembled an elephant king whose trunk is always wet with ichor flowing from his temples (*sadârdânârdrîkritakara*),—who being very upright (*atisarala*) and exceedingly lofty (*atituṅga*) resembled the Himâlaya which is exceedingly straight (*atisarala*) and high (*atituṅga*),—who being very courageous (*bahusattvâśraya*) and very profound (*atigambhîra*), resembled the ocean which is the abode of many beings (*bahusattvâśraya*) and very deep (*atigambhîra*)—who, as the shadow of his feet (*pâdachhâyâ*) falls on many great kings (*mahîdhara*) resembled the sun, the light of whose rays (*pâdachchhâyâ*) falls on many high mountains (*mahîdhara*).

His son (*is*) the supreme sovereign, the supreme lord and king of kings the illustrious Dharasenadeva, who is endowed with a multitude of incomparable virtues, who being the destroyer of (*three*) towns of his foes, resembles Śiva who is the destroyer of Tripura,[27] who is the husband of the earth that is surrounded by the four oceans as by a girdle,—who has forcibly drawn towards himself by the strength of his arm the wealth of all his rivals, —who, just like Vishṇu, is always attended by Fortune (*lakshmî*),—who, like the flood of the celestial river (*gaṅgâ*), is always engaged in purifying the three worlds,—who, having beaten down the huge dark masses of his numerous foes by means of the multitude of the trunks (*of his elephants*), and having beautified the whole world by the expanse of his great and exceedingly brilliant fame, resembles the sun who with the multitude of his rays destroys the extensive, hostile darkness and beautifies the whole world by his far-extending exceedingly brilliant splendour,—who, being worshipped by a crowd of wise men, resembles Brâhmaṇ, who is worshipped by the crowd of the gods—who, being clever in fulfilling all hopes and removing the sorrows of the people, resembles the clouds of the rainy season, which are efficient in filling the whole sky and remove the heat that scorched men,—who possessing great intelligence and seeing much, resembles Indra, who has a very wise preceptor (*Brihaspati*) and many eyes.

[26] L. 14, read भूमिदः आच्छेत्ता चानुमंता; तान्येव; यानीह दत्तानि पुरा°; L. 15, read °र्थयशस्क°; राददीत. L. 16, read °द्रस. °प; महीमतां; लिखितं संधि°; माधवसु°. L. 17, read मम श्रीधरसेनदेवस्य.—

[27] This is an exceedingly recondite pun which is only made possible by the author's having taken *purâm* (gen. pl.) as an equivalent for *puratrayasya* or *tripurasya*, which latter word is the name of the Daitya slain by Śiva.

He, being in good health, addresses these orders to all governors of zillâs, governors of tâlukâs, headmen of villages, officials and employés, great men, chief men and others:—Be it known to you that for the increase of my parents and of my own merit in the next world and of my fame, I have granted with heartfelt devotion, confirming the gift by a libation of water, on the day of the full moon of Vaiśâkha in the year four hundred of the Śaka era, to Bhaṭṭa Gominda (Govinda), the son of Bhaṭṭa Isara (Îśvara), an emigrant from Daśapura, who belongs to the Chaturvedîs of that (*town*) and to the Kauśika Gotra in general, and studies the Chhandoga śâkhâ (*of the Sâmaveda*) for the performance of the Bali, Charu, Vaiśvadeva, Agnihotra, the five Mahâyajñas and similar rites, the village of Nandiaraka situated in the Kantâragrâmaśodaśatam zillâ, the boundaries of which are—to the east the village of Girivili, to the south the river Madâvî, to the west the ocean, to the north the village of Deyathali. (*The grant of*) this village—which is not to be entered by any royal officials, and to be enjoyed by the (*grantee's*) sons, grandsons and (*remoter*) descendants—defined by the above-stated boundaries includes the . . . . . the rent paid by non-resident cultivators, the income in grain and gold and the right of forced labour, with the exception of former gifts to gods and Brâhmaṇs, and is to be valid as long as moon, sun, sea, earth, rivers and hills endure. Wherefore nobody is to cause hindrance to him who by virtue of the rights conferred by this gift to a Brâhmaṇ, cultivates (*the land of this village*), causes it to be cultivated, enjoys it or causes it to be enjoyed by others, or assigns it (*to others*) . . . . Written by the Secretary for peace and war Reva, the son of Mâdhava. This is my sign-manual, (*that*) of the illustrious Dharasenadeva.

BOMBAY BEGGARS AND CRIERS.

BY K. RAGHUNATHJI.

(*Continued from p. 147.*)

Murlîs and Wâghiâs.

Murlîs are girls wedded to Khandobâ, the lord of Jejuri. If a low caste Hindû is childless, he vows that if Khandobâ blesses him with offspring, male or female, the same will be set apart for life, to worship and attend upon the deity, and he accordingly dedicates it; others again forsake their little ones under the plea of a vow made by them, while grown-up women leave the protection of their husbands and become Murlîs on the mere pretext that Khandobâ had appeared to them in a dream and told them they ought to become Murlîs. Mângs and Mahârs are not behind in having Wâghiâs and Murlîs among them. The male is called Wâghiâ, and the female Murlî. These hang about the temple and loiter in the streets with a bag made of tiger-skin, which they carry suspended from their necks, and with which they touch the foreheads of passers by and ask for charity. The males and females dance together with bells in their hands, and a small native drum, called in Marâṭhi *daphri*, and sing the praises of their god and *lâvanîs*, for the entertainment of listeners. They do not live at Jejuri alone, but are scattered in distant towns and villages, and the females, under the cloak of religion, are prostitutes. An ordinary Hindû may keep one of these women under his protection, but generally and correctly speaking they are the *Kasbins* of Marâṭha and other low caste Hindûs. Without the least shame for a few annas or so they will take up quarters with any one, not excepting a Musalman. The standard of morality among them, even in Jejuri, is very low, indeed, so much so that a gentleman visiting Jejuri with his servants, has either to stay outside the place for the night with his servants, or to accommodate them in his own house, to keep them from mischief at the hands of these women. The males of these people marry the daughters of Murlîs, but the Murlîs themselves cannot marry, they being the wedded wives of their god. "That a Murlî should be a woman of abandoned character is understood to be a matter of course, even more than that a *Kasbin* should be so." The term *Murlî* is applied by the natives to a loose and flirting woman. The life of these Murlîs is "openly a life of prostitution, prostitution under the supposed sanction of religion." And a majority of

diseased and hideous-looking *Kasbins* in Bombay are the Murlîs of Jejuri and other such places.

Korvaru.

Korvaru are a wild-looking Karnaṭia people, whose women, called Karvanjis, rather than the men, are fortune-tellers. They are occasionally met with in Bombay, begging, telling fortunes and playing music. They travel from place to place, and speak a language peculiar to themselves. Their women, rising early in the morning, partake of the food begged the previous day. The husband cannot join his wife uncalled, as he is supposed to obtain his own food. Dressing in rags, she sallies forth at about eight in the morning, and tying her young ones on her back or chest, and with a basket on her head, she takes her stand in front of the house-door, begging for alms. She does not offer to tell fortunes unless asked, but when questioned whether she knows fortune-telling, she readily answers in the affirmative. She puts down her basket and sits by it on the ground. Bringing a handful of grain or a pice, the householder gives it to the beggar and sits before her. The beggar takes his right hand in hers, opens it, and after examining it for some time, tells him the number of trials and difficulties he has had since his birth, his present circumstances, his future luck, whether his wife is dead or alive, the number of children he already has or is to have, and other particulars. Only one must be prepared to ask questions, the beggar being always ready with her answers, and to the satisfaction of the questioner.

Kâlongânis.

Kâlongânis pretend to know everything about futurity, what awaits mankind, what is to become of this world, and when there will be a deluge. They are on rare occasions met with in Bombay. They go about in bands of three, four or five. They have a leader who holds a book in his hands and recites verses; his followers also carry books and repeat verses after their leader, more from memory than from the books, and beat drums and other musical instruments to attract people's attention and obtain grain, money, or other presents. Any one wishing to hear them sing, as they are supposed to be very good singers, calls them, and after hearing them for some time, pays them from a couple of annas to as many rupees.

Budlendes.

Budlendes resemble the Joshis, they are fortune-tellers, and go about begging with a rattle in their hands, uttering something to the following effect:—'A fortnight hence wilt thou hear of prosperity, and in a palanquin wilt thou sit within a couple of months. But unfortunately a danger awaits thee. Thus did the morning bird hâlaki whisper in my ear. Do thou therefore try to avert the danger, shouldst thou not do so in time, great loss will ensue. It is not a great thing to do, only an old waistcloth, and all will end well.' Thus does the Joshi go on repeating, keeping the rattle all the while at work. This is a very boisterous beggar, shrewd and designing.

Śâktas (*ante*, pp. 73, 74.)

Ghatakanchuki is a Śâkta ceremony performed generally at large gatherings of the sect. I remember one such gathering being held in Bombay in the Fanaswaḍi Lane, when as many as three hundred persons, men and women, were present. The meeting was held in a solitary building then known as the *Bhutkhânâ*, believed to be infested by devils, and that these devils occasionally feasted there and sent forth odours of incense and liquor. At this ceremony equal numbers of males and females are present, and as they enter, the men sit in one place in the room, and the women in another. A dim light or two are kept burning, and the chief mover, taking a pot or vessel, places it in the middle. When all have arrived, the 'goddesses', that is, the women, approach the pot, and pulling off their *kanchukis*, bodices, throw them into the receptacle, and sit down round it with their breasts exposed. The men now approach them, and worship them with flowers, sandal, red powder, wave a lighted lamp before their faces, burn incense and camphor, and offer them fish, flesh, liquor and sweetmeats. After they have eaten and drunk, the remains are made over to the men. Before worship both the men and women are counted, to see that the numbers are the same; if not, others are sent for. Each woman must know her own bodice, and each worshipper, approaching the vessel, picks up a bodice, and the woman to whom it belongs pairs with him, and they spend the night in each other's company in the room where they are met.

(*To be continued*).

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

To the Editor of the "Indian Antiquary."

Sir,—The story which Professor Tawney has quoted in the July number of the *Antiquary* as furnishing a folklore parallel, allow me to point out, is the popular romance, given in the *Jaimini Bhârata* of Chandrahâsa, the scene of whose adventures is localised at Kuntala-nagara, said to be Kubattur, in the extreme north-west of Mysore. The story is related in Talboys Wheeler's *History of India*, vol. I, p. 522; but for local accounts see *Mysore and Coorg Gazetteer*, vol. I, p. 187, and *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xxxvii. Lewis Rice.

Bangalore, 16th July 1881.

EXORCISM OF LOCAL VILLAGE GHOSTS.

The following note on the ritual pursued when a new village or hamlet is being established may be of interest. The system prevails extensively in the Banâras Division. It extends more or less over the North Western Provinces, but I have not been able to obtain a fuller account of it than that now given, which was noted in the Gorakhpur district. The ceremony is carried out by a class of men known as *Dihbandhwás*. *Dih*, properly meaning "a village," is, like *dihwár grámadeotá* or *bhúmiyá*, the distinctive title of the local village ghosts or deities. The Dihbandhwâ is then literally "the man who ties up or binds the village ghost." This office is appropriated to the lower castes, especially Chamârs and Dhâṛhis (a branch of the great Pâsi tribe). It is even popularly believed that the presence of a Brâhmaṇ detracts from the efficacy of the rite.

The Dihbandhwas, when they arrive on the site of the proposed village, select a place and sit there for eleven days, and play a drum constantly. The playing of drums or the ringing of bells is, as is well known, distasteful to demons (cf. Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, pp. 424, 429, 431). On the 11th day the Dihbandhwas sit on a platform (*chabútrá*) made of mud, and all the men and women of the village are assembled. The Dihbandhwâ then takes some *sarson* and *rái* (kinds of mustard) and rice, and sings a song known as the *pachará gít*, a long rambling series of verses very popular among weavers and Ojhâs (a caste of exorcisers). The word is a corruption of Upâdhyâya—a teacher of the Vedas—(one of the learned classes of Brâhmaṇs). The Dihbandhwâ throws the grain all round him. Then another "medicine man" known as Maṭṭiwâ (the earthy one) sits on the platform, and places near him a piece of the wood of the *gúlar* tree (*ficus glomerata*), in which several holes have been bored. The Dihbandhwâ then says "I am going to call the village ghosts" *bhút* and *pret*), both are the ghosts of men who have died a violent death, or whose funeral obsequies have not been properly performed. The *pret* is considered the more dangerous of the two. His feet are supposed to be turned backwards. The Dihbandhwâ then throws a little *urad* pulse (*dolichos pilosus*) over the Maṭṭiwâ, who shakes his head, and pretends to be under the influence of such and such a *bhút* or *pret*. He rolls about and appears to be possessed of the devil. The Dihbandhwâ then takes a little of the pulse from off the head of the Maṭṭiwâ, and puts it into the holes in the piece of wood, saying "I have taken from the Maṭṭiwâ's head the village ghost, and am now shutting it up in the holes in the wood from whence he can never again escape to injure the villages, their crops or cattle." This piece of wood is then buried under the platform, and the village is supposed to be safe in future.

The ceremony is ended by the Dihbandhwâ rolling on the ground. The villagers then put a mortar used for husking rice (*okhli*) on his chest, and pound bricks in it to dust for some time with a pestle. My informants could not explain the meaning of this part of the ceremony. It is probably an emblem of some kind of vicarious crushing or bruising administered to the obnoxious ghost through his representative the Dihbandhwâ. The phrase expressing the completion of the exorcism is *dihbándhwá gáyá*, "the village ghost has been tied up." In many cases the Dihbandhwâ is the common local "medicine man" who looks after cases of sorcery, possession by the devil, evil eye, etc. Often, however, he has more than a local reputation, and is sent for from a considerable distance to perform this ceremony. He is greatly respected by the old women who are the reputed witches of the neighbourhood, and on these occasions they make him presents in order that he may refrain from charging them in such cases. These local ghosts are worshipped in Sâwan (July–August). Sweetmeats and cakes cooked in butter are offered on the ghost's platform, and it is adorned with flowers. The ceremony is clearly non-Aryan, and is analogous in many respects to the exorcisms performed by the *parihar* or "medicine men" of the Gonds in Central India. William Crooke, C.S.

Awagarh, N. W. P., 9th June 1881.

CURIOUS CUSTOMS IN KURDISTÂN.

Eight miles north-east of Kuchan, on the top of an outlying spur of the northern hills, is an ancient domed tomb, said to be that of the brother of Imâm Riza. Within eyeshot of this tomb, at different points of the road, are those piles of stone which have been accumulated during cen-

turies, each true believer who passes being obliged to add a stone to the heap by way of saluting the tomb, saying *salâm*, as the expression is. These hills were once thickly clothed with forest growth, of which traces still remain. One of these is a *lignum vitæ* tree, of great age. Local tradition states that it has been known for the last five hundred years. It is an object of special reverence among the Kurd villagers, who consider it endowed with supernatural attributes. They say that a man who once set about cutting off some branches for firewood died instantly. All around it are piles of stones, similar to those within view of the old tomb, and each peasant who passes, not satisfied with saying *salâm*, by the stone-placing process, also attaches to the branches a small fragment of his garments, which latter are generally in a condition eminently adapted for procuring small morsels without unnecessary tearing. This seems to be a universal Kurd custom. In the Kurd districts of Anatolia I have frequently noticed rose-bushes thus covered with fragments of rag, forcibly reminding me of the similar custom in the south and west of Ireland in the vicinity of holy wells.

Another singular superstition to be found in the locality relates to the small boulders of blue limestone, which occur in great numbers on the hill slopes and strewn along the road. They are all supposed to be going in the direction of the shrine of Imâm Riza at Meshd, irresistibly drawn thither by the exceeding sanctity of the place. During six days of the week they are said to remain motionless, but after sunset on Friday night they commence moving slowly, and continue to do so until sunrise. Some of these boulders, from a foot to eighteen inches in diameter and of a more or less spherical form, are quite polished on their surface, as if by constant handling, and I have no doubt they are frequently helped in their pious journey by the hands of devout persons. At Meshd there is a pile of such stones within the precincts of the mosque, and, as my informant told me, "each one as it arrives is added to the heap."—*Correspondent, Daily News.*

NOTE ON MALIK-UL-MAUT.

The third story of the collection of Panjâb Folk-Tales (*ante*, vol. IX, p. 209) is regarding "The Lord of Death," M a l i k-u l-M a u t or K â l, as he is called in the Panjâb. In my notes I have merely remarked that he is a common object of belief, and as far as I can ascertain there is very little known about him. The belief in him, however, is universal, and the present note is made in the hope of obtaining information regarding him from other places. The name K â l is known all over Northern India to represent "death" or the "angel of death," but does not appear to be mythological, being rather a Hindu appropriation of the Musalman Malik-ul-Maut. K â l a is apparently Chronos, Time, and also a mythological name for Y â m a, the Lord of the Dead, Jam as he is called in the Panjâb, but also Kâl Bhagwân in this connection; and it would seem that the usage of Kâl to represent the Lord of Death arose from a popular confusion of the senses of Kâla.

The word or rather phrase M a l i k-u l-M a u t is of course entirely Arabic, and if Kâl represents him and not he Kâl, the introduction of the belief into the Panjâb is therefore presumably Musalman, but the belief is by no means limited to the Musalmans, as the following incident will show.

I went to see the wind-up of the Dasahrâ festival in the city of Firozpûr a short time ago. The play being enacted was the story of Râmachandra rescuing his wife Sîtâ from the clutches of Râwan. Râwan was represented by an enormous figure some 30 feet high, his younger brother Kumbha Karṇa by another somewhat smaller, and his wives by figures some 12 or 14 feet high standing behind what represented a castellated wall, which was meant for Lanka. Râmachandra and Lakshmaṇ were represented by two boys about 10 years of age, sons of Brahmaṇs, who were covered from head to foot with saffron, and were followed by a ragged following of boys and young men dressed as much as possible in crimson who represented Râmachandra's "army." On the opposite side was Râwan's army equally ragged and dressed in dark blue. Sîtâ, a frightened-looking little Brahmaṇ girl about 10 years old, and covered with saffron, sat at a safe distance behind Râwan's army attended by her "court," a miscellaneous collection of children of her own age, waiting for Râmachandra's victory. Râmachandra and Lakshmaṇ joined issue with Râwan, and both attacked one of his champions (name not given), and after some sparring with swords knocked him over, whereupon their army amid a good deal of screaming obtained the victory and rushed off to rescue Sîtâ. About this period the figures of Râwan, &c. made of bambus and paper (very palpably so) were begun to be burnt. Lanka and the wives went first and then Râwan's brother. Râwan himself was to go last at sunset, but as he could be only wounded in the neck, the difficulty was overcome by firing him by a slow-match attached to it. The spark as it proceeded up his enormous body was watched with breathless interest, until it reached the vulnerable spot, when his head suddenly went off with a great banging, as it was filled with fireworks (!), to the great joy of the multitude. The interest of the day was then over, and the people collected (some 10,000) began to disperse,

and in the crowd I saw our hero Râmachandra and Lakshman and the heroine Sîtâ being carried away on men's shoulders like tired children, as no doubt they were.

The whole affair was of course conducted with that marvellous incongruity and that want of the sense of the fitness of things which characterise the natives of India. Râwan was fired by means of a bambu imitation of the modern field gun and carriage (!), and the play was conducted as usual in the midst of the crowd, and anyhow. I saw the Tahsîldâr, himself a Hindu, quietly stop the "fight" because it began a little too early, and the Police Inspector (now a Tahsîldâr) showed Râmachandra how to use his sword so as to wound Râwan's champion. Nevertheless Râmachandra and his brother were quite the heroes of the hour, and their feet were touched by any Hindu who happened to stumble against them. The main attractions to the crowd apparently were the noise, the smoke, and the fireworks, and I do not think one in a thousand either understood or cared to find out what was supposed to be going on.

But to return to Malik-ul-Maut or Kâl and the part played by him in this remarkable "play." The promoters of the spectacle had procured a hunchbacked dwarf about three feet high, whom they had painted perfectly black except as to his lips, which were painted a bright scarlet; round his waist was fastened a black chain some three feet long, and in his hands was a black staff about five feet long, which he kept twirling about. He was attended by keepers, one of whom kept the chain in his hand. He danced and jumped about incessantly, rolling his blood-shot eyes and head in a half drunken fashion, and looked as little like a human being as he well could,—the keeper and chain adding to the delusion. This was Kâl or Malik-ul-Maut, in this particular case the Lord of *Râwan's* death, and the meaning of the chain was that until he was unbound Râwan could not die.

It appears that every human being has his own Malik-ul-Maut, who remains bound until the fated hour of death arrives. Our monkey-like dwarf showed his humanity in one point. He kept on dancing in front of me, aiming his staff at me in a threatening manner until I gave him a rupee, which I was told was what he wanted, when he solemnly repeated some *blessings* over me, which were evidently meant as intercessions for a long life.

Now the Dasahrâ is a distinctly Hindu festival, and we have the curious spectacle of a belief which has a probably Muhammadan origin playing an important part in a play representing an incident of Hindu mythology. The Brahmans and pandits (save the mark !) who were present, and explained matters to me, spoke as naturally and unconcernedly of Malik-ul-Maut, using the words, as they did of Râmachandra and Sîtâ. The whole incident confirms what I have frequently said elsewhere, that in the Panjâb at any rate (and I believe elsewhere in India[1]) Hinduism and Muhammadanism are not broadly distinguishable, the followers of either religion believing in the superstitions of the other; for instance, as far as I can understand, there is no difference in the Panjâb between the cultus of Waran (Varuṇa) and that of Khizar—both are *gods* of the water. Again *Rabb*, *Arabic* for God, is used by *Hindus*, thus a Hindu Jaṭṭ (Kamboh) prisoner said to me in Court one day when hard pressed for an answer, "*Rabb ne 'aqal mârâ,*" *God* made me a fool. Even if Kâl as the "Angel of Death" has not sprung from Malik-ul-Maut, as above supposed, since Kâla is an ancient name for "death," yet the Hindu and Muhammadan words are now synonymous for one and the same object of belief.

R. C. Temple.

COINS OF KHARIBAÊL.

Major W. F. Prideaux has described to the Bengal Asiatic Society two Himyaritic coins which he received from 'Âden in 1880, and which he ascribes to Kharibaêl, who is mentioned in the *Periplus of the Ærythræan Sea*[2] as sovereign of the contiguous tribes of the Homerites and Sabæans, and on terms of friendly alliance with the Roman emperors. This monarch was probably identical with the Himyaritic king Kariba-êl Wattar Yehan'am, whose name appears on three of the inscriptions discovered by M. Arnaud in the neighbourhood of Mârib in 1843, as well as on these coins.[3]

ANCIENT REMAINS IN CENTRAL ASIA.

In the midst of the village of Aradan stands an edifice which at once gives the cue to the original use of the mounds one sees all over this part of the country, and which at intervals occur in great numbers up to the banks of the Attarek. Out in these plains, where there are no natural elevations, it was found necessary for defensive purposes to erect these earth heaps on which to rear castles and citadels, especially in districts like these, open to the sudden attacks of the nomads of the desert. The castle of Aradan is the first of the kind which I have seen in a perfect condition and in actual use. The mound is about

[1] Mr. Grierson assures me it is the case in Tirhût.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. IX, pp. 108, 118, 130-134, 333.
[3] *Proc. As. Soc. Beng.* 1881, p. 52.

seventy yards in length by fifty in breadth. Its sides are very nearly vertical, and almost in line with the walls of the fortalice which crowns its summit. The height of the entire structure cannot be under seventy or eighty feet. The revetment of the mound and the walls of the castle are of unbaked brick, plastered over with fine loam, almost as hard as Roman cement and of a reddish ochreous hue. The whole thing is a composite structure of square and half-round towers clinging together and having two irregular tiers of windows and loopholes, and seemingly constructed at different dates, and without following any definite plan or design, and closely resembling some of those mediæval feudal strongholds one sees crowning rock summits in Western Europe. Battlements and bartizans crowd along the walls, and within them is caught a view of terraces, arched arcades, stairs heaped together in the most incongruous fashion, the entire combination as romantically picturesque as it is possible to imagine. Access is given to the interior by steep stairs within the walls, the entrance small, and well guarded by towers and outworks. In the base of the mound are to be seen cave-like openings which are used as stables, and probably as places of refuge for flocks during a hostile incursion. Within sight of Aradan are several similar structures scattered over the plain, some of them quite perfect; others half ruined, but still inhabited; and others again quite fallen into decay, a few crumbling walls only remaining to show that a fortification once crowned the mound whose sides, no longer vertical, have assumed a slope of forty-five degrees, partly from atmospheric influences, and partly through the accumulation of the wall materials along their base. All of them, however, stand in the midst of large and populous villages, and clearly indicate the nature of the grass-grown earth heaps one constantly meets with, standing mournfully alone in the silent uncultivated wastes, where not a scrap of wall or tower remains to tell either of fortalice or of village. Those mounds, we find standing along the Attarek and Giurgen, were unquestionably erected with the same object as those I have just described; and their number and extent tell plainly how populous were once what are now the vast, grim solitudes of the Turkoman deserts. That every vestige of village and fort should have disappeared indicates that both were in remote time constructed of unbaked brick or mud, as in Persia to-day. It is only on those of very large size, and occurring in the irregular line reaching from Gumuche Tepê to Budjnurd that remains of the ancient works known as "Alexander's Wall" are to be found, in the shape of the large heavy burnt bricks which strew their bases or mark the track of the ancient ramparts.—*Correspondent, Daily News.*

THE MYTH OF THE SIRENS—JÁTAKA STORIES.

I.[1]

One of the most familiar of the Homeric legends is that which celebrates the charms of the dangerous Sirens. The wise Ulysses is thus warned by Circe to beware of their allurements:—

"Next where the Sirens dwell you plough the seas :
Their song is death and makes destruction please.
Unblessed the man whom music wins to stay
Near the curs'd shore, and listen to the lay :
No more the wretch shall view the joys of life,
His blooming offspring or his beauteous wife !
In verdant meads they sport, and wide around
Lie human bones that whiten all the ground ;
The ground polluted floats with human gore,
And human carnage taints the dreadful shore."

This passage has been interpreted by Etty in a magnificent painting, with which most of us are familiar, and of which this city may be proud to be the home.

The Sirens are described by Homer as possessing a power of enchantment in their song, as having a malevolent delight in the death of man, and an ogre-like taste for human flesh and blood. Ulysses escaped their dangerous influence by filling the ears of his companions with wax and by causing himself to be lashed to the mast when the vessel approached the dangerous coast whence floated the seductive song of the Sirens. By the classical writers the Sirens were often described as bird-like creaures—sometimes as winged women, and at other times as birds with human heads. From this and the etymological indications supplied by their name, Mr. Postgate asks,—

"Are we, then, to suppose that this beautiful myth arose from the concurrence of two circumstances on an actual voyage—the singing of birds in the woods of a desert island, and strong currents setting towards its shore and compelling sailors to lean to their oars if they would escape the shipwreck of their predecessors ?"[2]

Without attempting any judgment on this terribly rationalistic suggestion, it may be worth while to point out some hitherto unnoticed analogies to the classical myth which are to be found in the early art and literature of the Buddhists. Thus, in many of the paintings at Börö Boedoer, in Java, we have the figures of the bird-women. In plate civ. of the great work of

[1] From *The Academy*, Aug. 13, 1881, pp. 120, 121.
[2] *Journal of Philology*, vol. ix., p. 112, art. "A Philological Examination of the Myth of the Sirens," by J. P. Postgate.

Wilsen, Brumond, and Leemens we have what the authors style two of these "celestial gandharvîs, beings half-women, half-birds," whose music has attracted the attention of a princely traveller and his suite.[3]

Still more curious is the story of the five hundred merchants, translated from the Chinese by the Rev. Samuel Beal. It narrates the history of five hundred merchants who, under a wise leader, determine on a sea voyage to increase their wealth. They are wrecked on the shores of a land inhabited by Rakshasîs, or demons.

"Now, the Rakshasîs, having perceived the disaster and the fate of the five hundred merchants, hastened with all speed to the place, intending to rescue the men and enjoy their company for a time, and then to enclose them in an iron city belonging to them, and there devour them at leisure."

Having transformed themselves from their real shape as hideous ogres into the most lovely women, they first rescued the distressed voyagers, and then cried,

"'Welcome, welcome, dear youths! whence have ye come so far? But, now ye are here, let us be happy. Be ye our husbands, and we will be your wives! We have no one here to love or cherish us; be ye our lords to drive away sorrow, to dispel our grief! Come, lovely youths! come to our houses, well adorned and fully supplied with every necessary; hasten with us to share in the joys of mutual love.'"

The merchants, after a period in which to lament for their lost land, responded to these liberal offers. Time passed pleasantly enough, but the suspicions of the chief merchant were aroused by the circumstance that the women always exhorted their husbands to avoid a certain part at the south of the city. Of course he took the first opportunity of visiting the forbidden locality, and there found a number of victims of the Rakshasîs still alive, and many more dead, dismembered and mutilated as though gnawed by wild beasts. The unfortunate captives told him that they also had been the lovers of the demon women, who for a time seem to love their companions, but all the while live on human flesh. The chief merchant asks if there is any chance of escape, and is told that once in each year the Horse-King K e s i visits the shore and cries aloud, "Whoever wishes to cross over the great salt sea, I will convey him over." The chief merchant resolves upon escape, and when the Horse-King appears his aid is invoked. He invites them to mount upon his back.

"Then, mounting into the air, he flew away like the wind. Meantime, the Rakshasîs, hearing the thunder voice of the Horse-King, suddenly awaking from their slumber and missing their companions, after looking on every side at last perceived afar off the merchants mounted on the Horse-King, clinging to his hair, and holding fast in every way, as they journey through the air. Seeing this, each seized her child, and hurrying down to the shore, uttered piteous cries, and said: 'Alas! alas! dear masters! why are you about to leave us desolate?—whither are you going? Beware, dear ones, of the dangers of the sea. Remember your former mishap. Why do you leave us thus? What pain have we caused you? Have you not had your fill of pleasure? Have we not been loving wives? Then why so basely desert us? Return, dear youths, to your children and your wives!' But all their entreaties were in vain, and the Horse-King soon carried those five hundred merchants back to the welcome shore they had left, across the waves of the briny sea."[4]

This story is translated by Mr. Beal from the Chinese version of the *Abinishkramana Sûtra*, which was done into that language by Djnanakuta, a Buddhist priest from North India, who lived in China about the end of the sixth century of our era. This, however, affords no clue as to the antiquity of the story itself. The Horse-King is referred to in the *Vishṇu Purâṇa* and in the *Prem-Sagar*. Whatever its date may be, the story seems to deserve attention as a curious and close analogue to the Homeric myth of the Sirens.

William E. A. Axon.

II.[5]

The story of the five hundred merchants and the *rakkhasîs*, translated by Prof. Beal from the "Chinese-Sanskrit," and quoted by Mr. Axon in his interesting communication, is a veritable *jâtaka* tale, the Pâli text of which is printed in Fausböll's *Jâtaka*, vol. ii., p. 127, under the title of the *Valâhassa-jâtaka* (= Cloud-horse jâtaka). It is much shorter than the Chinese version. The scene of the Pâli story is laid in the city of S i r î s a v a t t h u in Ceylon (Tambapannidîpo). The introduction to the *Valâhassa jâtaka* is altogether different to that given by Prof. Beal.

In the *Jâtaka* story Buddha is represented as admonishing one of his disciples who was desirous of returning again to the lay state, having fallen a captive to the charms of a certain woman he had seen. The naughty "brother" is told that women who, by their arts, cause men to lose their virtue or their wealth are *yakkhinis*, that by their

[3] *Börö Boudour*, par Wilsen, Brumond et Leemens (Leide, 1874), p. 183.

[4] *Romantic Legend of Sakya Buddha*, by Samuel Beal (London, 1875), p. 339.

[5] From *The Academy*, Aug. 27, 1881, p. 161.

blandishments get men into their power and eat them. In the Chinese version five hundred men escape by means of the horse K e s i, but in the Pâli story only half this number are rescued by the Bodhisat under the form of a "white horse."

The moral of the Pâli story is this, that those who follow not the Buddha's advice will come to grief just as those merchants did who were eaten by *rakkhasís*; but those who take advice will safely reach the further shore (*Nirvâṇa*), as the merchants did by means of the white horse (*valâha*).

Valâha (though not registered by Childers) is a horse, and, in mythology, one of the horses of Vishṇu. The epithets applied to it are *sabbasseto, kâkasíso,* and *muñjakeso.*

This *jâtaka* contains one or two contributions to Pâli lexicography:—

1. *Kutta* (in *itthi kutta vilâsehi*), p. 127, l. 16; *itthi kuttena, ibid.*, l. 19.

2. *Murumurâpetvâ*, p. 127, l. 22. At first sight this word looks like a causative of the root *mṛi* (*cf.* the Vedic form *mumurat* = *mârayatu*), but a closer examination of the passage in which it occurs leads me to consider it as a kind of denominative verb of onomatopoetic origin, like our words *munch, chump, crunch,* &c. In Marâṭhî *muramura* = muttering, grumbling, and this seems to be a prâkritised form of the Sanskrit *murmura*, which in Pâli would become *muramura* or *mummura*. The Sanskrit word means "a fire made of chaff;" curiously enough, in the second volume of Fausböll's *Jâtaka*, ii., p. 134, ll. 2, 8, the form *mummura* (not in Childers) actually occurs in the sense of *kukkula* = Sanskrit *kukkuṭa* = the hot ashes or embers of burning chaff or straw (*cf.* Marâṭhî *mumbara, mumara, mumûra,* embers). In Hindî *muramurâ* signifies rice pressed flat and eaten raw; in Marâṭhî it means parched rice, imitative of the sound made in crunching such food.

While on the subject of *Jâtakas*, it may not be out of place to note that Mr. Beal's *Romantic History of Buddha* contains several birth-stories. The Foolish Dragon, p. 231, will be found in Fausböll's *Jâtaka*, vol. i., pp. 158, 278. The Merchant who struck his Mother, p. 342,[6] is perhaps to be identified with *Jâtaka* No. 82.

As the Index to Mr. Beal's interesting work is very imperfect, I here append a list of what seem to be "birth-stories":—

R. Morris.

Wood Green, N.: Aug. 22, 1881.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

8. Brahmani Duck.—Lieut. R. C. Temple in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IX (Sept. 1880), p. 230, makes some enquiries about the Brâhmani Duck. Is not the name due simply to the fact that the bird is the vehicle of Brahma from which he is called *Hansa vâhana*? The word *hansa* is rather vague, meaning now swan, now duck (*anas, anser*), now goose, now *phœnicopterus* (*vide* De Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, vol. II, p. 306ff.) I suppose the title of Brahma's Duck was restricted to the familiar *chakwa-chakwi*, partly from its frequenting the sacred rivers of Upper India and partly from its melancholy note.

William Crooke, C. S.

BOOK NOTICES.

The Mesnavî of Mevlânâ Jelâl-ud-dîn Muhammed er-Rûmî, Book I. Translated by James W. Redhouse, M.R.A.S. London: Trübner & Co. 1881.

The readers of the *Indian Antiquary* will remember that several fine episodes from this, the greatest of all Persian poems, have appeared from time to time in its former volumes; and all who are interested in Persian literature must rejoice that an English translation of the first book has at last been printed. We only regret that the learned translator has given himself the extra trouble of putting it into a rhymed dress, when he expressly tells us that he has never practised the art of metrical composition. A plain unaffected version in prose would at any rate have given a faithful transcript of the original; and the poetical reader would have instinctively clothed the bare skeleton in some more or less appropriate ideal form. As it is, a misleading dress is now arbitrarily imposed on the original thoughts; they are not only stripped of their native beauty

[6] See Tawney's *Kathâ-sarit-sâgara*, p. 555, and the *Ind. Antiquary*, vol. IX, p. 224.

and dignity,—they are rendered into awkward English rhymes, and forced and sometimes ludicrous constructions, which convey to the English reader a totally erroneous idea of the sublimity and endless variety of the original. We hope Mr. Redhouse will give us the second book in *prose*; it would certainly be more appropriate than his present inartistic rhymes, and, as Oldbuck said to Lovell in favour of blank verse for his epic, "it is, I have an idea, more easily written!"

Jelâl-ud-dîn Rûmî, the author of the Mesnavî, (A. D. 1204-1273), is the only Persian poet who seems to rise above his age and country, and to have something cosmopolitan in his genius; Sir W. Jones was not far wrong when he said that he could be only compared to Chaucer or Shakespeare. He possessed humour as well as pathos and sublimity; so that, in reading his long poem, we are continually delighted by the ever-varying colours of the web, in which, like the lady of Shalott, he weaves the 'magic sights' of his genius' mystic mirror. The external form of the poem is an endless series of apologues which are continually interrupted by digressions of Sûfî philosophy. Fine thoughts and original comparisons are scattered everywhere with no sparing hand; and the didactic portions are a mine of mystical lore for all who are interested in Oriental theosophy. The general reader will be more interested in the apologues themselves, as the stories are often striking and new, and they are always adorned with all the splendour of their author's fervid imagination.

I do not know how far these stories have been examined as supplying materials for the investigation of the history of folk-lore. In the *Cambridge Journal of Philology* (No. 12) for 1876 I pointed out a parallel to a legend current in Norfolk and in Holland in the 15th century, which described a man who was directed by a dream to go to a certain place where he would hear tidings of a buried treasure, and was eventually sent back to find it in his own home. Jelâl-ud-dîn tells the tale of a man of Baghdad, who is directed by his dream to Cairo, and there meets with a watchman in the street who had dreamed that he too would find a treasure if he went to a certain house in a certain street of Baghdad; and of course it is the man's own house. Of one or two I have found traces as *haggâdahs* in the Babylonian Talmud; and I have no doubt any one whose reading lay especially in this direction would make some interesting discoveries connected with the history of popular tales, and their migration from the East to the West.

Mr. Redhouse's translation, as far as I have compared it with the original, appears to be careful and accurate. He does not mention what edition or commentary he used, which sometimes one cannot but regret, as occasionally doubts arise as to the exact reading followed in the translation. He does not appear to know of the excellent edition and commentary published by Nawal Kishor of Laknau; or he would hardly have stated, in reference to the phrase in the author's preface, "I was a Kurd one evening and was an Arabian in the morning" (which also occurs in the 14th tale), that "I have not met with an explanation of this expression"; as it is fully explained by a legend given at length in the Laknau edition.

E. B. Cowell.

The Sacred Laws of the Âryas, as taught in the Schools of Âpastamba, Gautama, Vâsishṭha and Baudhâyana. Translated by Georg Bühler. Part I, Âpastamba and Gautama. Vol. II of the Sacred Books of the East, edited by Professor Max Müller. Oxford: 1879.

Though the *Dharmasûtra* of Âpastamba has long been accessible to Sanskrit scholars through the medium of Dr. Bühler's excellent edition of the text and of copious extracts from the old Commentary of Haradatta, it is not the general reader only who will feel obliged to Dr. Bühler for having translated it into English. The very peculiar style and apparently ante-Pâṇinian language of Âpastamba's aphorisms on the sacred law, while rendering their study highly useful for the purposes of lexicography, and clearing them from the suspicion of having been tampered with by interpolators, must cause even the specialist to welcome the appearance of an English translation, especially as it comes from the pen of the first authority on the subject.

The importance of Âpastamba's aphorisms for the history of Hindu law and usage cannot be rated too highly. They afford a clear insight into what the Hindu law-books were, before they had been converted from manuals composed and studied by the Vedic schools into law-codes of general authority, whose composition was attributed to the Vedic Ṛishis and other mythical personages. There exists moreover no other Indian work on law, in which may be studied to equal advantage the growth and constitution of the Brâhmanical schools of law, the character of the relations between teacher and pupil, the Brâhmanical method of instruction and education, from their way of arguing (*vide* e. g. the curious story of Dharmaprahâdana and Kumâlana, p. 98) down to the smallest details of their daily life, and the gradual rise of conflicting opinions regarding the sacred law. Those few other *Dharmasûtras* even, which besides the *Âpastamba Sûtra* have come down to the present time, have not been preserved intact like the latter, but have been exposed to more or less considerable alterations and interpolations. The

thorough integrity of Âpastamba's law-book is proved equally by its language and by its contents. There is about it a unity of plan and character, and at the same time a fresh individuality, vainly sought for in other law-books. The inconsistencies so frequently met with in the code of Manu and other metrical *Smṛitis* are mostly due to the fact that they were compiled at a time when both the customs and practices of the earliest period of Indian history and the criticisms passed on them in a later and more advanced period, had been invested alike with a character of sacredness. The author of the *Dharmasûtra* under notice does not claim for his own composition the character of an inspired work, but neither does he consider himself bound to declare his implicit adherence to the doctrines and practices of a former age. On the contrary, he condemns the ancient practice of the appointment (*Niyoga*) of childless widows for the purpose of obtaining issue for their deceased husbands, and the custom of recognizing as legitimate substitutes for a son of the body even the illegitimate sons of wives and daughters, and sons acquired by purchase. Âpastamba goes the length of taxing the ancient sages with transgression of the law and violence, and of asserting that their deeds, though attended by no evil consequences for themselves, "on account of the greatness of their lustre," must not by any means be imitated in the present age of the world.

The fact that Âpastamba styles himself a child of the present age of sin (*Kali Yuga*), which is separated by a wide gulf from the happy times in which the Ṛishi authors of the *Vedas* were born, might be considered as indicative of a modern date for its composition. But the mass of evidence collected by Dr. Bühler in his able Introduction points in the opposite direction, and renders it highly probable that the aphorisms ascribed to Âpastamba were composed as far back as the fourth or fifth century B. C. in the Ândhra country in South India (between the Godâvarî and Kṛishṇâ rivers). In trying to state briefly the arguments which have led to this result, we should hardly be able to do justice to Dr. Bühler's carefully balanced remarks on such a delicate subject as the determination of the date of a *Smṛiti* must needs be. It may not be out of place, however, to mention some of the leading features of his argument, viz., an inquiry into the relation of Âpastamba's *Dharmasûtra* to the other works attributed to the same author, and of the Âpastamba school to the other schools studying the *Black Yajurveda*; an examination of the quotations from, and references to, Vedic and post-Vedic works to be met with in the *Dharmasûtra*; the present and former seats of the Âpastambas, as deducible from Dr. Bühler's personal observation, from inscriptions, from later literature, and from Âpastamba's own remarks; and a consideration of the archaisms preserved in his language. Many other subjects of importance are treated incidentally in the Introduction, e. g. the geographical distribution of the *Vedas* and Vedic schools over India; the early history of the *Purâṇas*, the age of Brâhmaṇical civilisation in South India, the law of primogeniture, custom of *Niyoga*, and other points connected with the law of inheritance, &c.

The *Dharmaśâstra* attributed to Gautama, the second work translated in the volume under notice, unlike Âpastamba's *Dharmasûtra*, has not come down to the present time as an integral part of a body of Vedic *Sûtras*; but, as in the case of the Vishṇu and Vasishṭha *Smṛitis*, its original connexion with a Vedic school may be proved by internal and circumstantial evidence. Gautama's work is considerably shorter than Âpastamba's, and far less rich than the latter in rules not found elsewhere; the interesting rule (III., 13) that a wandering ascetic must not change his residence during the rainy season, is common to Gautama and Baudhâyana. It shows, as has been pointed out by Dr. Bühler, that the Buddhist and Jain *Vasso*, or residence in monasteries during the rainy reason, must have been derived from a Brâhmaṇical source. The chief importance of the *Gautama Smṛiti* consists in the fact that, judging from quotations and references, it must be older than any other of the now existing *Dharmasûtras*. The claims to a considerable antiquity which may thus be raised in behalf of Gautama's law-book, might be strengthened by referring to the style of his work, which is entirely in prose, to the characteristic repetition of the last word of each chapter, to the absence of any allusion to the art of writing, whether in the law of evidence or elsewhere, to the view he takes of *Śulka*, as being the price paid for the bride to her family, whereas other *Smṛitis* mention it as a gratification given to the bride by the bridegroom, &c. It is however doubtful whether evidence of this description affords a safe basis for a plausible conjecture regarding the date of the *Gautama Smṛiti*, and Dr. Bühler has perhaps adopted the best course in confining his remarks on the age of that work to the elucidation of its relative antiquity, as compared with the *Dharmasûtras* of Âpastamba, Baudhâyana and Vasishṭha, and to an inquiry into the comparatively slight changes which, along with the modernisation of its language, the contents of the *Gautama Smṛiti* appear to have undergone at the time of its conversion into a law-book.

A comparison of Dr. Bühler's translations of Sanskrit law terms with the English equivalents

given for the same terms in Colebrooke's and Jones's versions, shows that in many cases Dr. Bühler has made a marked advance over his predecessors in that respect. It is hardly necessary to say that the trustworthiness of his translations is on a par with their aptness. He has followed as closely as possible the excellent Sanskrit commentary on both *Smṛitis* by Haradatta, from which the substance of the notes has likewise been mainly taken. It is not often that the correctness of Haradatta's interpretations may be justly called in question. To the instances of this kind noted by Dr. Bühler we should like to add Haradatta's remarks on *Gaut.* XIII, 14-22—"By false evidence concerning small cattle a witness kills ten; (*by false evidence*) regarding cows, horses, &c. (*he kills*) ten times as many." This means according to Haradatta, that a false witness kills ten, &c. of that kind regarding which he has lied. Now the same rules recur in other *Smṛitis*, e. g. *Manu* VIII, 97-100, where both the published Commentary of Kullûka and the unpublished Commentaries of Medhâtithi, Govindarâja and Nârâyaṇa take them to mean, either (1) that a false witness sends a greater or less number of his own relatives to hell, or (2) that he incurs the same guilt as if he had actually killed so and so many relatives. It appears that the commentators give to the first explanation the preference over the second, because as Medhâtithi says, it is an established doctrine, that a man's good or wicked deeds will send his relatives to heaven or hell. The actual prevalence of this doctrine in the *Smṛitis* may be inferred from the future rewards which legitimate marriages are stated to confer on all the relatives of him who gave the bride in marriage; and similar views may be traced in the *Zendavesta*, which contains a passage (*Vendidâd*, IV. 24 seq.) precisely analogous to the passages quoted above from Gautama and Manu. Another mistake on the part of Haradatta has been exposed by Nandapaṇḍita in his Commentary on the *Vishṇusmṛiti* (III, 25). As it concerns a passage in the latter work, it is perhaps permitted to conjecture that a commentary on the *Vishṇusmṛiti* now lost, has to be added to the list of Haradatta's works as given by Dr. Bühler. We must not conclude this notice without adverting to the great value and importance of those references to the analogous or identical passages in other *Smṛitis*, which have been given in the foot-notes.

J. JOLLY.

ANCIENT INDIA AS DESCRIBED BY KTÊSIAS.

BEING A TRANSLATION OF THE ABRIDGMENT OF HIS INDIKA BY PHÔTIOS AND OF THE FRAGMENTS OF THE WORK PRESERVED IN OTHER WRITERS.

BY J. W. McCRINDLE, M.A., LATE PRINCIPAL OF THE GOVERNMENT COLLEGE, PATNA.

INTRODUCTION.

To Ktêsias belongs the distinction of having been the first writer who gave to the Greeks a special treatise on India—a region concerning which they had, before his time, no further knowledge than what was supplied by the few and meagre notices of it which had appeared in the *Geography* of Hêkataios of Milêtos, and in the History of Herodotos.

The *Indika* of Ktêsias, like his other works, has been lost, but, like his great work on the History of Persia, it has been abridged by Phôtios, while several fragments of it have been preserved in the pages of other writers, as for instance Ælian. It was comprised in a single book, and embodied the information which Ktêsias had gathered about India, partly from the reports of Persian officials who had visited that country on the king's service, and partly also perhaps from the reports of Indians themselves, who in those days were occasionally to be seen at the Persian Court, whither they resorted, either as merchants, or as envoys bringing presents and tribute from the princes of Northern India, which was then subject to Persian rule. Ktêsias unfortunately was not only a great lover of the marvellous, but also singularly deficient, for one of his profession, in critical acumen. He took, therefore, no pains to sift the accounts which were communicated to him, and the book which he gave to the world, instead of being, what a careful enquirer with his advantages might have made it—a valuable repertory of facts concerning India and its people, seemed to be little else than a tissue of fables and of absurd perversions or exaggerations of the truth, and was condemned as such, not only by the consentient voice of antiquity, but also by the generality of the learned in modern times. The work was nevertheless popular, and in spite of its infirm credit, was frequently cited by subsequent writers. Its 'tales of wonder' fascinated the credulous, while its style, which was remarkable alike for its ease, sweetness, and perspicuity, recommended it to readers of every stamp.[1] It

[1] Ktêsias, though a Dorian, used many Ionic forms and modes of expression, and these more in the *Indika* than in the *Persika*. His style is praised for the qualities mentioned in the text by Phôtios, Dion. Halicarn, and Demet. Phaler, who does not hesitate to speak of him as a poet, the very demiurge of perspicuity (ἐναργείας δημιουργός).

was the only systematic account of India the Greeks possessed till the time of the Makedonian invasion.

We must notice in conclusion the fact, that, as the knowledge of India, and especially of Indian antiquity, has increased, scholars have been led to question the justice of the traditional verdict which condemns Ktêsias as a writer of unscrupulous mendacity. They do not indeed wholly exculpate him, but they have shown that many of his statements, which were once taken to be pure falsehoods, have either certain elements of truth underlying them, or that they originated in misconceptions which were perhaps less wilful than unavoidable. The fabulous races for instance which he has described are found, so far from being fictions of his own invention, to have their exact analogues in monstrous races which are mentioned in the two great national epics and other Brahmanical writings, and which, though therein depicted with every attribute of deformity, were nevertheless, not purely fictitious, but misrepresentations of such aboriginal tribes as offered a stout resistance to their Aryan invaders while still engaged in the task of conquering India.

These moderate views, which have been advocated by such authorities as Heeren, Bähr, C. Müller, Lassen, and others, will no doubt come eventually to be very generally accepted.

As Lassen has devoted one of the leading sections[9] of his great work on Indian Antiquity to an examination of the reports which are yet extant of Ktêsias upon India, and as his review is all but exhaustive, and reflects nearly all the light that learned research has yet been able to throw upon the subject, I have for this reason, as well as with a view to obviate the need which would otherwise occur, of having constant recourse to long foot-notes, thought it advisable to append to the translation of the Greek text a translation of this review. I have appended also a translation of some passages from Indikopleustês, which will serve to illustrate the descriptions given by Ktêsias of certain Indian animals and plants.

THE INDIKA OF KTÊSIAS.

FRAG. I.

Ecloga in Photi, *Bibl.* LXXII, p. 144 seqq.

1. Another work was read—the *Indika* of Ktêsias, contained in a single book wherein the author has made more frequent use of Ionic forms. He reports of the river Indus that, where narrowest, it has a breadth of forty stadia, and where widest of two hundred;[1] and of the Indians themselves that they almost outnumber all other men taken together.[2] He mentions the *skôlex*,[3] a kind of worm bred in the river, this being indeed the only living creature which is found in it. He states that there are no men who live beyond the Indians,[4] and that no rain falls in India[5] but that the country is watered by its river.

2. He notices the *pantarba*,[6] a kind of sealstone, and relates that when sealstones and other costly gems to the number of 477[7] which belonged to the Baktrian merchant, had been flung into the river, this *pantarba* drew them up to itself, all adhering together.

3. He notices also the elephants[8] that demolish walls; the kind of small apes[9] that have tails four cubits long; the cocks that are of extraordinary size;[10] the kind of bird called the parrot[11] and which he thus describes: it has a tongue and voice like the human, is of the size of a hawk, has a red bill, is adorned with a beard of a black colour, while the neck is red like cinnabar, it talks like a man in Indian, but if taught Greek can talk in Greek also.

---

[9] In vol. II., pp. 641 ff. 2nd ed. 1874.

[1] This differs from what Arrian states on the authority of Ktêsias, (see Frag. ii.) Probably Arrian has quoted the sentence more correctly than Photios. And 100 stadia is far enough from the truth. With Ktêsias Conf. Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* II, 18: τόν μὲν δὴ Ἰνδὸν ὧδε ἐπεραιώθησαν, σταδίους μάλιστα τεσσαράκοντα τὸ γὰρ πλώιμον αὐτοῦ τοσοῦτον. See Mannert, *Geogr. d. Gr. u. Rom.* Bd. V, i, p. 74.

[2] Conf. Herodot. III, 94; Strabo II, v. 32.

[3] Conf. § 27, and Frag. xxvi.

[4] Conf. Herodot. III, 98, 105; Strabo II, v, 1, 32.

[5] But conf. Strabo XV, i, 1, 13, 17, 18; Arrian, *Indika*, VI, 4; Philost. *Vit. Apoll.* II, 19; Diodor. II, 36.

[6] Count Weltheim (*Sammlung von Aufsätzen*, &c. Bd. II, p. 163ff.) regards this as the *Hydrophanes* or the changing stone, sun agate, a kind of opal, remarkable for the variety of colours it displays when thrown into water.

[7] So Müller's text, the common reading is 77.

[8] With this compare Frag. iv. below.

[9] This is reconcilable with the accounts of others if for *μικρῶν* we read *μακρῶν*. For Megasthenês also speaks of Indian apes not smaller than large dogs and which have tails of *five* cubits length which answer to the *Mandi* ape or *Simia Faunus*, with the hair on the forehead projecting over the eyes, and the beard white, the body being dark. Vid. Æliani, *Nat. An.* XVII, 39; conf. XVI, 10, and Strabo XV, i, 37:—"The monkeys are larger than the largest dogs . . . their tails are more than two cubits in length."

[10] Conf. Frag. v.c.

[11] Βιττακός: Reland *De Ophir*, p. 184, compares this with the Persian تدک *tedek*. In Arrian, *Ind.* XV, 8, and Ælian, *Nat. An.* XVI, 2 and 15, the bird is called σιττακος. Ælian however elsewhere calls it ψιττακός and so also Diodôros and Pausanias. A feminine form ψιττακή occurs in Arist. *H. An.* VIII, 12. The form in Pliny is *Psittacus*.

4. He notices the fountain[12] which is filled every year with liquid gold, out of which are annually drawn a hundred earthen pitchers filled with the metal. The pitchers must be earthen since the gold when drawn becomes solid, and to get it out the containing vessel must needs be broken in pieces. The fountain is of a square shape, eleven cubits in circumference, and a fathom in depth. Each pitcherful of gold weighs a talent. He notices[13] also the iron found at the bottom of this fountain, adding that he had in his own possession two swords made from this iron, one given to him by the king of Persia,[14] and the other by Parysatis, the mother of that same king. This iron, he says, if fixed in the earth, averts clouds and hail and thunderstorms, and he avers that he had himself twice seen the iron do this, the king on both occasions performing the experiment.[15]

5. We learn further that the dogs of India[16] are of very great size, so that they fight even with the lion;[17] that there are certain high mountains having mines which yield the sardine-stone, and onyxes, and other seal stones;[18] that the heat is excessive, and that the sun appears in India to be ten times larger[19] than in other countries; and that many of the inhabitants are suffocated to death by the heat. Of the sea in India, he says, that it is not less than the sea in Hellas; its surface however for four finger-breadths downward is hot, so that fish cannot live that go near the heated surface, but must confine themselves always to the depths below.

6. He states that the river Indus flows through the level country, and through between the mountains, and that what is called the Indian reed[20] grows along its course, this being so thick that two men could scarcely encompass its stem with their arms, and of a height to equal the mast of a merchant ship of the heaviest burden.[21] Some are of a greater size even than this, though some are of less, as might be expected when the mountain it grows on is of vast range. The reeds are distinguished by sex, some being male, others female. The male reed has no pith, and is exceedingly strong, but the female has a pith.[22]

7. He describes an animal called the *marti khora*,[23] found in India. Its face is like a man's—it is about as big as a lion, and in colour red like cinnabar. It has three rows of teeth—ears like the human—eyes of a pale-blue like the human and a tail like that of the land scorpion, armed with a sting and more than a cubit long.[24] It has besides stings on each side of its tail, and, like the scorpion, is armed with an additional sting on the crown of its head, wherewith it stings any one who goes near it, the wound in all cases proving mortal. If attacked from a distance it defends itself both in front and in rear—in front with its tail, by up-lifting it and darting out the stings, like shafts shot from a bow, and in rear by straightening it out. It can strike to the distance of a hundred feet, and no creature can survive the wound it inflicts save only the elephant. The stings are about a foot in length, and not thicker than the finest thread. The name *martikhora*[25] means in Greek *ἀνθρωποφάγος* (*i.e.* man-eater), and it is so called because it carries off men and devours them, though it no doubt preys upon other animals as well. In fighting it uses not only its stings but also its

[12] Conf. Philostrat. *Vit. Apoll.* III, 45.

[13] The Munich MS. 287, makes this a separate fountain: *ἔστι δὲ ἑτέρα κρίνη* (read *κρήνη*) *ἥτις ἐξάγει σίδηρον.* Conf. Philost. *Vit. Apoll.* III, 45.

[14] Artaxerxes Mnêmôn.

[15] Baehr thinks that Ktêsias here refers to the magnet, the properties of which were not at that time so well known as now.

[16] Conf. Ælian. *Nat. An.* IV, 19; VIII, 1, 9; and Frag. vi, below.

[17] Compare what Ælian (Frag. vi.) says of the dogs of the Kynamolgoi; compare also Strabo, quoting Megasthenes XV, p. 1029, and the account in Curtius (*de Reb. Alex.* IX, i, 31) of an Indian dog attacking a lion.

[18] These mountains have been variously identified with Taurus, with Imaus, with Paropamisus, and with the mountains of Great and Little Bukharia, which stretch through Tibet, and Kaśmîr, but Count Weltheim takes them to be the Bala Ghâts near Bharoch. The Periplûs states that onyxes and other precious stones were found in Ozênê (now Ujjain) and thence sent to Barygaza (Bharûch) for export. The well known Khambây stones come from a neighbouring district.

[19] Strabo III, p. 202, contests this.

[20] Conf. Frag. vii, below.

[21] Lit. of 10,000 talents: or *μυριαμφόρου* (Lobeck, *ad. Phyrn.* p. 662) 60,000 amphoræ. Conf. Frag. vii.

[22] Cf. Theophrastos, *Plant. Histor.* IV, ii, where he states that the male reed is solid, and the female, hollow. Cf. also Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XVI, 36. Sprengel identifies this reed of Ktêsias with the *Bambusa* and *Calamus Rotang* of Linnæus. The same reed is mentioned by Herodotus (III, 98).

[23] See Frags. viii—xi, below.

[24] *μείζω ὑπάρχουσαν πήχεος.* Baehr rightly amends the reading here to *μεῖζον ὑπάρχον ἂν*, which refers the measure to the sting instead of to the tail.

[25] Tychsen says—This is the Persian مرد خور from *mard*, a man and *khorden* to eat: *khor*, the eater, is an abbreviated form of the participle *khordeh*, which is still in use . . . if the final be viewed as a component part of the Persian word, we have only to substitute the participial form مرد خورا *mardikhorâ*, (abbreviated from *mardikhorân*) as Reland has already done (p. 223), and we obtain precisely the same signification. Conf. Frags. viii—xi; also Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* IV, 45.

claws. Fresh stings grow up to replace those shot away in fighting. These animals are numerous in India, and are killed by the natives who hunt them with elephants, from the backs of which they attack them with darts.

8. He describes the Indians as extremely just, and gives an account of their manners and customs. He mentions the sacred spot in the midst of an uninhabited region which they venerate in the name of the Sun and the Moon.[26] It takes one a fifteen days' journey to reach this place from Mount Sardous. Here for the space of five and thirty days the Sun every year cools down to allow his worshippers to celebrate his rites, and return home unscorched by his burning rays.[27] He observes that in India there is neither thunder nor lightning nor rain, but that storms of wind and violent hurricanes which sweep everything before them, are of frequent occurrence. The morning sun produces coolness for one half of the day, but an excessive heat during the other half, and this holds good for most parts of India.[28]

9. It is not, however, by exposure to the sun that the people are swarthy;[29] but by nature, for among the Indians there are both men and women who are as fair as any in the world, though such are no doubt in a minority. He adds that he had himself seen two Indian women and five men of such a fair complexion.[30]

10. Wishing to assure us of the truth of his statement that the sun makes the temperature cool for five and thirty days, he mentions several facts that are equally strange—that the streams of fire which issue from Ætna[31] leave unscathed amidst the surrounding havoc those lands which belong to just men[32]—that in Zakynthos there are fountains with fish whence pitch is taken out[33]—that in Naxos is a fountain which at times discharges a wine of great sweetness,[34] and that the water of the river Phasis likewise, if kept in a vessel for a night and a day, changes into a wine which is also of great sweetness[35]—that near Phasêlis in Lykia there is a perpetual volcano,[36] always flaming on the summit of the rock both by night and by day, and this is not quenched by water, which rather augments the blaze, but by casting rubbish into it[37]—and in like manner, the volcanoes of Ætna and of Prusa keep always burning.[38]

11. He writes that in the middle of India are found the swarthy men called Pygmies,[39] who speak the same language as the other Indians. They are very diminutive, the tallest of them being but two cubits in height, while the majority are only one and a half. They let their hair grow very long—down to their knees, and even lower. They have the largest beards anywhere to be seen, and when these have grown sufficiently long and copious, they no longer wear clothing, but, instead, let the hair of the head fall down their backs far below the knee, while in front are their beards trailing down to their very feet. When their hair has

[26] Weltheim, rejecting the opinion of some that this uninhabited region was the desert of Cobi, takes it to be rather the great desert east of the Indus where the worship of the sun flourished in early times. This desert also was in reality about a fifteen days' journey distant from the mountains which produced the onyx and sardine stones. Lassen has however assigned the locality to the Vindhyas.

[27] *ἵνα μὴ ἄφλεκτοι αὐτὴν τελέσωσι*, lit. *that they may not celebrate his rites unscorched.* As the writer must have meant the opposite of this, φλεκτοὶ must be read instead of *ἄφλεκτοι*.

[28] Conf. Herodot. III, 104.

[29] Conf. Herodot. III, 101; Arrian. *Exp. Alex.* V, 4, 8; but on the contrary, Aristot. *Hist. Anim.* III, 22; *Gener. Anim.* II, 2; Strabo, XV, i, 13, 24.

[30] Possibly from Kâśmir.—J. B.

[31] Conf. Pausan. X, 28, 2; Strabo, VI, 2; Valer. Max. V, 4.

[32] The reference is to *the field of the pious*, *εὐσεβῶν χώρα*, near Catana, the scene of the story regarding the two brothers Amphinomos and Anapos, who saved their parents during an eruption by carrying them off on their shoulders. Vid. Pausan. X. xxviii, 2; Strabo, VI, 2; and Valer. Max. V, 4.

[33] Herodotus (IV. 195) states that he had himself seen this bituminous fountain. It is mentioned by Antigonos; *Hist. Mirabil.* 169; by Dioskor. I, 99; by Vitruv. VIII, 3; and Pliny, XXXV, 15. Their accounts have been verified by modern travellers.

[34] This fountain is mentioned by Stephan. Byz. *s. v.* Naxos,' and a similar one by Pliny. (*Hist. Nat.* II, ciii, 106)—in the island of Andros; Cf. idem. XXXI, ii; and also Philostrat. *Icon.* I, 25.

[35] The waters of the Phasis, according to modern accounts, are lead-coloured, possessed of a healing virtue and held as sacred, perhaps because they were thought by the ancients to have sprung from the gates of the morning sun, and therefore to have formed the dividing line between day and night. Arrian in the *Peripl. Pont. Eux.*, no doubt with an eye to this passage of Ktêsias, says that the water of the Phasis if kept in certain vessels acquired a pleasant vinous taste. V. Ritter, *Erdk.* II. pp. 817 and 915. Conf. Pliny (*H. N.* II. ciii, 106) who says that the water of the Lyncestis in Epirus is somewhat acid, and intoxicates like wine those who drink it.

[36] See Frag. xii, below.

[37] Conf. Frag. xii, A. and B. Beaufort, an English traveller, confirms this statement. He reports that while travelling in the regions nearest the country of the Phaselitae he came upon a place where there was to be seen an ever-burning flame which like the fire of a volcano was inextinguishable. V. Beaufort's *Caramania*, p. 44.

[38] There is a Prusa in Bithynia and another in Mysia, each near a mountain. Strabo, (XII, p. 844 seqq.) mentions both; but as he says nothing of a volcanic mountain in connexion with either, Baehr inclines to think that the reference is to Prusa in the vicinity of Mount Olympus, formerly called Cios, famous for miraculous fountains and things of that sort.

[39] Conf. Homer, *Il.* III, 6; Aristot. *Hist. An.* VIII, 12 and 14; Philostrat. *Vit. Apollon.* III, 47; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* VII, 2; Strabo, *Geog.* XV, i, 57; Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* IX, 4.

thus thickly enveloped their whole body, they bind it round them with a zone, and so make it serve for a garment. Their privates are thick, and so large that they depend even to their ancles. They are moreover snubnosed, and otherwise ill-favoured. Their sheep are of the size of our lambs, and their oxen and asses rather smaller than our rams, which again are as big as their horses and mules and other cattle.[40] Of the Pygmies three thousand men attend the king of the Indians, on account of their great skill in archery. They are eminently just, and have the same laws as the Indians. They hunt hares and foxes not with dogs but with ravens and kites and crows and vultures.[41] In their country is a lake eight hundred stadia in circumference, which produces an oil like our own. If the wind be not blowing, this oil floats upon the surface, and the Pygmies going upon the lake in little boats collect it from amidst the waters in small tubs for *household* use.[42] They use also oil of sêsamum[43] and nut oil, but the lake-oil[44] is the best. The lake has also fish.

12. There is much silver in their part of the country, and the silver-mines though not deep are deeper than those in Baktria. Gold also is a product of India.[45] It is not found in rivers and washed *from the sands* like the gold of the river Paktôlos, but is found on those many high-towering mountains which are inhabited by the Griffins,[46] a race of four-footed birds, about as large as wolves, having legs and claws like those of the lion, and covered all over the body with black feathers except only on the breast where they are red. On account of those birds the gold with which the mountains abound is difficult to be got.

13. The sheep and the goats of the Indians[47] are bigger than asses, and generally produce young by four and by six at a time. The tails grow to such a size that those of the dams must be cut off before the rams can get at them. India does not however produce the pig, either the tame sort or the wild.[48] Palm-trees and their dates are in India[49] thrice the size of those in Babylon,[50] and we learn that there is a certain river flowing with honey out of a rock, like the one we have in our own country.

14. The justice of the Indians, their devotion to their king and their contempt of death are themes on which he loves to expatiate. He notices a fountain having this peculiarity, that when any one draws water from it, the water coagulates like cheese, and should you then detach from the solid lump a piece weighing about three obols, and having triturated this, put the powder into common water, he to whom you give this potion blabs out whatever he has done, for he becomes delirious, and raves like a madman all that day.[51] The king avails himself of this property when he wishes to discover the guilt or innocence of accused persons. Whoever incriminates himself *when undergoing the ordeal* is sentenced to starve himself to death, while he who does not confess to any crime is acquitted.[52]

15. The Indians are not afflicted with headache, or toothache, or ophthalmia, nor have they mouthsores or ulcers in any part of their body. The age to which they live is 120, 130, and 150 years, though the very old live to 200.[53]

16. In their country is a serpent a span long, in appearance like the most beautiful purple with a head perfectly white but without any teeth.[54] The creature is caught on those very hot mountains whose mines yield the sardine-stone. It does not sting, but on whatever part of the body it casts its vomit, that place invariably putrifies. If suspended by the tail, it emits two kinds of poison, one like amber which oozes from it while living, and the other black, which oozes from its carcase. Should about a sesame-seed's bulk of the former be administered to any one, he dies the instant he swallows it, for his brain runs out through his nostrils. If the black sort be given it induces consumption, but operates

[40] See Frag. xii, c.
[41] See Frag. xiii below.
[42] Conf. Frag. xxvii.
[43] See Salmas, *Exerc. Plin.* p. 1033; Sprengel, *Histor. Botan.* vol. I, p. 79; Reynier *de l'Economie publique des Perses*, p. 283.
[44] Antigon, c, 165, in Frag. xxvii, below.
[45] On metals in India, see Heeren, *Asiat. Nat.* vol. II, p. 268.
[46] Γρὺψ, in Persian گرفتن *giriften*, means to gripe or seize and گرف *girif* corresponds well enough with γρὺψ. See Frag. xiv, below, where a fuller account of the *gryphons* is given.
[47] See Frag. xii, below.
[48] See Frag. xv, below; also Frag. xxix, D. Swine, wild and tame, are common enough now in India.
[49] Conf. Palladius *De Brachman.* p. 4.
[50] Regarding the Babylonian palms, vid. Herodot. I, 193; and Diodor. II, 53.
[51] Antigonus Caryst. *Histor. Mirab.* C. 160; Sotion, C. 17; Strabo, XVI, iv, 20.
[52] Conf. Frag. xv, G.
[53] Arrian, *Ind.* 15, 12, and Frag. xxii, C.
[54] See Frag. xvii.

so slowly that death scarcely ensues in less than a year's time.[55]

17. He mentions an Indian bird called the *Dikairon*,[56] a name equivalent in Greek to δίκαιον (*i.e.* just). It is about the size of a partridge's egg. It buries its dung under the earth to prevent its being found. Should it be found notwithstanding, and should a person at morning tide swallow so much of it as would about equal a grain of sêsamum, he falls into a deep unconscious sleep from which he never awakes, but dies at the going down of the sun.[57]

18. In the same country grows what is called the *Parêbon*,[58] a plant about the size of the olive, found only in the royal gardens, producing neither flower nor fruit, but having merely fifteen roots, which grow down into the earth, and are of considerable thickness, the very slenderest being about as thick as one's arm. If a span's length of this root be taken, it attracts to itself all objects brought near it—gold, silver, copper, stones and all things else except amber. If however a cubit's length of it be taken, it attracts lambs and birds, and it is in fact with this root that most kinds of birds are caught. Should you wish to turn water solid, even a whole gallon of it, you have but to throw into the water not more than an obol's weight of this root, and the thing is done. Its effect is the same upon wine which, when condensed by it, can be held in your hand like a piece of wax, though it melts the next day. It is found beneficial in the cure of bowel disorders.

19. Through India there flows a certain river, not of any great size, but only about two stadia in breadth, called in the Indian tongue H y p a r k h o s,[59] which means in Greek φέρων πάντα τα ἀγαθὰ (*i.e.* the bearer of all things good). This river for thirty days in every year floats down amber, for in the upper part of its course where it flows among the mountains there are said to be trees overhanging its current which for thirty days at a particular season in every year continue dropping tears like the almond-tree and the pine-tree and other trees. These tears on dropping into the water harden into gum. The Indian name for the tree is siptakhora,[60] which means when rendered into Greek γλυκύ, ἡδὺ (*i.e.* sweet). These trees then supply the Indians with their amber.[61] And not only so but they are said to yield also berries, which grow in clusters like the grapes of the vine, and have stones as large as the filbert-nuts of Pontos.[62]

20. He writes that on the mountains just spoken of there live men having heads like those of dogs, who wear the skins of wild beasts, and do not use articulate speech, but bark like dogs, and thus converse so as to be understood by each other.[63] They have larger teeth than dogs, and claws like those of dogs, only larger and more rounded. They inhabit the mountains, and extend as far as the river Indus. They are swarthy, and like all the other Indians extremely just men. With the Indians they can hold intercourse, for they understand what they say, though they cannot, it is true, reply to them in words, still by barking and by making signs with their hands and their fingers like the deaf and the dumb, they can make themselves understood. They are called by the Indians *Kalystrioi*, which means in Greek Κυνοκέφαλοι[64] (*i.e.*, dog-headed). Their

[55] Conf. Frag. xvii, also Strabo, XV, i, 37, where, quoting Megasthenes, he speaks of flying serpents that let fall drops which raise putrid sores on the skin.

[56] *Δίκαιρος*: Tychsen compares the word with دی *di*, good, the good principle, and کار *kar*, doing, a participle of the verb کردن *kerden*; the whole then means *benefactor*, and might be supposed to allude to the custom of the bird here mentioned. Bekker reads δίκερον here. See Frag. xviii.

[57] For fuller particulars vide Frag. xviii.

[58] *Πάρηβον* (in Apollonius *παρύβος*,) may be compared with the Persian بار *bâr*, weight, burthen, and آور *âver*, bearing, drawing. This comparison however is rather defective.—Tychsen. See Frag. xix.

[59] *Υπαρχος*: Tychsen adduces the Persian *âver*, bringing, carrying, and خوش *khosh*, good: consequently *âver-khosh*, bringing good, which exactly corresponds with the signification pointed out by Ktêsias. We [illegible] compare برخوش *berkhosh*, good, so that [illegible] in *ὕπαρχος* would be merely euphonic, but [illegible] φέρων would not be expressed. The river is called by Pliny the Hypobarus, vide Frag. xx.

[60] *Σιπταχόρα*: Compare this with the Persian شیفته خور *shiftehkhor*, 'agreeable to eat.' The Persians call an apricot شیفته رنگ *shifteh-reng*, 'agreeable colour.' Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. 2) has 'arbores eas Aphytacoras vocare,' where the word is disfigured.—Tychsen.

[61] *India however does not produce amber, and the tree of* which it is here said to be the gum, cannot be satisfactorily identified. Baehr quotes Pliny XII, ix, 10, as a passage of no small importance for settling the question.

[62] Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* XV, xxii, 24), explains why *Pontic nuts* were so called.

[63] See Frags. xxi and xxii.

[64] Tychsen compares the word with the Persian کلک *kelek* or *keluk*, a wolf, and سر *ser*, the head, *i.e.* *kelu ksar*, 'wolf-headed.' Another word more exactly answering the sound of the Greek would be *Kalusterin*, the superlative of *kalus*, stupid, which would convert the [illegible] ed people into 'blockheads,' but this is not the translation of the name.—Heeren, *Asiat.* p. 364. Vide Frags. xxi, xxii, xxxi.

food is raw flesh. The whole tribe numbers not less than 120,000 men.

21. Near the sources of this river[65] there grows a certain purple flower, which is used for dying purple, and is not inferior to the Greek sort, but even imparts a far more florid hue. In the same parts there is a wild insect about the size of a beetle, red like cinnabar, with legs excessively long. It is as soft as the worm called *skôlex* and is found on the trees which produce amber, eating the fruits of those trees and destroying them, as in Greece the wood-louse ravages the vine-trees. The Indians grind these insects to a powder and therewith dye such robes, tunics, and other vestments as they want to be of a purple hue.[66] Their dye-stuffs are superior to those used by the Persians.

22. The Kynokephaloi living on the mountains do not practise any of the arts but subsist by the produce of the chase. They slaughter the prey, and roast the flesh in the sun. They rear however great numbers of sheep and goats and asses. They drink the milk of the sheep and the whey which is made therefrom. They eat moreover the fruit of the *Siptakhora*—the tree which produces amber, for it is sweet. They also dry this fruit, and pack it in hampers as the Greeks do raisins. The same people construct rafts, and freight them with the hampers as well as with the flowers of the purple plant, after cleansing it, and with 260 talents weight of amber, and a like weight of the pigment which dyes purple, and 1000 talents more of amber. All this cargo, which is the season's produce, they convey annually *as tribute* to the King of the Indians. They take also additional quantities of the same commodities for sale to the Indians, from whom they receive in exchange loaves of bread and flour and cloth which is made from a tree-grown stuff (cotton).[67] They sell also swords such as they use in hunting wild beasts, and bows and javelins, for they are fell marksmen both in shooting with the bow and in hurling the javelin. As they inhabit steep and pathless mountains they cannot possibly be conquered in war, and the king moreover once every five years sends them as presents 300,000 arrows and as many javelins, 120,000 shields and 50,000 swords.

23. These Kynokephaloi have no houses but live in caves. They hunt wild beasts with the bow and the spear, and run so fast that they can overtake them in the chase. Their women bathe once a month at the time of menstruation, and then only. The men do not bathe at all, but merely wash their hands. Thrice a month, however, they anoint themselves with an oil made from milk,[68] and wipe themselves with skins. Skins denuded of the hair, and made thin and soft, constitute the dress both of the men and their wives. Their richest men however use cotton raiment,[69] but the number of such men is small. They have no bed but sleep on a litter of straw or leaves. That man is considered the richest who possesses most sheep, and in property of this sort consists all their wealth. Both men and women have, like dogs, tails above their buttocks but larger and more hairy.[70] They copulate like quadrupeds in dog-fashion, and to copulate otherwise is thought shameful. They are just, and of all men are the longest-lived, attaining the age of 170, and some even of 200 years.

24. Beyond these again are other men who inhabit the country above the sources of the river, who are swarthy like the other Indians, do no work, and neither eat grain nor drink water, but rear a good many cows and goats and sheep, and drink their milk as their sole sustenance. Children are born among them with the anus closed up, and the contents of the bowels are therefore voided, it is said, as urine, this being something like curds, though not at all thick but feculent. When they drink milk in the morning and take another draught at noon, and then immediately after eat a certain sweet-tasted root of indigenous growth which is said to prevent milk from coagulating in the stomach, this root towards evening acts as an emetic, and they vomit up everything quite readily.

25. Among the Indians, he proceeds, there

[65] The Hyparkhos.

[66] It is generally agreed that the cochineal insect is that to which Ktêsias refers, though his description of it is not quite accurate. For fuller particulars vide Frag. xxiii.

[67] See Larcher's Note on Herodot. III, 47; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* XIX, 1; and Frag. xxiv.

[68] Butter; conf. Polyæn. *Strateg.* IV, 3, 32; cf. also *Peripl. Ær. Mar.* § 41, where the same expression occurs.

[69] Curtius, VIII, 9, 21.

[70] Conf. Frag. *i*, section appended to § 33. Malte-Brun considered that this statement had reference to the Ourang-Outang of the Island of Borneo, or perhaps of the Andaman islands.

are wild asses as large as horses, some being even larger.[71] Their head is of a dark red colour, their eyes blue, and the rest of their body white. They have a horn on their forehead, a cubit in length [the filings of this horn, if given in a potion, are an antidote to poisonous drugs]. This horn for about two palm-breadths upwards from the base is of the purest white, where it tapers to a sharp point of a flaming crimson, and, in the middle, is black.[72] These horns are made into drinking cups, and such as drink from them are attacked neither by convulsions nor by the sacred disease (epilepsy). Nay, they are not even affected by poisons, if either before or after swallowing them they drink from these cups wine, water, or anything else. While other asses moreover, whether wild or tame, and indeed all other solid-hoofed animals have neither huckle-bones,[73] nor gall in the liver, these *one-horned* asses[74] have both. Their huckle-bone is the most beautiful of all I have ever seen, and is, in appearance and size, like that of the ox. It is as heavy as lead, and of the colour of cinnabar[75] both on the surface, and all throughout. It is exceedingly fleet and strong, and no creature that pursues it, not even the horse, can overtake it.

26. On first starting it scampers off somewhat leisurely, but the longer it runs, it gallops faster and faster till the pace becomes most furious.[76] These animals therefore can only be caught at one particular time—that is when they lead out their little foals to the pastures in which they roam. They are then hemmed in on all sides by a vast number of hunters mounted on horseback, and being unwilling to escape while leaving their young to perish, stand their ground and fight, and by butting with their horns and kicking and biting kill many horses and men. But they are in the end taken, pierced to death with arrows and spears, for to take them alive is in no way possible. Their flesh being bitter[77] is unfit for food, and they are hunted merely for the sake of their horns and their huckle-bones.[78]

27. He states that there is bred in the Indian river a worm[79] like in appearance to that which is found in the fig, but seven cubits more or less in length, while its thickness is such that a boy ten years old could hardly clasp it within the circuit of his arms. These worms have two teeth—an upper and a lower, with which they seize and devour their prey. In the daytime they remain in the mud at the bottom of the river, but at night they come ashore, and should they fall in with any prey as a cow or a camel, they seize it with their teeth, and having dragged it to the river, there devour it. For catching this worm a large hook is employed, to which a kid or a lamb is fastened by chains of iron. The worm being landed, the captors hang up its carcase, and placing vessels underneath it leave it thus for thirty days. All this time oil drops from it, as much being got as would fill ten Attic *kotylai*. At the end of the thirty days they throw away the worm, and preserving the oil they take it to the king of the Indians, and to him alone, for no subject is allowed to get a drop of it. This oil [like fire] sets everything ablaze over which it is poured and it consumes not alone wood but even animals. The flames can be quenched only by throwing over them a great quantity of clay, and that of a thick consistency.[80]

28. But again there are certain trees in India as tall as the cedar or the cypress, having leaves like those of the date palm, only somewhat broader, but having no shoots sprouting from the stems. They produce a flower like the male laurel, but no fruit. In the Indian language they are called *karpion*, but in Greek *μυροpόδα* (unguent-roses[81]). These trees are scarce.

[71] See Frag. xxv.

[72] Conf. Bruce's account (*Travels*, vol. V, p. 93) who describes its surface as of a reddish-brown.

[73] Ἀστραγάλους, conf. Aristot. *Hist. An.* II, 2, 9.

[74] Tychsen thinks the rhinoceros is here meant, but the colour and other details do not quite agree with that animal. Heeren, *As. Nat.* vol. II, pp. 364 ff.

[75] That is, vermilion.

[76] This is what Bruce relates of the rhinoceros.—*Travels*, vol. V, pp. 97 and 105.

[77] Bruce says it has a disagreeable musky flavour.

[78] Cf. Frag. xxv, and the account of the unicorn in Kosmas Indikopl.; conf. also Aristotle, *de Part. An.* III, 2, and *Hist. Anim.* II, 1; and also Philostrat. *Vit. Apoll.* III, 2 and 3. Ælian's account in the above Frag. of the wild ass may be compared with his account of the *Kartazôn*,—*Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 128.

[79] See § 1, and Frag. xxvi.

[80] Cf. Frag. xxvi, where Ælian gives fuller particulars. A somewhat similar creature is mentioned by Palladius (*de Brachman.* 10) as belonging to the Ganges. He calls it the *Odontotyrranos*.

[81] Baehr thinks this may be the Chetak (*Pandanu odoratisima*), Kaiḍa, or Kyura. Regarding the word *karpion* Dr. Caldwell in the Introduction to his *Dravidian Grammar* thus writes: The earliest Dravidian word in Greek of which we know the date is κάρπιον, Ktêsias's name for cinnamon. Herodotus describes cinnamon as the κάρφεα, which we, after the Phœnicians, call Κιννάμωμον. Liddell and Scott say "this word bears a curious likeness

There oozes from them an oil in drops, which are wiped off from the stem with wool, from which they are afterwards wrung out and received into alabaster boxes of stone. The oil is in colour of a faint red, and of a somewhat thick consistency. Its smell is the sweetest in all the world, and is said to diffuse itself to a distance of five stadia around. The privilege of possessing this perfume belongs only to the king and the members of the royal family. A present of it was sent by the king of the Indians to the king of the Persians, and Ktêsias alleges that he saw it himself, and that it was of such an exquisite fragrance as he could not describe, and he knew nothing whereunto he could liken it.

29. He states that the cheese and the wines of the Indians are the sweetest in the world, adding that he knew this from his own experience, since he had tasted both.

30. There is a fountain[32] among the Indians of a square shape and of about five ells in circumference. The water lodges in a rock. The depth downward till you reach the water is three cubits and the depth of the water itself three *orguiai*. Herein the Indians of highest distinction bathe [both for purification and the averting of diseases] along with their wives and children; they throw themselves into the well foot foremost, and when they leap in the water casts them up again, and not only does it throw up human beings to the surface, but it casts out upon dry land any kind of animal, whether living or dead, and in fact anything else that is cast into it except iron and silver and gold and copper, which all sink to the bottom. The water is intensely cold and sweet to drink. It makes a loud bubbling noise like water boiling in a caldron. Its waters are a cure for leprosy, and scab.[33] In the Indian tongue it is called *Balladê*[34] and in Greek ὠφελίμη (*i. e.* useful).

31. On those Indian mountains where the Indian reed grows, there is a race of men whose number is not less than 30,000, and whose wives bear offspring only once in their whole lifetime. Their children have teeth of perfect whiteness, both the upper set and the under, and the hair both of their head and of their eyebrows is from their very infancy quite hoary, and this whether they be boys or girls. Indeed every man among them till he reaches his thirtieth year has all the hair on his body white, but from that time forward it begins to turn black, and by the time they are sixty, there is not a hair to be seen upon them but what is black. These people, both men and women alike, have eight fingers on each hand, and eight toes on each foot. They are a very warlike people, and five thousand of them armed with bows and spears follow the banners of the King of the Indians. Their ears, he says, are so large that they cover their arms as far as the elbows while at the same time they cover all the back and the one ear touches the other.[35]

32. There is in Ethiopia an animal called properly the *Krokottas*, but vulgarly the *Kynolykos*. It is of prodigious strength, and is said to imitate the human voice, and by night to

to its Arabic name *kerfat, kirfah*." This resemblance must, I think, be accidental, seeing that Herodotus considered 'cinnamon' alone as a foreign word. The word mentioned by Ktêsias seems however to have a real resemblance to the Arabic word and also to a Dravidian one. Ktesias describes an odorous oil produced from an Indian tree having flowers like the laurel, which the Greeks called *μυροροδα*, but which in India was called *κάρπιον*. From Ktêsias's description (making allowance for its exaggerations) it is evident that cinnamon oil was meant, and in this opinion Wahl agrees. Uranius, a writer, quoted by Stephen of Byzantium, mentions *κέρπαθον* as one of the productions of the Abaseni, the Arabian Abyssinians, by which we are doubtless to understand, not so much the products of their country as the articles in which they traded. From the connexion in which it is found *κέρπαθον* would appear to be cinnamon, and we can scarcely err in identifying it with *kerfat* or more properly *kirfah*, one of the names which cinnamon has received in Arabia. Some Arabian scholars derive *kirfah* from *karafa* 'decortavit,' but Mr. Hassoun does not admit this derivation, and considers *kirfah* a foreign word. We are thus brought back to Ktêsias's *κάρπιον*, or the Indian word which *κάρπιὸν* represented. As this is a word of which we know the antiquity, the supposition that the Greeks or the Indians borrowed it from the Arabs is quite inadmissible. What then is the Indian word Ktesias referred to? Not, as has been supposed, *kurundhu*, the Singhalese name for cinnamon derived from the Sanskrit *kurunṭa*, but the Tamil-Malayâlam word *karuppu* or *kârppu*, e. g. *karappa-(t)tailam*, Mal. oil of cinnamon. Other forms of this word are *karappu*, *karuva* and *karuvâ*, the last of which is the most common form in modern Tamil. Rheede refers to this form of the word when he says that "in his time in Malabar oils in high medical estimation were made from both the root and the leaves of the *karua* or wild cinnamon of that country." There are two meanings of *karu* in Tamil-Malayâlam, 'black,' and 'pungent', and the latter doubtless supplies us with the explanation of *karuppu* 'cinnamon'. . . . . I have little doubt that the Sanskrit *karpûra*, 'camphor,' is substantially the same as the Tamil-Malayâlam *karuppu*, and Ktêsias's *κάρπιον*, seeing that it does not seem to have any root in Sanskrit and that camphor and cinnamon are nearly related. The camphor of commerce is from a cinnamon tree, the *camphora officinarum*.

[32] Conf. frag. xxxvii.

[33] Conf. Frag. xxvii.

[34] *Balada* in Sank. means 'giving strength'; and is applied to a bullock, and a medical plant: *baladâ* is the *Physalis flexuosa*.—Ed.

[35] For an account of the various fabulous Indian races mentioned by the classical writers, and for their identification with the races mentioned in Sanskrit writings. see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, pp. 133-135, and footnotes.

call out men by their names, and when they come forth at their call, to *fall upon them* and devour them. This animal has the courage of the lion, the speed of the horse, and the strength of the bull, and cannot be encountered successfully with weapons of steel.[86] In Eubœa about Khalkis the sheep have no gall,[87] and their flesh is so extremely bitter that dogs even will not eat it. They say also that in the parts beyond the Maurusian Straits[88] rain falls in the summer-time, while the same regions are in winter-time scorched with heat. In the country of the Kyônians[89] there is, according to his account, a certain fountain, which instead of water has springs of oil—this oil being used by the people in the neighbourhood for all kinds of food. In the region also called Metadrida there is another fountain, this being at no great distance from the sea. At midnight it swells with the utmost violence, and in receding casts forth fish upon dry land in such quantities that the people of the place cannot gather them, and are obliged to leave them lying rotting on the ground.[90]

33. Ktêsias thus writing and romancing professes that his narrative is all perfect truth, and, to assure us of this, asseverates that he has recorded nothing but what he either saw with his own eyes, or learned from the testimony of credible eye-witnesses. He adds moreover that he has left unnoticed many things far more marvellous than any he has related, lest any one who had not a previous knowledge of the facts might look upon him as an arrant story-teller.

The[91] Sêres[92] and the natives of Upper India are said to be men of huge stature, so that among them are found some who are 13 cubits in height and who also live till they are above 200 years old. There are besides somewhere in the river called the Gaïtês[93] men of a brute-like appearance who have a hide like that of a rhinoceros being quite impervious to darts,[94] while in India itself in the central parts of an island of the ocean the inhabitants are said to have tails of extraordinary length such as satyrs are represented with in pictures.[95]

Frag. II.

From Arrian, *Anab.* Book V. 4, 2.

And Ktêsias (if any one considers him a competent authority) asserts that the distance from the one bank of the Indus to the other where the stream is narrowest is 40 stadia, and where it is widest, so much even as 100 stadia, though its breadth in general is the mean between these two extremes.

Frag. III.

Strabo, *Geog.* Book XV.

From this we can see how greatly the opinions of the others differ, Ktêsias asserting that India is not less than all the rest of Asia, and Onesikritos that, &c.

From the *Indika* of Arrian, 30.

Ktêsias the Knidian states that India is equal to the rest of Asia, but he is wrong.

Frag. IV.

Ælian, *De Nat. Anim.* Book XVII, 29.

When the King of the Indians goes on a campaign, one hundred thousand war-elephants go on before him, while three thousand more, that are of superior size and strength, march, I am told, behind him, these being trained to demolish the walls of the enemy. This they effect by rushing against them at the King's signal, and throwing them down by the overwhelming force with which they press their breasts against them. Ktêsias reports this from hearsay, but adds that with his own eyes he had seen elephants tear up palm trees, roots and all, with like furious violence; and this they do whenever they are instigated to the act by their drivers.[96]

Frag. V.

(A) Aristotle, *De Gener. Anim.* II, 2.

What Ktêsias has said regarding the seed of the elephant is plainly false, for he asserts that

[86] Regarding the *Krokotta*, a sort of hyæna, vide Diodor. III, 34; Ælian, *Hist. Nat.* VII, 22; Pliny. *H. N.* VIII, 31; Porphyr. *De Abstin.* III, p. 223. Conf. Hesych. s. h. voc.; Bruce's *Travels*, vol. V, p. 113.

[87] Conf. Theophr. *H. Plant.* IX, 18, and Arist. *Hist. An.* I, 27.

[88] Μαυρουσίων πυλῶν—understand of the Pillars of Hercules. We have Maurusios in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* V, 2; Strabo, *Geog.* XVII, iii, 2.

[89] Ἐν τῶν Κυωνίων χώρα appears to be corrupt. We might suggest Cio in Mysia. *The same thing is told of* the fountain ἐν Σικάνων χώρᾳ at the city Κυτίστρατον *thus commonly for* Μυτίστρατον (Antigon. *Mirab.* 154). Conf. also Aristot. *Mir. ausc.* c. 123.

[90] This section is found only in the MS. of Münich, and perhaps does not belong to Ktesias.

[91] This fragment in the Münich MS. forms a part of the 15th Section of the text of Photios.

[92] Cf. Lucian *Macrob.* c. 5.

[93] Var. lect.—Gaitres.

[94] Cf. Ptolemy, *Geog.* VII, iii, where the same words are used.

[95] Cf. same chapter of same Book p. 178.

[96] Conf. Diodor. II., 17; Strabo, XV, I, 41 ff.; Curtius, VIII, 9, 17; Kosmos Indikopleustes, XI, p. 339.

when dry it turns hard so as to become like amber; and this it does not.[97]

(B) From the same, towards the end of the 3rd Book of his *History of Animals*.

What Ktêsias has written regarding the seed of the elephant is false.

(C) Ælian, *De Animal.* XVI, 2.

Cocks [in India] are of immense size, and their crests are not red like the crests of our own cocks, but many-hued, like a floral garland; their rump feathers are neither curved nor wreathed, but broad, and these they trail after them in the way the peacock drags his tail when he does not make it stand erect. The feathers of the Indian cocks are partly golden, and partly of a gleaming azure like the smaragdus stone.[98]

FRAG. VI.

(A) Ælian, *De Animal. Nat.* XVI, 31.

Ktêsias in his account of India says that the people called the Kynamolgoi rear many dogs as big as the Hyrkanian breed, and this Knidian writer tells us also why they keep so many dogs, and this is the reason: From the time of the summer solstice on to mid-winter they are incessantly attacked by herds of wild oxen, coming like a swarm of bees or a flight of angry wasps, only that the oxen are more numerous by far. They are ferocious withal and proudly defiant, and butt most viciously with their horns. The Kynamolgoi, unable to withstand them otherwise, let loose their dogs upon them, which are bred for this express purpose, and these dogs easily overpower the oxen and worry them to death. Then come the masters, and appropriate to their own use such parts of the carcases as they deem fit for food, but they set apart for their dogs all the rest, and gratitude prompts them to give this share cheerfully. During the season when they are left unmolested by the oxen, they employ their dogs in hunting other animals. They milk the bitches, and this is why they are called Kyn[illegible] (dog-milkers). They drink this milk just as we drink that of the sheep or the goat.

(B) Polydeukês (Pollux), *Onomastic.* V, 5, 41, p. 497.

The Kynamolgoi are dogs living about the lakes in the south of India and subsisting upon cows' milk. They are attacked in the hot season by the oxen of India, but they fight these assailants and overcome them, as Ktêsias relates.[99]

(B) Ælian, *De Animal. Nat.* IV, 32.

It is worth while learning what like are the cattle of the Indians. Their goats and their sheep are, from what I hear, bigger than the biggest asses, and they produce four young ones at a time, and never fewer than three. The tails of the sheep reach down to their feet, and the tails of the goats are so long that they almost touch the ground. The shepherds cut off the tails of those ewes that are good for breeding to let them be mounted by the rams, and these tails yield an oil which is squeezed out from their fat. They cut also the tails of the rams, and having extracted the fat, sew them up again so carefully that no trace of the incision is afterwards seen.

FRAG. VII.

Tzetzês, *Chil.* VII, v. 739, from the Third Book of the Ἀραβικῶν of Uranius.

If any one thinks that the size of the Arabian reeds has been exaggerated, who, asks Tzetzês, would believe what Ktêsias says of the Indian reeds—that they are two *orguiai* in breadth, and that a couple of cargo-boats could be made from a single joint of one of these reeds.[100]

FRAG. VIII.

Aristotle, *De Hist. Anim.* II, 1.

No animals of these species have a double row of teeth, though, if we are to believe Ktêsias, there is one exception to the rule, for he asserts that the Indian beast called the Martikhora has a triple row of teeth in each of its jaws. He describes the animal as being equal in size to the lion, which it also resembles in its claws and in having shaggy hair, though its face and its ears are like those of a human being. Its eyes are blue and its hair is of the colour of cinnabar.[101] Its tail, which resembles that of the land scorpion, contains the sting, and is furnished with a growth of prickles which it has the power of discharging *like shafts shot from a bow*. Its voice is like the sound of the pipe and the trumpet blended together. It runs fast, being as nimble as a deer. It is very ferocious and has a great avidity for human flesh.

[97] Ktêsias, however, probably referred to the matter which issued from the orifice in the temples.

[98] A kind of pheasant is meant—the *Impeyanum Lophop.*

[99] Conf. Diod. III, 31; Megasthenes in Strabo, XV, 37; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* VII, 2; Curtius, IX, i. 31.

[100] Conf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XVI, 36; VII, 2; Theophrast. *Plant. Hist.* IX. 11; Herodot. III. 98; Strabo, XV, 21.

[101] *i. e.* vermilion.

Frag. IX.

Pausanias (*Boiôt.* IX. xxi. 4) quoting Ktêsias, thus describes the same animal.

The animal mentioned by Ktêsias in his *Indika*, called by the Indians the *Martikhora*, but by the Greeks, it is said, ἀνδροφάγον (man-eater) is, I am convinced, the tiger. It is described as having three rows of teeth in each of its jaws and as having stings at the end of its tail, wherewith it defends itself against its assailants whether fighting at close quarters or at a distance. In the latter case it shoots its stings clean away from its tail like shafts shot from a bow-string.

[The Indians appear to me to have accepted this account, which is not true, through their excessive dread of this creature.]

Frag. X.

Pliny, *H. N.* VIII, 21 (al. 30.)

Ktêsias states that the animal which he calls the *Martikhora* is found among these people [the Indians or rather the Aethiopians]. According to his description, it has a triple row of teeth, ranged together like the teeth of a comb; its face and its ears are like those of a human being, while its eyes are blue and its hair of a blood-red colour. It has the body of a lion and its tail is armed with stings, with which it smites like the scorpion. Its voice is like the commingled sound of the pipe and the trumpet. It runs very fast, and is very fond of human flesh.

Frag. XI.

From Ælian, *De Animal.* IV. 21; respecting the Indian Martikhora.

In India is found a wild animal called in the native tongue the *Martikhora*. It is of great strength and ferocity, being about as big as a lion, of a red colour like cinnabar, and covered with shaggy hair like a dog. Its face, however, is not bestial, but resembles that of a human being. It has both in the upper and the lower jaw a double row of teeth which are extremely sharp at the points and larger than the canine. Its ears in their conformation are like the human, but they are larger and covered with shaggy hair. Its eyes also are like the human, and of a blue colour. It has the feet and the claws of a lion, but its tail, which may be more than a cubit long, is not only furnished at the tip with a scorpion's sting but is armed on both sides with a row of stings. With the sting at the tip it smites any one who comes near it, and kills him therewith instantaneously, but if it is pursued it uses the side stings, discharging them like arrows against the pursuer, whom it can hit even though he be at a good distance off. When it fights, having the enemy in front, it bends the tail upward, but when, like the Sakians, it fights while retreating, it straightens it out to the fullest length. The stings, which are a foot long and as slender as a rush (or a fine thread), kill every animal they hit, with the exception of the elephant only. Ktêsias says that he had been assured by the Indians that those stings that are expended in fighting are replaced by a growth of new ones as if to perpetuate this accursed plague. Its favourite food, according to the same author, is human flesh, and to satisfy this lust, it kills a great many men, caring not to spring from its ambush upon a solitary traveller, but rather upon a band of two or three for which it is singly more than a match. All the beasts of the forest yield to its prowess, save only the lion, which it is impotent to subdue. That it loves above all things to gorge itself with human flesh, is clearly shown by its name—for the Indian word *Martikhora* means *man-eater*—and it has its name from this particular habit. It runs with all the nimbleness of a deer. The Indians hunt the young ones before the stings appear on their tails, and break the tails themselves in pieces on the rocks to prevent stings growing upon them. Its voice has a most striking resemblance to the sound of a trumpet. Ktêsias says that he had seen in Persia one of these animals, which had been sent from India as a gift to the Persian king. Such are the peculiarities of the Martikhora as described by Ktêsias, and if any one thinks this Knidian writer a competent authority on such subjects, he must be content with the account which he has given.

Frag. XII.

(A) Antigonos, *Mirab. Nar. Cong. Hist.* c. 182.

He says that Ktêsias gives an account of an undying fire burning on Mount C h i m a e r a in the country of the P h a s ê l i t a i. Should the flame be cast into water, this but sets it into a greater blaze, and so if you wish to put it out you must cast some solid substance into it.

(B) Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* II, 106.

Mount Chimaera in Phasêlis is volcanic, and burns night and day with a perpetual flame.[102] According to Ktêsias the Knidian, the fire is augmented by water, but extinguished by earth or hay.[103]

C. Ælian, *De Anim.* XVI. 37.

Among the Indian Psylloi (who are so called to distinguish them from the Libyan Psylloi) the horses are no bigger than rams, while the sheep look as small as lambs. The asses are likewise correspondingly small and so are the mules and the oxen, and in short all cattle of whatever kind.[104]

FRAG. XIII.

Ælian, *Nat. An.* IV, 26.

Hares and foxes are hunted by the Indians in the manner following. They do not require dogs for the purpose, but taking the young of eagles, of ravens and of kites, they rear and train them to pursue these animals by subjecting them to this course of instruction. Taking a pet hare and a tame fox, they fasten on to each a gobbet of flesh, and then making them run away, at the same time dismiss the birds to give them instant chase, and catch the alluring bait. The birds eagerly pursue, and catching up either the hare or the fox, pounce upon the flesh, with which they are allowed to glut their maw in recompense for their activity in having captured it. When they have thus become adepts in hunting, they are taken out to pursue mountain hares and wild foxes, when, on sighting the quarry, they at once give it chase in hope of earning the customary dainty, and having quickly caught it bring it to their masters, as Ktêsias acquaints us. From the same source we further learn that the entrails of the quarry are given them instead of the gobbets of flesh to which they had been formerly treated.

FRAG. XIV.

(A) Ælian *Nat. Anim* IV, 27.

The *gryphon*, an Indian animal, is, so far as I can learn, four-footed like the lion and has claws of enormous strength closely resembling his. It is described as having feathers on its back, and these black, while the breast feathers are red and those of the wing white. According to Ktêsias its neck is variegated with feathers of a bright blue; its beak is like an eagle's; and its head like the representations which artists give of it in paintings and sculptures. Its eyes are said to be fiery red, and it builds its nest upon the mountains, and, as it is impossible to catch these birds when full grown, they are caught when quite young. The Baktrians who are next neighbours to the Indians give out that these birds guard the gold found in the regions which they haunt, and that they dig it out of the ground and build their nests with it, and that the Indians carry off as much of it as falls to the ground. The Indians however deny that the gryphons guard the gold, alleging, what I think is highly probable, that gold is a thing gryphons have no use for; but they admit that when these birds see them coming to gather the gold, they become alarmed for their young and attack the intruders. Nor do they resist man only, but beasts of whatever kind, gaining an easy victory over all except only the elephant and the lion, for which they are no match. The gryphons, then, being so formidable, the natives of these countries go not to gather gold in the day time, but set out under cover of night when they are least likely to be detected. Now the auriferous region which the gryphons inhabit is a frightful desert,[105] and those who make a raid upon the gold, select a moonless night, and set out armed, the expedition being a thousand or even two thousand strong. They take with them mattocks for digging the gold and sacks in which to carry it away. If they are unobserved by the gryphons they have a double share of good luck, for they not only escape with their lives but bear a freight of gold in triumph home, where, the metal having been purified by those who are skilful in smelting ores, they are recompensed with overflowing wealth for all the hazards of the enterprise. Should they on the other hand be detected in the act of theft, certain death would be their fate. I have learned by enquiry that they do not return home till after an absence of three or four years.[106]

[102] Conf. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. IX, p. 109, and Beaufort's *Travels*.

[103] *Foeno*, for which perhaps *fimo* should be read.

[104] See. Frag. xv. From this it appears that Ktêsias calls the same race both Psylli and Pygmies.

[105] Perhaps the Desert of Cobi.

[106] The same is related from Ælian by Philo, *De animall. propriett.* 2, pp. 15 seq.; conf. Herodot. III. 116; IV. 13, 27. Baehr has a very long note on the Gryphons.

way through his nostrils, runs out, when death ensues after a short but sharp agony. If a smaller dose is taken, death does not immediately ensue, but does so eventually. The black poison, again, which has oozed from the snake when dead, operates but slowly, for if one swallows the same bulk of it as of the other, it corrupts his blood and he falls into a consumption, of which he dies in a year's time. Many, however, survive for two years, dying inch by inch.

FRAG. XVIII.

Ælian, *De Nat. An.* IV, 41.

There is a species of Indian bird of very diminutive size which may be thus described. It builds its nests on high and precipitous mountains, and is about as big as a partridge egg, and of a bright red colour like realgar. The Indians call it in their tongue *dikairon*, and the Greeks in theirs, as I am informed, *dikaion* (*i. e.* just). Its dung has a peculiar property, for if a quantity of it no bigger than a grain of millet be dissolved into a potion, it would be enough to kill a man by the fall of evening. But the death that comes thereby resembles a sleep, and is most pleasant withal and pangless, being like that death which the poets are wont to call *lusimelês* (limb-relaxing) and *ablêkhros* (easy), for such a death is painless, and is therefore to those who wish to be rid of life, the sweetest of all deaths. The Indians accordingly spare no pains to procure this substance, which they regard as a genuine anodyne for all human ills. Hence it is included among the costly presents sent by the king of the Indians to the Persian king, by whom it is prized more than aught else, and who treasures it up as a sure defence in case of necessity against ills that are past all other remedy. No one in all Persia possesses it save only the king himself and the king's mother. Let us here then compare this Indian drug with the Egyptian so as to determine which is superior. The Egyptian we saw, had the effect throughout the day it was taken of restraining and checking tears; whereas the Indian induced an unending oblivion of all ills. The former was the gift of a woman, and the latter the gift of a bird, or rather of Nature, which, through the agency of this bird, unfetters man from the sternest bondage. And the Indians, they say, are happy in the possession of this, since they can by its means whenever they please, escape from their prison-house here below.

FRAG. XIX.

Apollonios (Dyskolos), *Hist. Mirab.* XVII.

Ktêsias says that in India is found a tree called the *parybon*. This draws to itself everything that comes near, as gold, silver, tin, copper and all other metals. Nay, it even attracts sparrows when they alight in its neighbourhood. Should it be of large size, it would attract even goats and sheep and similar animals.

FRAG. XX.

Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XXXVII, 2.

Ktêsias says that in India is a river, the Hypobarus, and that the meaning of its name is *the bearer of all good things*. It flows from the north into the Eastern Ocean near a mountain well-wooded with trees that produce amber. These trees are called *aphytacorae*, a name which means *luscious sweetness*.

FRAG. XXI.

Tzetzês, *Chil.* VII, v, 714.

Ktêsias says that in India are the trees that produce amber, and the men called the Kynokephaloi, who, according to his account, are very just men living by produce of the chase.

FRAG. XXII.

Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* VII, 2.

On many mountains (of India) is found a race of men with heads like those of dogs, who are dressed with the skins of wild beasts, who bark instead of speaking, and who, being armed with claws, live by hunting and fowling. Ktêsias says that in his time the number of these men was 120,000.

FRAG. XXIII.

Ælian, IV, 46.

Among the Indians are found certain insects about the size of beetles and of a colour so red that at first sight one might mistake them for cinnabar. Their legs are of extraordinary length and soft to the touch. They grow upon the trees which produce amber, and subsist upon their fruit. The Indians collect them for the sake of the purple dye, which they yield when crushed. This dye is used for tinting with purple not only their outer and their under-garments, but also any other substance where a purple hue is required. Robes tinted with this purple are sent to the Persian king, for the Indian purple is thought by the Persians to be marvellously beautiful and far superior to their own. This we learn from

Ktêsias, who says well, for this dye is in fact deeper and more brilliant than the renowned Lydian purple.

In that part of India where the beetles (κάνθαροι) are met with, live the Kynokephaloi, who are so called from their being like dogs in the shape of their head and in their general appearance. In other respects, however, they resemble mankind, and go about clad in the skins of wild beasts. They are moreover very just, and do no sort of injury to any man. They cannot speak, but utter a kind of howl. Notwithstanding this they comprehend the language of the Indians. They subsist upon wild animals, which their great fleetness of foot enables them to capture with the utmost ease. Having killed the prey they cut it into pieces, and roast it by the heat of the sun and not by fire. They keep goats however and sheep, whose milk supplies them with drink, as the chase with food. I have mentioned them among the brutes, and with good reason, for they do not possess articulate and intelligible speech like mankind.[108]

FRAG. XXIV.

Servius the Commentator on Virgil; *Æneid*, I, v, 653.

Acantho—*i. e.* with a flexible twig in imitation of which a robe is artificially adorned and wrought. Varius makes this statement. Ktêsias says that there are trees in India which grow wool.

FRAG. XXV.

(A) Ælian, *Hist. An.* IV, 52.

I have ascertained by enquiry that wild asses are found in India as big as horses. The animal is entirely white, except about the head, which is of a reddish colour, while the eye gleams with azure. It has a horn upon its forehead about a cubit and a half long. This horn is white at the base, crimson at the tip, and jet black in the middle. These particoloured horns are used, I understand, as drinking cups by the Indians, not indeed by people of all ranks, but only by the magnates, who rim them at intervals with circlets of gold just as they would adorn with bracelets the arm of some beautiful statue. They say that whoever drinks out of this horn is protected against all incurable diseases, for he can neither be seized by convulsions nor by what is called the sacred disease (epilepsy),[109] and neither can he be cut off by poison; nay if before drinking from it he should have swallowed anything deleterious, he vomits this, and escapes scatheless from all ill effects, and while, as has been believed, all other asses, wherever found, and whether wild or tame, and even all solid-hoofed animals, have neither a huckle-bone (ἀστραγαλός) nor a gall in the liver, the Indian horned asses have according to Ktêsias both a huckle-bone and a gall in the liver. The huckle-bones are said to be black, not only on the surface but all throughout as may be proved by breaking one to pieces. They are fleeter not only than other asses but even than horses and deer. On first starting they run leisurely, but they gradually strengthen their pace, and then to overtake them, is, to use a poetic expression, the unattainable (τα 'ακίχητα).[110] When the dams have brought forth and begin to lead out their young ones to the pastures, the males are in close attendance, and guard their offspring with devoted care. They roam about in the most desolate tracts of the Indian plain, and when the hunters come to attack them, they relegate their foals, being as yet but young and tender, to graze in the rear, while in front they fight to defend them. Their mode of attack is to charge the horsemen, using the horn as the weapon of assault, and this is so powerful, that nothing can withstand the blow it gives, but yields and snaps in two, or is perhaps shivered to pieces and spoiled for further use. They sometimes even fall upon the horses, and so cruelly rip up their sides with the horn that their very entrails gush out. The riders, it may well be imagined, dread to encounter them at close quarters, since the penalty of approaching them is a miserable death both to man and horse. And not only do they butt, but they also kick most viciously and bite; and their bite is much to be dreaded, for they tear away all the flesh they grasp with their teeth. It is accordingly impossible to take them alive if they be full-grown; and hence they must be despatched with such missiles as the spear or the arrow. This done, the Indians despoil them of their horns, which they ornament in the manner already described. The flesh is so very bitter that the Indians cannot use it for food.[111]

[108] Herodotus mentions Kynokephaloi in Africa (IV, 192); conf. Diodor. III, 34; Augustine, *C. D.* XVI, 8; Aristot. *Hist. Anim.* 11, 8; Strabo, XVI, iv, 15; Philost. *Vit. Apollon.* VI, 1.

[109] Cf. Herod. III, 33.

[110] Used by Homer.

[111] Conf. Ælian. III, 41; XVI, 20; Aristot. *De partt. Anim.* III, 2; Philostrat. *Vit. Apoll.* III, 2.

(B) Ælian, III, 41.

India, he says, produces unicorn horses and breeds likewise unicorn asses. Drinking cups are made from these horns. Should one who plots against another's life put a deadly poison into these cups no harm is done to the man who drinks therefrom. The horn of the horse and the ass, it would appear, is an antidote against evil.

FRAG. XXVI.

Ælian, *Nat. An.* V, 3.

The river Indus has no living creature in it except, they say, the skôlêx, a kind of worm which to appearance is very like the worms that are generated and nurtured in trees. It differs however in size, being in general seven cubits in length and of such a thickness that a child of ten could scarcely clasp it round in his arms. It has a single tooth in each of its jaws, quadrangular in shape and above four feet long. These teeth are so strong that they tear in pieces with ease whatever they clutch, be it a stone or be it a beast, whether wild or tame. In the daytime these worms remain hidden at the bottom of the river, wallowing with delight in its mud and sediment, but by night they come ashore in search of prey, and whatever animal they pounce upon—horse, cow, or ass, they drag down to the bottom of the river, where they devour it limb by limb, all except the entrails. Should they be pressed by hunger they come ashore even in the daytime, and should a camel then or a cow come to the brink of the river to quench its thirst, they creep stealthily up to it, and having with a violent spring secured their victim by fastening their fangs in its upper lip, they drag it by sheer force into the water, where they make a sumptuous repast of it. The hide of the *skôlêx* is two finger-breadths thick. The natives have devised the following method for catching it. To a hook of great strength and thickness they attach an iron chain, which they bind with a rope made of a broad piece of white cotton. Then they wrap wool round the hook and the rope, to prevent them being gnawed through by the worm, and having baited the hook with a kid, the line is thereupon lowered into the stream. As many as thirty men, each of whom is equipped with a sword and a spear fitted with a thong, hold on to the rope, having also stout cudgels of corr [illegible] lying ready to hand, in case it should be necessary to fell the monster with blows. As soon as it is hooked and swallows the bait, it is hauled ashore and despatched by the fishermen, who suspend its carcase till it has been exposed for 30 days to the heat of the sun. An oil all this time oozes out from it, and falls by drops into earthen vessels. A single worm yields ten *kotulai* (about five pints). The vessels having been sealed up, the oil is despatched to the king of the Indians, for no one else is allowed to have so much as one drop of it. The rest of the carcase is useless. Now this oil possesses this singular virtue, that if you wish to burn to ashes a pile of any kind of wood, you have only to pour upon it half a pint of the oil, and it ignites without your applying a spark of fire to kindle it, while if it is a man or a beast you want to burn, you pour out the oil, and in an instant the victim is consumed. By means of this oil also the king of the Indians, it is said, captures hostile cities without the help of rams or testudos or other siege apparatus, for he has merely to set them on fire with the oil, and they fall into his hands. How he proceeds is this. Having filled with the oil a certain number of earthen vessels which hold each about half a pint, he closes up their mouths, and aims them at the uppermost parts of the gates; and if they strike there and break, the oil runs down the woodwork, wrapping it in flames which cannot be put out, but with insatiable fury burn the enemy, arms and all. The only way to smother and extinguish this fire is to cast rubbish into it. This account is given by Ktêsias the Knidian.

FRAG. XXVII.

(A) From Antigonos, *Mirab. Nar. Cong. Hist.* 165.

It is said that Ktêsias mentions certain lakes in India, one of which, like the lakes in Sicily and Media made everything that was cast into it sink down [float] except gold, copper, and iron. Moreover, should anything fall into it aslant, it is thrown up standing erect. It is said to cure the disease called the white leprosy. Another lake at certain seasons yields an oil which is found floating on the surface.

(B) From Sôtiôn in scattered passages where he relates marvels about rivers, fountains and lakes.

There is a fountain in India which throws out upon its banks as if shot from an engine those who dive into its waters, as Ktêsias relates.[112]

[112] Conf. Aristot. *Mir. Ausc.* c. 122; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* II, 103.

(C) Strabo, *Geog.* XVI, 4.

Ktêsias the Knidian mentions a fountain which discharges into the sea water of a red colour and full of minium (red-lead).

FRAG. XXVIII.

Pliny, Hist. Nat. XXXI, 2.

Ktêsias records that in India is a pool of water called Side[113] in which nothing will float, but everything sinks to the bottom.

FRAG. XXIX.

(A) Antigonos, *Mirab. Nar. Cong. Hist.* c. 182.

Ktêsias mentions the water which falls from a rock in Armenia, and which casts out black fish which cause the death of the eater.

(B) Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XXXI, 2.

Ktêsias writes that in Armenia there is a fountain with black fish which, if taken as food, produce instantaneous death, and I heard the same said of the Danube, that where it rises, the same kind of black fish is found in it till you come to a fountain adjoining its channel, and that this fountain is therefore commonly believed to be the head of the river. They tell the same thing of the Nymph's pool in Lydia.

FRAG. XXX.

(A) Tzetzês, *Chil.* VII, v, 638.

This Skylax (of Karyanda) writes other such stories by the myriads, stories of one-eyed men, and of men that sleep in their ears, and thousands of other wonderful creatures, all which he speaks of as really existing, and not fictitious; but for my part, as I have never met with any of them, I do not believe in them, although there are multitudes, such as Ktêsias, Iamboulos, Hêsigonos, Rhêginos, who not only believe that these, but that still greater monstrosities, are to be found in the world.

(B) Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* VII, 2.

And he affirms that there is a tribe of Indians whose women bear offspring once only in their lifetime, and whose hair turns white in the very childhood. He mentions also a race of men called Monosceli (one-legged), who, though they had but a single leg, could hop upon it with wonderful agility, and that they were also called Sciopodae, because that when they lay on their back in very hot weather, they shaded themselves from the sun with their feet. They lived not very far from the Troglodytes (cave-dwellers). To the west of these, he adds, lived men without a neck, and who had their eyes placed in their shoulders.

(C) From the same.

According to Ktêsias the Indian people which is called Pandore and occupies the valleys, live for 200 years, and have in early youth hoary hair which turns black as they become old. There is a people on the other hand whose life-time does not exceed forty years. They are next neighbours to the Macrobii, and their women produce offspring once only. Agatharchidês asserts the same, and adds that they live upon locusts and are fleet of foot. [To these Clitarchus gave the name of Mandi, and Megasthenês reckons the number of their villages at 300. Their women bear children when they are seven years old, and they are in their old age at forty.]

FRAG. XXXI.

Gellius, *Noct. Attic.* IX. c, 4.

When we were returning from Greece into Italy, and had made our way to Brundusium, and having disembarked, were walking about in that famous seaport which Ennius, using a somewhat far-fetched but sufficiently well-known word, called the fortunate (*praepes*), we saw a number of bundles of books lying exposed for sale. I lost not a moment, but pounced with the utmost avidity upon these books. Now, they were all in Greek and full of wonders and fables—containing relations of things unheard of and incredible, but written by authors of no small authority—Aristeas of Proconnêsos and Isigonos of Nicaea, and Ktêsias, and Onêsikritos and Polystephanos and Hegesias. The volumes themselves however were musty with accumulated mould, and their whole condition and appearance showed that they were going fast to decay. I went up to the stall however, and enquired the prices, and being induced by the wonderful and unexpected cheapness, I bought a great lot of the books for a few coppers; and occupied myself for the next two days in glancing over the contents. As I read I made some extracts, noting the wonderful stories which none of our writers have as yet aimed at composing, and interspersing them with these comments of my own, so that whoever reads these books may not be found quite a novice in stories of the

[113] Isidor. *Origg.* xiii, 13; Conf. Antigon. c. 161; Diodorus, II, 36, 7; Arrian, *Ind.* c. 6; Strabo XV, i, 38; and *Ind. Ant.* vol. V, pp. 333, 334, and vol. VI, pp. 121, 130.

sort like one who has never even heard of them before. [Gellius now goes on to record many particulars regarding the Skythians, Arimaspians, Sauromatae and others of whom Pliny has written at length in his Natural History. These particulars have been evidently extracted from the Indika of Ktêsias and are here subjoined] :—"On the mountains of India are men who have the heads of dogs, and bark, and who live by hunting and fowling. There are besides in the remotest regions of the East other strange creatures—men who are called Monocoli (one-legged), who run hopping upon their one leg with wonderful agility; others who have no necks but have eyes in their shoulders." All unbounded however is his astonishment on his learning from these writers about a race of men in the uttermost parts of India having shaggy bodies and plumage like that of birds, who live not upon food, but on the perfume of flowers inhaled through the nostrils. Not far from these live the Pygmies, the tallest of whom do not exceed 2¼ feet. The books contained these and many similar absurd stories, and as we perused them we felt how wearisome a task it is to read worthless books which conduce neither to adorn nor to improve life.

FRAG. XXXII.

Frag. IV. From Athênaios, lib. X. [c. 9.][114]

Ktêsias says that in India the king is not allowed to make himself drunk, but that the Persian king is allowed to do so on one particular day—that on which sacrifice is offered to Mithras.

FRAG. XXXIII.

Tzetzês, *Chil.* VIII, v, 987.[115]

Herodotos, Diodôros, Ktêsias and all others agree that the Happy Arabia, like the Indian land, is most odoriferous, exhales a spicy fragrance, so that the very soil of the former, and the stones of the latter, if cut, emit a delicious perfume, while the people there, when made languid and faint by the rich odours, recover from the stupor by inhaling the smoke of certain bones and horns and strong-smelling substances.

FRAG. XXXV.

Lucian, *Ver. Hist.* I, 3.[116]

Ktêsias the son of Ktêsiokhos, the Knidian, wrote about India and its inhabitants what he neither himself saw nor heard from the report of others.

FRAG. XXXVI.

Strabo, *Geog.* I. 2.[117]

Theopompos professes in express terms that in his history he will tell fables better than such as have been related by Herodotos, and Ktêsias and Hellanikos and those who wrote about India.

LASSEN'S REVIEW OF THE REPORTS OF KTÊSIAS CONCERNING INDIA.[1]

In proceeding to examine the reports concerning Indian matters which yet survive from the work of Ktesias, I call to mind what I previously remarked, that on account of the unsatisfactory state in which we possess the fragments, as well as on account of the predilection of the author for the marvellous, it is difficult to separate what is exaggerated from what is true, and to give a satisfactory explanation of his statements, while further, I have shown in several examples that his descriptions, as far as they have been examined, have been found to be true in material points, though they cannot be absolved from the reproach that the facts have been purposely disfigured by being magnified. In judging of his work, two especial points are to be taken into account. The first is, that he resided at the Court of Artaxerxês Mnêmôn as his physician, and thereby enjoyed the best opportunity of questioning the Persians about all the information they had acquired regarding India. He could question even Indians themselves about their native country, because he testifies that he had seen such men, these being white, *i.e.* Aryans.[2] The second is that the extract from his work was made by a Byzantine of far later date, the Patriarch Photius, who lived about the middle of the ninth century of our æra, and who had such a predilection for the wonderful and did the work so negligently, that it can offer no suitable scale whereby to measure the true value of the original. Most of the quotations, besides, concern the fabulous Indian races and the wonderful products of the country. Regarding several of his statements the advancing knowledge of Indian archæology has sufficed to show that they had not been invented by the author, but that they originated in fictions current among the Indians. Accordingly, the accusations of mendacity heaped upon him by the ancients, with reference to his book on India, have been generally

[114] Müller places this as frag. 55 of the *Persica.*

[115] Müller places this among the fragments of the *Periplus* or *Periegesis.*

[116] This belongs to the life of Ktêsias; conf. Müller, p. 8.

[117] This is Lion's 49th frag., but can hardly be regarded as one.

[1] Translated from his *Ind. Alterthum.* vol. II, pp. 641 ff. 2nd edition, 1874.

[2] Ctesiae, *Fragm.* ed. C. Müller, p. 81a.

withdrawn; but it would be going too far to absolve him entirely from lying, although in most cases his corruptions of the truth originate in his desire to tell unheard of stories.

He composed his work, which consisted of one book, after his return to his own country in the year 398 B.C.,[3] but how long afterwards cannot be determined. He did not consult Herodotos or any other of his predecessors. Whether his coincidence with Skylax about the fabulous peoples is a plagiarism is dubious.[4] Besides what I shall presently have to say about his Indian reports, it will suffice to mention only what is of essential importance, as it would be unsuitable in this place to enter into detailed researches on as yet unexplainable reports, while, as regards the fabulous nations, it will suffice to point out their Indian origin.

According to Ktêsias, India was not smaller than all the rest of Asia[5]—which is a palpable exaggeration. Like Herodotus he considered the Indians to be the greatest of nations and the outermost, beyond whom there lived no other.[6] Of the Indian rivers he knows strictly speaking only the Indus, for it must remain undecided whether the Hyparkhos be the Ganges.[7] As the Persians had obtained exact information only of the Indus region, we must expect to find that his more accurate communications have reference to that region exclusively. Of the former river he assumed the breadth where it was smallest at forty, and where it was widest at one hundred stadia, while in most parts it was a mean between these two extremes.[8] These figures are, however, without doubt excessive, but one need not be surprised thereat, since at that time no measurement had been made. On the other hand it is correctly stated that it flows through the mountains as well as through the plains.[9] Of the Indian sea Ktêsias had learned that it is larger than the Grecian, but it must be considered as an invention that to the depth of four finger breadths, the surface is so hot that fish on that account do not approach it, but live in the deep below.

It must also be ascribed to fiction that in India the sun appears ten times larger than in other countries, and that the heat there is so powerful that it suffocates many persons; that there are neither storms nor rain in India, but that the country is watered by the river; there are on the other hand violent hurricanes which carry away everything that stands in their course.[10] The last remark may be considered as correct, but the assertion that India has no rain is on the contrary false, for it is known to possess regular rainy seasons, whereby the soil is watered. The Indus region is inundated by the river only in the Delta and, to a slight extent, in the upper country, while in the north under the mountains it has heavy rains, and lower down is not unvisited by slight showers. On the other hand, it is correctly remarked that in most parts of India the sun at his rising brings coolness, while during the rest of the day he causes vehement heat.[11]

His statements about the precious stones have already been elucidated.[12] Concerning the iron taken from the bottom of a well, of which iron swords were manufactured possessing the property of turning off hail, clouds and lightning, I have already remarked that they were probably lightning conductors. As to the method of obtaining it there is no information, but there is some how gold was obtained.[13] Every year a spring filled itself with fluid gold which was drawn from it in one hundred earthen pitchers. It was necessary that they should be of clay, because the gold afterwards congealed, and the pitchers had to be broken in order to get it out. The spring was quadrangular, eleven ells in circumference, and about two yards deep. Each pitcher contained one talent of gold. The sense of this passage can only be that auriferous ores were melted, and that the gold obtained from them was drawn out in a fluid state. That there was a spring, must be a misapprehension, and we must imagine instead that there was a cistern prepared to receive the gold. As a pitcher need not be very large to contain one talent (which is only somewhat more than fifty-three pounds) of gold, this particular may be considered as correct, but no stress need be placed on the statement that this operation was repeated every year. If this supposition is right, it follows that the Indians knew how to extract gold from the ore by melting.

Of the gold it is said also, that it is not obtained from rivers by washing, (which, however, is a mistake), but that it was met with on mountains that stretched far away, and was there guarded by griffins.[14] This, as has already been remarked, is the fiction which had reached the ears of Ktêsias, whereas according to the account given by others it was dug out of the ground by the ants. Of silver-mines, it is said that there are many of them, although not as deep as those in Baktriana. This agrees with the reality, because in India silver mines seem to occur only in U d a y a p û r a in Ajmîr: on the other hand Badakshan, in the upper Oxus valley, is rich in silver.[15] His report

[3] Müller, p. 16.
[4] Schwanbeck's *Megasth. Ind.* p. 8.
[5] Frag. iii.
[6] Frag. i, 1, 2.
[7] Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* vol. II, p. 563.
[8] Frag. ii and i, 1.
[9] Frag. i. 6.
[10] Frag. i, 2, 5, 8.
[11] Frag. i, 8.
[12] Frag. i, 5 and 2.
[13] Frag. i, 4.
[14] Frag. i. 12.
[15] Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 166; *Cathay*, p. 595.

would accordingly refer to a more eastern country than the Indus region.

On the seal-ring, *Pantarba*, which is said to have had the property when thrown into the water of attracting other seal-rings and precious stones, so that they became connected with each other, the remark may suffice that an altogether satisfactory solution of this story does not seem to have been found.[16] It must also be left undecided what we are to understand by the *elektron* (amber) which during thirty days of the year exuded like sweat from the trees on the mountains into the river Hyparkhos, and which turned hard in its waters.[17] Of this much only can we be certain, that it was a gum exuding from trees, of which there are several kinds in India, especially towards the east—the likeliest quarter wherein to seek for this river.

The mention of this tree leads us to the reports concerning Indian plants, and the products of the vegetable kingdom. The trees producing the oil called *Karpion* have been already treated of.[18] Of the Indian palms it is said that their fruits, which are called nuts, are three times as large as the Babylonian.[19] It is evident that it was some other than the date-palm, and was no doubt the cocoa-palm, which has a nut of the size indicated.

Of the Indian reed Ktêsias has reported that it grows in the mountain regions on the Indus, and is so thick that two men with outstretched hands cannot span it round, and that it is as high as the mast of a large ship.[20] This report agrees with that of Herodotos, only that it gives a more exact description, which may be considered as true, since the bamboo can grow to the height of sixty feet, and may be two feet in diameter. Ktêsias was the first who brought to notice that there are male and female reeds; that the latter only had a pith, and the former none; and that the former were more strong and compact, and the latter broader. He mentions also the fact that small boats were made of them, which could hold not more than three men, provided, as is probable, this statement really does belong to him.[21]

The expression, *garments produced by trees*, can only mean cotton garments.[22] Ktêsias has without doubt stated that the Indians from preference use oil of sesamo, and it can only be the fault of the author of the extract if the use of this oil, together with that of the oil expressed from nuts, is ascribed to the pygmies.[23] His other statements with regard to the obtaining of oils are evidently fictions.[24] Among these products of the exuberant fancy of the Indians, there may here be appropriately mentioned the story that those living near the Indus obtained a kind of oil from the worms living in that river, said to have possessed the property of setting everything on fire. Some have supposed from this that the ancient Indians were acquainted with fire-arms,[25] but the report must on the contrary be used to show that poetical ideas peculiar to the Indians had already in the time of Ktêsias become known to the Persians. There can scarcely be a doubt that the report of Ktêsias now in question is the corruption of the ancient Indian idea that the possession of supernatural arms, which they might at times entrust to mortals, was one of the special prerogatives of the gods.[26] The worship of snakes was particularly current in the north-western frontier countries,[27] to which the report of Ktêsias regarding the oil specially relates. It will accordingly be a fire-weapon lent to man by one of the serpent-gods then worshipped, but which was represented to Ktêsias as one that really existed.

For the sake of continuity of subject, I have anticipated what is to be remarked about the reports of Ktêsias concerning Indian animals. Of the products of the vegetable kingdom he had mentioned a *very sweet wine*,[28] by which expression probably must be understood only an intoxicating liquor prepared from sugar and palm-juice, since we know that grapes do not grow in India. Lastly, according to our author, there existed also a tree *Parêbos*, or *Parybos*, which was found only in the gardens of the king, the root whereof attracted everything to itself, such as metals, and birds also, and sheep; birds for the most part being caught by it. The root served also as a medicine against bowel disorders.[29] With this conception may be suitably compared that of divining-rods, by the aid whereof metals were sought to be discovered. What Indian tree is meant is not certain.

Whoever is aware of the great vegetable riches of India cannot fail to remark that the reports of Ktêsias concerning them are extremely scanty. Possibly the reason for this defect may be partly that the regions best known to the Persians, and consequently to him, are less rich in vegetable products than those of inner India, but the principal reason is to be sought in the negligence and incompleteness of the whole extract, wherein the various subjects follow each other without a

16 Frag. ii. ar[illegible] or
17 Frag. i. 15, [illegible]
18 Lassen, *Ind.* [illegible] I, p. 564.
19 Frag. i, 13, end
20 Frag. i, 6, and vii
21 Plin. *Hist. Nat.* XVII, 3.
22 Frag. i, 22, and xxiv.
23 Frag. i, 11.
24 Frag. i, 11, and xxvii, &c.
25 P. von Bohlen, *Altes Indien*, vol. II, p. 64.
26 Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* vol. I, p. 674, n. 1.
27 Lassen, vol. II, p. 468.
28 Frag. i, 29.
29 Frag. i, 18, and xix.

proper connexion, as well as in the circumstance that quotations from his book are by accident pretty copious on some subjects and not on others. Thus the extracts are meagre which describe ordinary things, whereas about the extraordinary, much richer extracts have come down to us. Accordingly we cannot absolve the classic writers who have preserved for us passages from the work of Ktêsias from the reproach of having selected precisely those that relate what is extraordinary and wonderful.

This reproach attaches also to his statements about Indian animals—some of those most valued and praised by the Indians, as cows and lions, are not even mentioned in the extracts, but on the contrary those only that are extraordinary and fictitious. It can scarcely be denied that Ktêsias treated of the former. About other animals he had been misinformed. The knowledge of the Indian animal kingdom which was communicated by him to his countrymen is doubly significant for the history of zoology. Firstly, it is certain that Aristotle, the founder of this science, had made use of his reports about Indian animals, and his book therefore contributed, though but slightly, to the materials whereon that eminent genius founded his observations. Secondly, through him several Indian animals first became known to the Greeks, and he has therefore co-operated so far to propagate zoological knowledge among his countrymen. To represent this addition to science is the business of zoology; for a history of Greek knowledge about India it is sufficient to enumerate the animals which he has mentioned—an exception being allowable only when an animal through some real or imaginary peculiarity appears pre-eminent over others, or when the form of the representation is characteristic of the way the author views things.

Concerning the animal most remarkable to foreigners on account of its size, docility and multifarious uses, the elephant I mean, he had been misled by the Persians into making the exaggerated statement that in war the king of the Indians was preceded by one hundred thousand of them, whilst three thousand of the strongest and most valiant followed him.[30] It can just as little be true that these animals were used to demolish the walls of hostile towns. On the other hand, he truthfully reports what he had seen with his own eyes, that in Babylon, elephants pulled up palm-trees, roots and all. He is the first Greek who mentioned the peculiarity of the female elephants that when they were in heat a strongly smelling fluid issued out from an orifice in their temples.[31] Of the parrots he remarked with charming simplicity that they spoke Indian, but also spoke Greek if they had been taught to do so. The Indian name of the jackal he was the first to communicate to the Greeks under the form, *Krokottos*, and it follows from what he says, as well as from the fables current about this animal, that the Æthiopian kind cannot be meant.[32] The qualities attributed to it, such as that it imitates the human voice, has the strength of the lion, and the swiftness of the horse, show that the jackal already at that time played a prominent part in animal fables, and that such were generally current in India, if there were any need of such an argument.

Of the four yet remaining animals, two must be considered as real, though it is not easy to identify them. The other two have on the contrary been invented but not by the Indians themselves. The wild ass was specially distinguished by his horn, because, of the horns cups were manufactured which protected those who drank out of them from certain kinds of diseases and from poison.[33] He was further distinguished from solid-hoofed animals by the gall on his liver and by his ankle-bone. The first mark suits the rhinoceros, as it possesses a large gall bladder, but not the second, because all quadrupeds have ankle-bones. This, however, may only be an error of the author, though one that is surprising since he was a physician and had himself seen such ankle-bones. According to him, they were red, which is likewise false. The great strength attributed to the animal points to the rhinoceros, but not the great swiftness. At the same time the name, *kartazonon*, does not furnish us with any certain means of identification. The explanation of this word from new Persian is not tenable—we might rather think that Ktêsias had altered the Indian name of the rhinoceros, *Kaḍga* (which can be easily changed to *Kharga*) to *Karta*, in order to assimilate the sound to that of Greek words whose significations are very suitable to the animal.[34]

By piecing these remarks together it would appear most probable that by the wild ass is to be understood the rhinoceros, because there is no other Indian animal which the description suits better. If Ktêsias attributes to it a red head and a white body, whilst its colour is really grey-brown, he had perhaps been so informed. With reference to this so-called Indian unicorn, and also to the two fabulous animals, the griffin and the martikhoras, I have already remarked that it is incorrect either to recognize them in the

[30] Frag. i, 3, iv, and v.
[31] Frag. i, 3, and v.
[32] Schwanbeck, *Megasth. Ind.* p. 8. The Greek is a form of *koṭṭhâraka* from *kroshṭuka*, a jackal.
[33] Frag. i, 25, 26, and xxv.
[34] *καρτα* strong, and *ζῶον* animal.

wonderful animals of Persepolis, or to attribute to them a Baktro-Indian origin. In opposing this view, I have shown that the similarity of the sculptured animals to those described by Ktêsias is only general—that in both cases the animals have been composed from parts of such as were real, and further that an ethico-religious symbolism through miraculous animals was unknown to the Indians. The conjecture there thrown out that the old Persian miraculous animals are of Babylonic-Assyrian origin, have been confirmed by the recent discoveries at Nineveh.

About the bird, *Dikairos*, which was not larger than the egg of a partridge, the dung of which was dug up, and first produced sleep and afterwards death,[35] I can say nothing more satisfactory than others. That it is not fictitious appears from the fact that the King of India had sent some of it to the King of Persia, who preserved it as something very precious, because it was a remedy against incurable diseases. That opium, as has been suggested, cannot be meant by it, is certain, since the cultivation of that drug was introduced much later into India. It would be futile to try to explain the name because it is explained by the word *just*, and has been altered to assimilate its sound to that of a Greek word.

If the *griffins* have been indicated as Indian animals,[36] there is no confirmation of this discoverable in the Indian writings—and so the griffins must be classed along with the Issedonians,[37] the Arimaspians, and other fictions of the more northern peoples, which had found admission also among the Persians, where they survived till later. Just as foreign to the Indians is the *Martikhoras*, whose name is correctly explained as *the man-eater*,[38] but in old Iranian, because *Martijaqâra* has this meaning, but the second part is foreign to the Indian language. If Ktêsias has reported that he had seen such an animal with the Persian King to whom it had been presented by the Indian king, he cannot in this instance be acquitted of mendacity.

Since he has specified a pretty large number of Indian animals without exhausting the list, and has also described some of them minutely, if we may judge from the details which have been preserved, we may conclude that he had also treated at large of the manners and customs of the Indians. From this portion of the work which, had it been preserved, would have interested us most of all, we cannot expect to have learned anything about those subjects which we do not already know, but light would have been thrown upon the communications which had at that time reached the Persians from India, and upon the nature of the ideas they had conceived regarding the inhabitants of India. But unfortunately we possess only very scanty extracts on such topics, while, on the other hand, there are tolerably complete repetitions of his reports of fabulous peoples.

Of the Indians he correctly asserted that they had their black colour not from the sun, but from nature.[39] As a proof he adduced the fact that he had with his own eyes seen white Indians, viz. two women and five men. He mentioned their great justice, their laws and customs, their love for their sovereigns, and their scorn of death. Nothing shows so plainly how little the way in which the extracts have been made is to be relied on, as the omission of these very subjects, with the exception of four of the less important usages. The first is that the Indians went on pilgrimage to a holy place distant fifteen days from the Sard mountains, situated in an uninhabited region where they worshipped the sun and the moon. During the festival the sun is said to have afforded them coolness for thirty-five days, so that they might be able to perform all the rites and return to their homes unscorched by his heat. There can be no doubt as to where this place lay. It was among the Vindhyas, one of whose off-shoots are the Sardian mountains. It is self-evident that this can only have been an isolated worship of the two luminaries,[40] probably by a barbarous tribe, to which also the legend of the cooling down of the temperature may have belonged.

The second custom mentioned is connected with the idea formed by Ktêsias of the bodily constitution of the Indians. They attained an age of 130 or 140 years, and the oldest of 200. None of them suffered from headache, eye diseases, toothache, sore mouths, or putrid ulcers. In India there was a quadrangular well, enclosed by rocks, wherein the Indians of high rank bathed along with their wives and children. It had the property of throwing out again upon the bank not only the bathers, but everything else, except gold, silver, iron and copper. It is called in India *balladê*, which meant *useful*. This word is really Indian, for in Sanskrit *balada* means *strength-giving*. From this report we learn the unimportant fact that the Indians had discovered the healing power of *mineral* wells.

Another well had the peculiarity that the water drawn from it congealed to the thickness of cheese.[41] If three obols weight of this was triturated to a powder and being put in water was given

[35] Frag. i, 17, and xviii; the name is also written Dikeros.
[36] Frag. i, 12, and xiv.
[37] Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. II, p. 609.
[38] Frag. i, 7, and viii—xi; Herodot. III, 116; IV, 13, 27.
[39] Frag. i, 9.
[40] Frag. i. 8.
[41] Frag. i, 14.

as a dose to an inculpated person, he confessed all his transgressions. The king used this as a means to bring the accused to a confession. Those found guilty under the ordeal were condemned to die of starvation, and the innocent were dismissed. This particular is remarkable, because the Chinese pilgrim, Fah-hian, relates something similar regarding Udyâna, a country west of the Indus and to the north of Peshawar. He says it was the custom there, if a doubt existed about the guilt of an accused person, to remove the doubt by administering to him a medicinal drink; those guilty of a capital offence were banished. Pliny had much earlier reported something similar of an Indian plant.[42] Guilty persons who had swallowed pills prepared from its roots and administered in wine, were during the night tormented by visions, and confessed all their transgressions. Although the origin of the drink mentioned by Ktêsias may be incorrect, there can be no doubt but that it was used for judicial purposes, as it is confirmed by the other two witnesses. Of such ordeals, called *divya* and *pariksha*, several are adduced in the codes of law.[43] Among these, poison also occurs. If the accused, after swallowing the dose, felt no hurtful effects ensuing, he was declared *innocent, so that the report* of Ktêsias is justified by the Indians themselves.[44]

This, however, cannot be said of the fourth custom mentioned in the fragments of the work; that in hunting hares and foxes, the Indians did not use dogs, but eagles, crows, and vultures, which they trained for that purpose.[45] For this practice the Indian writings afford no confirmation, though it by no means follows that the report is untrue. It is only doubtful whether eagles can be so tamed. It would be important to know whether from an oversight on the part of Aelian, who alone has preserved this report, vultures have not been substituted for falcons; in that case this custom would be one which the Indians had in common with the Thrakians and the ancient Germans.

With regard to the Aryan Indians we learn nothing from the extracts from the work of Ktêsias, but the fact already noticed, that they were white. He invariably speaks of but one king of India[46]; but from this we must not conclude that at that time Western India formed a single state. It would rather appear that Ktêsias did not care to treat of the separate kingdoms.

The fabulous peoples are divided into two classes, one purely fictitious, and the other embracing the aboriginal tribes that have obtained their name from some one peculiarity, and in one particular instance this name is Greek. Of the first class Skylax had already mentioned several. There is but this one fact with reference to these tribes which is significant, that since the fictions regarding them had been propagated to foreign nations so early as the time of Skylax, they must have been still earlier widely current among the Indians. It will therefore be sufficient, if, without treating of them specially, I content myself with merely establishing their claim to be of Indian origin.[47] When Ktêsias, following no doubt the precedent of the Persians, reported of one of these tribes that it was a very brave nation, and that five *thousand men of them followed the king of the* Indians as archers and lancers, so far from seeing in this circumstance a reason to consider them a real nation, as in the great epic the one-footed men brought gifts to a king, we shall only find a new proof of the wide dissemination of such fictions at that early period.

It will be suitable here to mention that Ktêsias was the first Greek who had received intelligence of the holy country of the Uttara Kuru, although considering the incomplete state in which his work lies before us, this can only be shown by the help of the native writings. He had, to wit, stated that there existed a fountain called Silas, in whose waters even the lightest substances that were thrown in sank to the bottom.[48] Now,

[42] *Hist. Nat.* xxiv, 102.

[43] Manu, *Dharmaś.* VII, 114-116; Yâjn. *Dharmaś.* II, 95ff.

[44] See Stenzler, *Zeitschrift d. D. Morg. Ges.* vol. IX, p. 661.

[45] Frag. xiii.

[46] Frag. i, 14, 28, 31, &c.

[47] The Ἑνοτίκτοντες—the *once-bearing*—see Tzetzes, *Chil.* vii. 636, Frag. i. and xxx, are called in Sanskrit *Ekagarbha*, and inhabit the eight *varshas* or divisions of the terrestrial heavens: *Bhâg. Purâṇa* v, 17, 12. According to an earlier opinion the *varshas* were parts of the world. Whether Ktêsias also mentioned the one-eyed *Ekalochana*, who appear in the great epic is doubtful. Conf. Tzetzes, *Chil.* ibid. and *Mahâb.* III, 297, v. 16137. But both do mention the Indian *Karṇaprâvaraṇa*, or those who used their ears as a covering, and who dwelt in the southern region. By Skylax they are called Ὠτόλικνοι, *i.e.* having shovel-sized ears, Tzetzes, *Chil.* vii, 631, 638. Ktêsias (frag. i, 31) does not seem to have known their name, but he says they had eight fingers on each hand, and eight toes on each foot, a feature wanting in the Indian accounts, but which is certainly an Indian idea. Megasthenes had translated the Indian name by Ἐνωτοκοῖται, *i.e.* such as slept in their ears: (see *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, pp. 133-4). The Σκιάποδες are mentioned by Skylax, Hekataios, and Ktesias,—by the second as in Ethiopia, with the frequent attribution of Indian fictions to Ethiopia: Tzetzes, *Chil.* vii, 629 f.; Philostrat. *Vit. Appolon.* vii, 14; Ktês. frag. xxvii, or Müller, *Ctes. Frag.* 89, p. 106. *They have not yet been* identified in Indian writings: their name must have been *Chhâyâpâda*. Possibly they were considered to have feet large enough to overshadow them. The predecessors of Ktêsias had not mentioned the one-footed race called *Ekapâda*, who were able nevertheless to run fast—frag. xxx. The passage relating to them in the *Mahâbhârata*, according to which they lived in the north, is cited by Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* vol. I, p. 1026n., and that from the *Râmâyaṇa* in the *Zeitschrift f. d. k. d. Morg.* vol. II. p. 40. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* VII, 2.) incorrectly considers them to have been the same as the *Sciapodes.*

[48] Frag. xxviii. Megasthenês also mentions a river Silas flowing from a source of the same name through the country of the Sileoi, and so light that everything sank in it. The Silâ is mentioned also in the *Mahâbh.* VI, 6, v. 219, but north of *Meru.*

this is the river Śilâ or Śailodâ which one must cross before he can reach that country. It was believed that nothing would float or swim in its waters because by contact with them everything was transmuted into stone. It was only possible to effect a passage by means of the Kîchaka-reed which grew there. The Greek representation offers itself as an inversion of the Indian fiction; if anything that came into contact with the water was changed into stone, it must have become as heavy as stone and sunk to the bottom. The Greeks accordingly supposed that the lightness of the water was the cause of its being innavigable.

In the extant excerpts there is no mention of the Hyperboreans, who, as we shall afterwards show, answer to the Indian Uttara kuru. According to Megasthenes, they lived one thousand years, but according to the Indian view one thousand and even ten thousand years.[49] Accordingly it is not at all impossible but that Ktêsias has mentioned them under the name of Makrobioi, who lived four hundred years. These are attributed also to Ethiopia by Herodotos[50] and other writers of later date, but are probably of Indian origin.

The accounts given of the real tribes deserve more consideration, because from them several particulars appear which shed over the aborigines and their contact with the Arian Indians a light all the more unexpected, as it has been the common practice to deny all value to the statements advanced by Ktêsias in this connection.

Among the real tribes was one that was black, and dwelt above the river Hyparkhos, probably the Ganges.[51] They spent their days in idleness, ate no corn, but lived only on the milk of kine, goats and sheep which they maintained in great numbers. This notice is interesting, in so far as it shows that on the upper Ganges, or more correctly in the Himalaya, there still existed in those days black aborigines, as the great Epos also knows them there. It must be considered as an exaggeration that they drank no water, and that though not agriculturists, they subsisted also upon fruits. The fullest reports are those relating to the Kynamolgoi or Kynokephaloi, the dog-headed,[52] who must on account of this peculiarity being attributed to them have particularly attracted the attention of the classical authors. They were widely propagated, because they dwelt near the sources of the Hyparkhos, as well is in Southern India; their number is stated to have amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand. They were black, and the teeth, tails and voices of dogs, as well as their heads, are attributed to them. They understood, however, the language of the Indians. The reason for their name and their fictitious properties is evident from the circumstance that they kept big dogs for hunting wild oxen and other wild animals. If the use of dog-milk is attributed to them, this may have also been merely an invention, because it is said elsewhere that they used also the milk of goats and of sheep. The other things related of them show that they were a real nation, a tribe of the black aborigines.

They were acquainted with but few of the technical arts, had no houses or beds, but dwelt in caves and slept on couches of straw, leaves, or grass. They knew how to tan hides, and the men as well as the women wore very fine garments manufactured from them. The richest only possessed linen. They kept a multitude of asses, goats and sheep, and the greatest number of the latter constituted their wealth. Besides milk they used also as food the fruit of the Siptakhora tree, which they dried and packed up in plaited baskets and exported to the other Indians. They were very fast runners, good hunters, archers, and hurlers of the javelin. They lived especially on the produce of the chase. The flesh of the animals which they killed, they roasted in the sun. Protected by their inaccessible mountains, they were not attacked in war by their neighbours; they are represented as just men and harmless. They are said to have reached the age of one hundred and seventy years, and some even of two hundred. They carried on trade with the civilized Indians in their neighbourhood, and stood in a free relationship with the Indian king. To him they brought annually two hundred and sixty talents of dried fruits of the Siptakhora tree on rafts, and as many talents of a red dye-stuff and one thousand of elektron or the gum exuding from the Siptakhora tree. To the Indians they sold these wares, and obtained from them in exchange bread, oatmeal, cotton-clothes, bows, and lances, which they required in hunting and killing wild animals. Every fifth year the king presented them with three hundred bows, three thousand lances, one hundred and twenty thousand small shields, and fifty thousand swords.

This description throws a clear light upon the position held by the Indian aborigines towards the kings of the Aryan Indians, on their mutual relations, on the intercourse of the civilized Indians with their barbarous countrymen, and the

[49] Frag. xxx; Pliny, *H. N.* VII, 2, has confounded the Pandore with the Mandi of Kleitarkhos and Ktesias. See Schwanbeck's *Megasth. Ind.* p. 71; *Ind. Alter.* vol. I, p. 797.

[50] Herodot. III, 17.

[51] Frag. i, 24.

[52] Frag. i, 20, 22, 23, and xxi, xxii, xxiii.

civilizing influence which they exercised upon them. Secured from subjugation in their inaccessible mountains, the latter must nevertheless have been glad to live in peace with the neighbouring kings, and to propitiate them by presents, and the former to make them feel the superiority of their power. On account of the need for the means of subsistence, and for the means for pursuing their occupations, which they procured from their civilized neighbours, the aborigines were obliged to accustom themselves to have intercourse with them, and to afford them also an opportunity, and to open a door for the admission of their doctrines and laws among them.

The Indian name of this people Sunamukha, *dog-faced*, has been discovered in a MS. which has not yet been published.[53] This tribe, according to it,[54] dwelt on the Indus. The Καλύστριοι considered by Ktêsias to be synonymous with it cannot be satisfactorily explained from the Sanskrit; but it may have reached us in a corrupted form. To deny that the Aryan Indians may have given to a nation which they despised a name taken from the dog would be unreasonable, because the dog was a despised animal, and the name Svapâka or Svapaka, *i. e.*, *feeder of dogs*, designates one of the lowest castes. Nor is there anything to object to the view that one of the aboriginal tribes was specially addicted to the rearing of dogs, which were needed for hunting, seeing that the wild dog is widely propagated throughout India and occurs in the Deccan, and probably also in Nepaul as well as in the south and in the north, where the Kynamolgoi dwelt. This tribe also has been transferred to Ethiopia and Libya.[55]

The third of these tribes are the Pygmies, whose name is Greek, and means 'a fist long.' They are mentioned by Homer, and as fighting with the cranes.[56] It hence appears that the name has been transferred to an Indian people. The Indian Pygmies are described as very small, the tallest of them being two ells in height, but most of them only one and a half. They dwelt in the interior of India, were black and deformed, had snub noses, long hair and extraordinarily large beards. They were excellent archers, and three thousand of them were in the retinue of the king. Their sheep, oxen, asses and mules were unusually small. They hunted hares and foxes, not with dogs, but with eagles, ravens, crows and vultures, like the Indians, followed the Indian laws, and were just. They agreed further with the Indians in using both sesame oil and nut oil, as already mentioned. This is all that is stated regarding them in the fragments of Ktêsias. To determine what Indian people is meant by this name, it must further be mentioned that Megasthenês ascribes the battle with the cranes to the Trispithamoi, *i. e.* men three spans long,[57] a name by which he could only designate the Pygmies, and which he had probably selected because it was an old word. Ktêsias may therefore be considered as one of those writers who mentioned the battle of the Indian Pygmies with the cranes. Now the Indians ascribe to the Garuda, the bird of Vishnu, enmity towards the people of the Kirâta, which for this reason is called Kirâtâśin, *i. e.* the devourers of the Kirâta, and the name of this people has also the meaning of *a dwarf*. It hence appears that the Kirâtas were small men in comparison with the Arian Indians, and may consequently have been easily confounded with the Pygmies. The form of the bird of Vishnu, as described by the poets, does not exactly correspond with a real bird; in the pictures the form of a bird almost entirely yields to that of a man. There is nevertheless some similarity to an eagle and to a vulture as well as to a crane. If in mythology a simple bird of this kind usually only occurs, it is to be remarked that it passes at the same time for the father and king of the divine birds, and there is nothing to hinder us from believing that, according to the ideas of the people a battle of this bird with the Kirâta was thought to have occurred. If the remark that they lived in the interior of India does not agree with their actual position, which is assigned to the east of Bengal, in the Himâlaya, and further to the north, it must be understood that foreigners had attributed a wider extension to the name so that it designated even a people in Orissa.[58] From this further application of the names several characteristics attributed to the Pygmies explain themselves, which partly suit the true Kirâtas, who like the Bhuta people are beardless, but on the other hand wear long hair. Among them occur also the flat noses,[59] but not the black complexion by which the Gonḍa and other Vindhya tribes are on the contrary distinguished, so that here also a commingling of characteristics must be assumed. Both these people, however, are distinguished by their shortness of stature. If the smallness of the Pygmies has been ascribed to their cattle also, it must simply be considered as an enlargement to the account made by foreigners.

53 Wilford, *As. Res.* vol. VIII, p. 331, from the *Prabhâsakhanda*.

54 Vans Kennedy explained this by *Kâlavastra*, clothed in black, but the meaning does not suit.

55 Herodot. IV, 191, and Agatharkhides, p. 44, ed. Hudson, who has drawn his account from Ktêsias.

56 *Iliad*, III, 3ff.

57 *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 133, note †, and p. 135.

58 *Peripl. Mar.* c. 62; *Ind. Ant.* vol. VIII, p. 150.

59 Wilford, *u. s.*, mentions the *chip*[illegible] 'snub-nosed.'

As we have seen above that the Arian kings kept female Kirâta slaves and hunters, while the Pygmies are described as very brave and hunters of wild animals, and even in later times, the people of that race appear in the royal retinue, the Greek report is confirmed in this point also, while it must further be correct in stating that, though not all, yet at least one tribe of this people had adopted the laws of the Arian Indians.

The Pygmies with their battle against the cranes have also been transferred to Ethiopia[60] from their original home in India. Whether the legend concerning them had already reached the Greeks at the time when the poems of Homer were composed, may be left undecided.

The preceding examination of the narrative of Ktêsias (which has reached posterity in so abridged and incomplete a form, and the author whereof had been accused by his own countrymen of mendacity) abundantly shows that Ktêsias has in most cases only repeated statements as he heard them from the mouths of the Persians, who themselves had received them from Indians who sojourned in their country, and so we have the reports, not directly from the Indians themselves, but from the Persians. From this circumstance, it is evident why the names, as far as they have been explained, are, with a single exception, Persian, and why some names attributed to the Indians are foreign. If we consider the circuits these accounts have made in reaching Greece from India, we cannot but be surprised that in general they still bear the stamp of their Indian origin. As has been shown, Ktêsias cannot be absolved from the charge of having in some instances adorned the statements he received and of having even allowed himself to tell untruths. He has also transferred Greek notions to Indian subjects, at least in the matter of the Pygmies. If we however consider his book in its original and complete form, then we see that he must have given a tolerably complete representation of the products of Western India, and of the customs and usages of the inhabitants, as well as several notices of the interior of the country. A few details serve even to elucidate Indian affairs, and there were no doubt many such, which have been lost, because after the Greeks had become more closely acquainted with India in the time of Alexander the Great, his work had been neglected by his countrymen. But the special significance of his narrative does not consist in these isolated elucidations of Indian antiquity, but in the fact that he had communicated to his countrymen the mass of the knowledge on Indian matters and the form which they had assumed among the Persians, and had marked thereby the extent of the knowledge gained regarding India before the time of Alexander. His work may have contributed to increase the desire of the Greeks to investigate foreign countries, but it exerted no influence on the development of geographical science, and just as little on the expedition of Alexander, as has already been remarked.

APPENDIX.

ON CERTAIN INDIAN ANIMALS.

From Kosmas Indikopleustes[61] *De Mundo*, XI.

1. *The Rhinoceros.*

This animal is called the rhinoceros from having horns growing upon its nose. When it walks about the horns shake, but when it looks enraged it tightens them, and they become firm and unshaken so that they are able to tear up even trees by the roots, such especially as stand right in their way. The eyes are placed as low down as the jaws. It is altogether a most terrible animal, and is especially hostile to the elephant. Its feet and its skin closely resemble those of the elephant. Its skin, which is dry and hard, is four fingers thick—and from this instead of from iron some make ploughshares wherewith they plough their lands. The Ethiopians in their language call the rhinoceros *arou* or *harisi*, prefixing the rough breathing to the *alpha* of the latter word, and adding *risi* to it, so that the word *arou* is the name of the animal, while *harisi* is an epithet which indicates its connexion with *ploughing* arising from the configuration of its nose and the use made of its hide. I have seen a living rhinoceros, but I was standing some distance off at the time. I have also seen the skin of one, which was stuffed with straw and stood in the king's palace, and I have thus been enabled to delineate the animal accurately.[62]

2. *The Taurelaphos or Ox-deer.*

This is an animal found in India and in Ethiopia. But those in India are tame and gentle, and are there used for carrying pepper and other stuffs packed in bags; these being slung over the back one on each side. Their milk is made into butter. We eat also their flesh, the Christians killing them by cutting their throat, and the Greeks by beating them with cudgels. The Ethiopian ox-deer, unlike the Indian, are wild and untameable.

3. *The Camelopardalis or Giraffe.*

This animal is found only in Ethiopia, and is,

[60] Hekat. *Frag.* 266, Müller's ed. p. 18.

[61] A monkish traveller of the 7th century.

[62] Referring to the picture of the animal in his book.

like the hog-deer of that country, wild and untameable. In the royal palace, however, they bring up one or two from the time when they are quite young, and make them tame that the sight of them may amuse the king. In his presence they place before them milk or water to drink contained in a pan, but, then, owing to the great length of their feet, breast, and neck they cannot possibly stoop to the earth and drink unless by making their two forelegs straddle. When they make them straddle they can of course drink. I have written this from my own personal knowledge.

4. *The Agriobous or Wild Ox.*

This is an animal of great size and belongs to India, and from it is got what is called the *toupha*, wherewith the captains of armies decorate their horses and their standards when taking the field. They say of it that if its tail be caught by a tree it no longer stoops, but remains standing through its unwillingness to lose even a single hair. On seeing this the people of the neighbourhood approach and cut off the tail, and then the creature flies off when docked entirely of its tail.

5. *The Moskhos or Musk-deer.*

This is a small animal, and is called in the native dialect the *Kastouri*.[63] Those who hunt it pierce it with arrows, and having confined the blood which collects at the navel, they cut the navel off, that being the part which has the pleasant fragrance known to us under the name of musk.

6. *The Monokerôs or Unicorn.*

This animal is called the unicorn, but I have never set eyes upon it. I have however seen *four* brazen statues of it in Ethiopia, where they were set up in the royal palace—an edifice adorned with four towers. From these statues I have thus delineated the animal. They say of it that it is a terrible beast and invincible, having its power all lodged in its horn. When it perceives that its pursuers are many and that they are on the point of catching it, it springs down from the top of some precipice, and during the descent through the air turns itself in such a way that the whole shock of the fall is sustained by the horn which receives no damage thereby.[64] The scripture refers to this peculiarity, which says: *save me from the mouth of lions and my humility from the horns of unicorns*; and again, *the one beloved as the son of unicorns;* and again in the blessings of Balaam wherewith he blessed Israel, he says twice over: *God led him out of Egypt even as the glory of the unicorn*, thus bearing witness to the strength and boldness and glory of the animal.

7. *The Khoirelaphos or Hog-deer, and the Hippopotamus.*

The hog-deer I have both seen and eaten. The hippopotamus however I have not seen, but I have had in my possession teeth of it so large that they weighed about thirteen pounds. These teeth I sold here. I saw many both in Ethiopia and in Egypt.

8: *Piperi—Pepper.*

This is a picture of the pepper tree. Each separate plant clings for support to some tall tree which does not yield fruit, being very weak and slender like the delicate tendrils of the vine. Each cluster is enveloped within a couple of leaves. It is perfectly green like the colour of rue.

9. *Argellia*[65] *or the cocoanut-tree.*

There is another tree of this sort called *argellia*, that is—the tall nut-trees of India. It differs in no respect from the date-palm except in being taller and thicker and having larger leaves. It produces no other fruit than two or three and as many nuts. The taste is extremely sweet and pleasant, being like that of the kernels of green nuts. The nut is at first full of a deliciously sweet water which the Indians therefore drink instead of wine. This very sweet beverage is called *rhongkhosoupha*. If the fruit is gathered at maturity, then so long as it keeps its quality, the water in the course of time hardens upon the shell, while the water in the centre retains its fluidity till it finally disappears. If however it be kept too long *without being opened*, the concretion on the shell becomes rancid and unfit for human food.

10. *Phôkê, Delphis, Khelônê—The Seal, the Dolphin and the Tortoise.*

When at sea we use the seal, dolphin and tortoise for food should they chance to be caught.[66] The dolphin and tortoise we kill by cutting their throat, but we cut not the throat of the seal, but despatch him with blows as we do large fish. The flesh of the tortoise, like that of the sheep, is dark-coloured; that of the dolphin like the pig's is dark coloured and rank; that of the seal like the pig's, is white, but not rank.

[63] This is still its Indian name.

[64] The ibex is said to fall in such a way that its horns sustain the force of the impact.

[65] The initial *n* must have dropped out as the word no doubt transliterates the native term for the cocoa, *narikel*.

[66] According to the recipe for making hare-soup—"First catch your hare."

READINGS FROM THE ARIAN PÂLI.

BY DR. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

PART I.

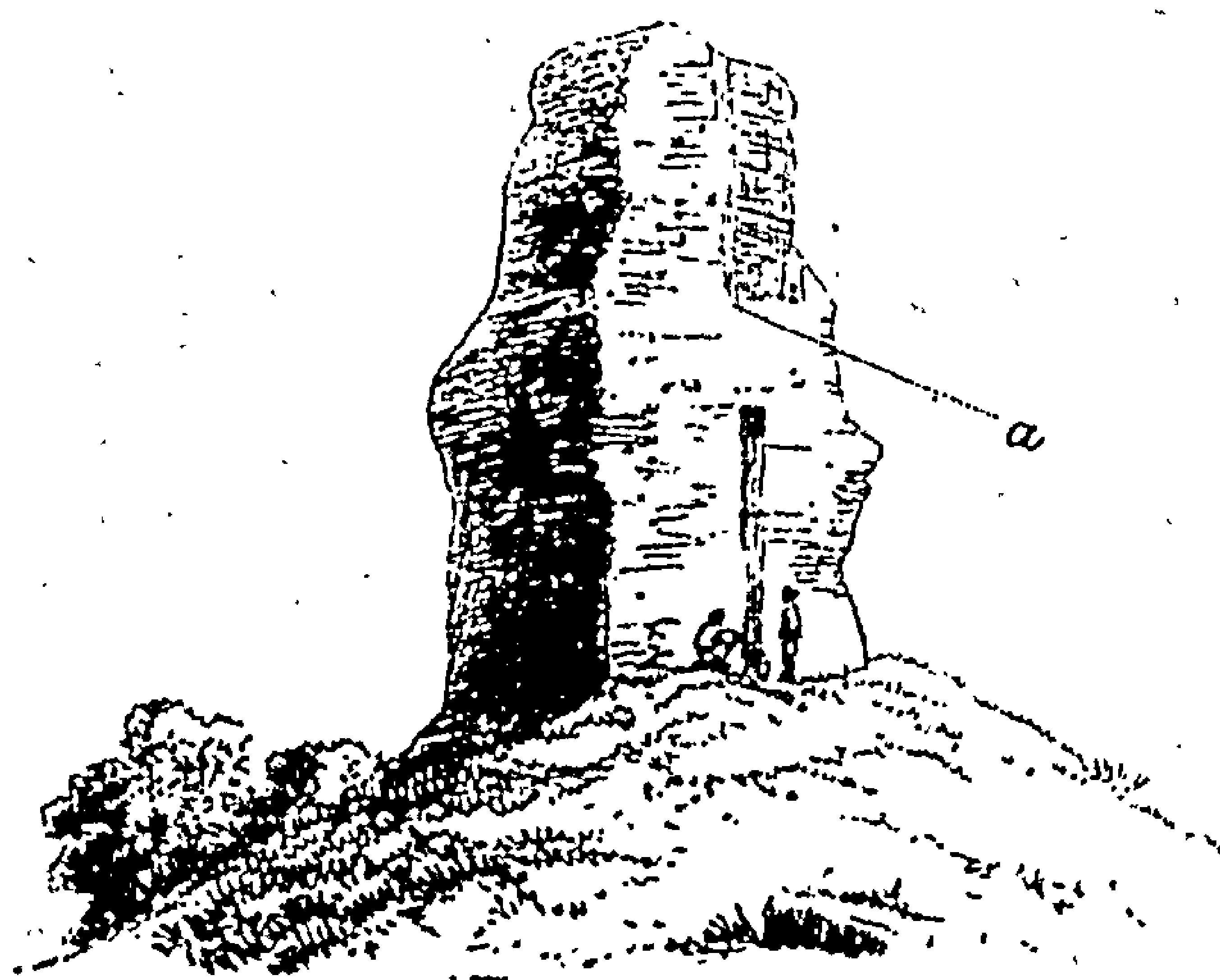
In the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for the year 1863 (vol. XXXII, page 139), General A. Cunningham wrote: "Thirty years have elapsed since the first Bactro-Pâli inscriptions were discovered by Ventura, Court, and Masson,—and during that long period but little progress has been made in their decipherment." And about the same time, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* of 1863, (vol. XX, page 221; Old Series) Professor J. Dowson said: "I know of no inscription in this character (Baktrian or Arian Pâli) of which, up to the present time, a complete and convincing interpretation has been offered." Although again nearly twenty years have passed since these remarks were penned, Professor Dowson's words are as true now as they were then. It is true General Cunningham and Professor Dowson themselves as well as others (*e. g.*, Sir E. C. Bayley) have, in the mean time, done not a little towards clearing away the difficulties that beset the reading of those obscure legends. It is impossible to speak too highly of the ingenuity and success with which they have determined the value of the phonetic and numerical symbols of the Arian Pâli, so that, in this respect at least, there appears hardly anything left for succeeding investigators to add. Still, it is true that, even now, with the exception of a few very short inscriptions, no "complete and convincing interpretation" has been offered; nor will this be the case, until also the grammatical construction of those records, which both in an etymological and syntactical respect has hitherto baffled the efforts of interpreters, is fully and correctly determined. This, I believe, I have succeeded in doing in the case of one, at least, of the longer inscriptions; and I hope to be able to do the same with regard to a few others. This is all I claim. The honour of unravelling the mysteries of the Arian Pâli is mainly due to the two writers already mentioned. I merely supply the grammatical order to what has been already, more or less fully, read by them. However, it will be seen from the sequel that in the process of determining the grammatical construction, the real meaning of the record is sometimes discovered to be considerably different from what it was originally supposed to be.

The Arian Pâli Inscription, of which I now give a grammatical translation, is that commonly known as the Suê-Vihâr Inscription.[1] A full account of its discovery will be found in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. IV (N. S.), pp. 497-499, and in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XXXIX, pp. 65-67 (both for 1870). It was found by the Rev. G. Yeates in February 1869, in a ruined old Buddhist tower, (a view of which accompanies this paper), in the neighbourhood of Bhâwalpur, to the north of Sindh. It is inscribed on a thin copper-plate, which appears to have been imbedded in the middle of the floor of a chamber near the top of the tower. It closed the mouth of a shaft, which had a width of 16 inches square and a depth of about 20 feet; the tower being solid with the exception of this shaft. The copper-plate itself is 30 inches square, the corners being rounded off, and the record is incised in four lines along three sides and a quarter of the fourth side, in the so-called Arian Pâli characters, which vary in size from ½ to 1 inch. It was forwarded by Major Stubbs to Sir E. C. Bayley, who appears to have presented it to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It now forms part of the Society's collection of inscribed copperplates. A very fair representation of it is given in the *Journal*, vol. XXXIX, pl. ii, though it is not a facsimile, as it might appear at first sight, but a very reduced copy. The copy of the inscription itself is, on the whole, accurate, with the exception of eight letters (11 to 18) on the top-line (the third of the inscription), which are quite untrustworthy.[2] There are also a number of minor, though, for the decipherer, no less important inaccuracies, which have arisen from the fact that parts of some letters have almost disappeared in consequence of the oxidation of the copper. On the whole, however, the plate is in a good state of preservation;

[1] I take it up first, because it so happens that the original is here in Calcutta. I have also had the advantage of a copy published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, and of another which General Cunningham kindly placed at my service.

[2] Especially letters Nos. 17 and 18. Of No. 17, one portion is altogether omitted, while the remainder is made to form one single letter with No. 18.

THE TOWER AT SUË VIHAR NEAR BHAWALPUR



a. POSITION OF COPPER-PLATE
From Journal A. S. Beng., Vol. XXXIX.

SUË VIHAR INSCRIPTION.

1st. line.

2nd. line.

3rd. line.

4th. line.

A.F.R. Hoernle. Scale 4 to 10 of original. W. Griggs Photo-lith.

only in the lower right-hand corner (where the first and second lines of the inscription meet) there is a large fissure,[3] probably caused by the instrument with which it was dug out; but it is well removed from the inscription. Most of the letters are deeply cut and perfectly distinct. But a few are partially obliterated, owing to the original incision not having been sufficiently deep, in consequence of which they have become filled up by the effects of the oxidation. Still in all such cases there are traces which, on careful inspection, cannot be mistaken. The lithograph of the inscription which accompanies this paper is prepared from a squeeze which I took myself, and checked by repeated careful examination of, and comparison with, the original. The letters, as now given, may be accepted as perfectly accurate in every respect.

Most of the defective letters occur in the third line of the inscription, and it is generally noticeable that the third line is not executed with the same care as the first and second lines. This is shown in various ways; thus, in the first two lines the several words are separated by perceptible intervals, while in the third line they are often run together; again the subscribed nasal (*anusvâra*) is not always placed accurately under the letter to which it belongs, but sidewards so as to be apparently under the succeeding letter.[4] The engraver evidently got tired over his work and, in the third line, did not trouble himself to cut the letters with sufficient accuracy and depth. Hence the modern decipherer's difficulties. These will be noticed in detail when I come to the remarks on the translation.

There is another point worth noting. There are distinct traces still observable on the copper-plate which disclose the *modus operandi* of the engraver. It appears that he first drew a preliminary copy of the inscription on the plate by means of very slight and superficially punched dots, indicating the outlines of the letters. Afterwards the letters were deeply engraved by the chisel following the dotted outlines of the copy. In a few cases, however, the engraver either departed from his copy, or, evidently from mere oversight, omitted to engrave the whole of the indicated dotted outline. Most, if not all, these cases too occur in the third line of the record. Thus in the 18th letter (*ni*) of the third line, the cross-line indicating the vowel *i* was drawn, in the preliminary dotted copy, across the curved head of the consonant *n*, though in a wrong direction, from left to right, instead of from right to left, as in the 6th letter of the same line. Accordingly when the engraver came to incise the final copy, he drew the vowel line lower down, across the body of the consonant, as in the 18th letter of the first line (in *Kanishkasya*). The original dotted line across the crook of the consonant *n*, however, is still perfectly recognisable. Again, in the 15th letter of the third line (*ki* of *kichhubini*), only one portion of the cross-line, indicating the vowel *i*, has been fully incised, viz., that on the right of the crook of the consonant *k*; the remainder, on the left side of the crook, has, by an oversight, been allowed to remain in its original dotted state, which is still, though faintly, recognisable. Similarly in the 32nd letter of the third line (*ṭha* of *pratiṭhânaṁ*), the upper half of the vertical stroke has been left in its original dotted state, while the rest is fully incised.

Two attempts have been previously made to read and interpret this inscription, but with very imperfect success. The first was by Sir E. C. Bayley, immediately after the discovery of the copper-plate, in 1870. His reading and translation are given in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XXXIX, pp. 65-70. The reading, though incomplete and incorrect, is yet in some points more accurate than that of Professor Dowson. The latter's reading and translation were published in the same year (1870), in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (N. S.) vol. IV, pp. 497-502. For the sake of facilitating comparison, I shall give both the previous readings side by side with my own, and afterwards add some remarks in justification of my version of the inscription.

Transcribed into Nâgarî characters, the record, as I read it, is as follows; a corrected Pâli,[5] as well as a Sanskrit version being given in parallel columns. The commencements of the four lines of the inscription are indicated by numbers.

[3] It is not shown in Plate ii of the *Journal*.

[4] So in *dadaṁti* and *kapajaṁcha*, which are written as if they were *dadatiṁ* and *kapajachaṁ*. Similar inaccuracies are well known in Persian cursive writing.

[5] *i.e.*, adding the, usually, omitted double-consonants and long vowels.

Original Pâli.

[1]) महरजस्य रजतिरजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कनिष्कस्य संवत्सरे एकादशे सं ११ दइसिकस्य मसस्य दिवसे अठविशे दि २८ [2]) व्यत्तदिवसे भिछुस्य नगदतस्य संखकटिस्य आचर्यदमत्रातशिष्यस्य अचर्यभवप्रशिष्यस्य यठिं अरोपयतो इह दामने [3]) विहरस्वमिनि उपसिक बलनंदि किछुबिनि बलजय मत च इमं यठिप्रतिठनं कपजं च अनुपरिवरं ददंति सर्वसत्वनं [4]) हितसुखय भवतु ॥

Corrected Pâli.

[1]) महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कनिष्कस्य संवत्सरे एकादशे सं ११ दइसिकस्य मासस्य दिवसे अट्ठावीशे दि २८ [2]) व्यत्तदिवसे भिच्छुस्य नागदत्तस्य संखकटिस्य आचार्यदमत्रातशिष्यस्य आचार्यभवप्रशिष्यस्य यट्ठिं आरोपयतो इह दामने [3])विहारस्वामिनी उपासिका बलनंदी किच्छुब्बिनी बलजया माता च इमं यट्ठिपतिट्ठानं कप्पजं च अनुपरिवारं ददंति सर्वसत्वानं [4]) हितसुखाय भवतु ॥

Sanskrit.

[1]) महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कनिष्कस्य संवत्सरे एकादशे सं ११ दइसिकस्य मासस्य दिवसे अष्टाविंशे दि २८ [2]) व्यक्तदिवसे भिक्षोर् नागदत्तस्य सांख्यकृतिन आचार्यदमत्रातृशिष्यस्य आचार्यभवप्रशिष्यस्य यष्टिं आरोपयत इह दामने [3]) विहारस्वामिनी उपासिका बलनन्दी कृच्छ्रोर्विणी बलजया माता च इदं यष्टिप्रतिष्ठानं कल्पजं च अनुपरिवारं ददन्ति सर्वसत्वानां [4]) हितसुखाय भवतु ॥

Romanised Transliterations.

New.

[1]*Maharajasya rajatirajasya devaputrasya Kanishkasya saṁvatsare ekâdaśe saṁ.11 daisikasya masasya divase athaviśe di.28,* [2]*vyattadivase bhichhusya Nagadatasya saṁkhakaṭisya âcharya-Damatrâtaśishyasya acharya-Bhavapraśishyasya yaṭhiṁ aropayato, iha dâmane* [3]*viharasvamini upasika Balanaṁdi kichhubini Balajaya mata cha imaṁ yaṭhipratiṭhanaṁ kapajaṁ cha anuparivaraṁ dadaṁti; sarvasatvanaṁ* [4]*hitasukhaya bhavatu.*

Prof. Dowson's.

[1]*Maharajassa Rajadirajassa Devaputassa Kanishkassa saṁvatsare ekadase Saṁ.11 Daisisassa masassa divase attaviseti 28,* [2]*Antra . . vase Bhichhussa Nagadatassa-Sakhabhatissa Achayyadamatajasishassa Achayya Bhavepa-sishassa yattin aropayata, Iha dachhani* [3]*vihara tachhino Upasika Balanandi dhajabino bala-jaya mata cha imam yatti prabha . . . . ttapa . . . vanuparivaram dadarim savvasatanam .* [4]*Hirasakhina kartaṁ.*

Sir E. C. Bayley's.

[1]*Maharâjasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa Kanishkasa saṁvatsare ekadaśe 11. Daïsikasa masasa divase anullviṁsate 19,* [2]*Atreshwarasa bhichhusasa Naganatasa Dhakhabhalisa.Achhayudamatata vasishtusu achhayu bhrataprasishtasa yati evu puyäe, iha dâmane Vihara sâmine upâsikâ ananânda. Swa si . . . lajaya matata chha imraya vipatita anupatrimra anupatitata, dadati sarva budha . .* [4]*Strasasukhaya bhavatu.*

Translation.

New version.

[1] On the 28th day of the month Daisios, in the 11th year of the great king, the Over-king of kings, the son of the gods, Kanishka;

[2] On the specified day, to the mendicant Nâgadatta, learned in the Sâṁkhya (*philosophy*), the disciple of the Âchârya Damatrâtâ, the disciple of the disciple of the Âchârya Bhava, putting up his staff (or pillar), here [3] the owner of the Dâmana Vihâra, the female lay devotee Balanandi, (*who is*) full of penances, and Balajayâ, her mother, give a shrine for the staff and the customary accessories.

[4] May it be for the health and wealth of all beings.

Prof. Dowson's.

[1] On the 28th of the month Daesius, in the 11th year of the great king, king of kings, son of the gods, Kanishka.

[2] Herein in the ? are deposited the necklaces (rosaries) of the mendicant Nagadata, of Sakhabhati, of the disciple of the Âchârya Damataja (and) of the disciple of the Âchârya Bavepa.

[3] The patron of this Southern-vihâr, the lay-devotee Balanandi, the bannerbearer? for his own merit and that of his children, wife, and mother (supplies) . . . . this shrine and vessel

[4] as a protection for all (the relics). Hira-sakhi delt.

Sir E. C. Bayley's.

[1] On the 19th day of the month Daïsik, in the 11th year of the divinely descended king, king of kings, Kanishka;

[2] For the religious benefit of Dhakabhalisa, the good, the excellent mother, and of the good and pre-excellent brother of Atreshwara of Naganata, the religious mendicant, (this) for the holy lord the Vihar, this worshipper gives, turned back from his maternal (virtue ?)—fallen away from his ancestral . . . . . ?

[4] May it be for a cause of happiness to all Buddhism?

It will be seen that the meaning of the record is very simple, and, with the exception of that of the first line, very different from what it has hitherto been supposed to be. The first line which contains the date of the record, the most important item of the whole, has always been read correctly. In the body of the record it is stated, that on that day a certain monk, called Nâgadatta, put up a *yaṭhi*, and that two pious women, daughter and mother, offered a shrine and its customary accessories for the *yaṭhi*. The *pratiṭhâna* (shrine) referred to, there can be little doubt, is the tower within which the copperplate was found. What the *yaṭhi* is, I do not know; perhaps others who are better acquainted with the practices of Buddhism may be able to explain it. The word, in the modern form *lâṭh*, is applied to monumental pillars, like the well-known stone pillars of Allahâbâd, Dehli, Banâras and other places; but that can hardly be the meaning of the word here. The word is also applied to a monk's staff. This, at first sight, would seem to be a much more likely meaning. The *âropaṇa* "setting up" or "assuming" of a staff might be a ceremony indicating the assumption of a high clerical office (as in the case of the Bishop's staff or crook). Or "putting up (=putting aside) the staff" might be a euphemism for "death;" the monk having died, his *yaṭhi* may have been enshrined by the two pious ladies. It is impossible to avoid connecting in one's thoughts the curious shaft which pierces the tower, and the mouth of which was closed with the copperplate that bears the inscription, with the *yaṭhi* mentioned in that inscription as having been enshrined. Can it be possible that the shaft was the receptacle of the *yaṭhi*? The dimensions of the shaft, no doubt, are large; but the *yaṭhi* need not have been a real mendicant's staff, or at least only such a one *pro forma*; in reality it might have been an object more like the famous *lath* or iron pillar of Dehli; perhaps ornamented with jewels and precious stones. If so, that fact may account for the curious circumstance, observed by the discoverer, that the tower is "cut, as it were, right down the diameter" so that "the shaft is quite exposed from about 3 feet of the floor (in which the copper-plate was imbedded) down to the top of the mound (from which the tower projects) by the falling away of half of the tower whenever that occurred."[6] The splitting of the tower would then be due to the cupidity of those who wanted to abstract the valuable *yaṭhi*.

The name of the monk whose *yaṭhi* was enshrined, was Nâgadatta. He is described as a *śishya* or disciple of the Âchârya Damatrâtâ[7] (or "protector of the house"), and as a *praśishya* of the Âchârya Bhava.[8] The term *praśishya* means "disciple of a disciple," and shows that Nâgadatta was a disciple of Damatrâtâ, who himself was a disciple of Bhava. He is further described as *saṁkhakaṭi*. This term has puzzled both Sir E. C. Bayley and Prof. Dowson. The former read it first as *dhakhakeli* and afterwards as *dhakhabhali*, and interpreted it (if I understand him correctly) as the name of the "mother" mentioned in the record. The latter reads it *Sakhabhaṭi*, and apparently takes it to be the name of the place where Nâgadatta lived. The letters are clear enough, with the exception of the third, which may be *bha*, but which much more likely is *ka*, as Sir E. C. Bayley first read it; for it closely resembles the *ka* in *Kanishka*, *ekâdaśe*, etc., while it differs not inconsiderably from the *bha* in *bhichhusya* and *Bhava*. The first letter is undoubtedly *saṁ*; the nasal curve at the foot is quite distinct, and exactly like that in *yaṭhiṁ* and *naṁdî*, a little further on. The word, therefore, is *saṁkhakaṭi*, which, as Professor Dowson thinks, may be the name of a locality, but which I think to be more probably a laudatory epithet of the monk, similar to those so common in the Mathurâ inscriptions. In the latter such laudatory terms as *saṁghamita* "friend of the clergy," *saṁghadâsa* "servant of the clergy," etc. frequently occur immediately after the proper name of the monk. Accordingly I interpret *saṁkhakaṭi* to mean "learned in the *sâṁkhya* (philosophy)." The Sanskrit equivalent of the epithet would be *sâṁkhyakṛitin*, where *kṛitin*

[6] *J. R. A. S.*, vol. IV, p. 498 (New Series).

[7] In the compound *Damatrâtaśishya* the vowel *ṛi* of *trâtṛi* has changed to *a*, as in the famous name *Jetavana*, which stands for Skr. *Jetṛivaṇa*, *i. e.*, "the grove of Jetṛi."

[8] Prof. Dowson here divides the words wrongly *bhavepa* and *śishasa*. But the third letter is quite distinctly *pra*, as Sir E. C. Bayley already read it. Moreover, the second letter is not *ve*, but *va*. The stroke over it which looks like the vowel-sign *e* is merely a flaw in the copper-plate, as a glance at the latter at once shows.

would regularly become *kaṭi* in Pâli, just as Sanskrit *kṛita* "done" appears in Pâli as *kaṭa*, at the end of some compound words.

The names of the two ladies who jointly presented the shrine are given as Balanaṁdî and Balajayâ,[9] of whom the latter is stated to have been the mother (*mâtâ*) of the former.

Balanaṁdî is further described as being *kichhubini* or full of penances. Sir E. C. Bayley altogether failed to read the word *kichhubini*; Professor Dowson reads it *dhajabino,* which he thinks to be "probably a compound of the Sanskrit *dhwaja,* a flag." The possibility of such a compound must be conceded; but the word would be *dhajabini*; for the last letter is unmistakeably *ni*. However, the first letter is undoubtedly *k* joined, probably, with the vowel-sign *i*. The outlines of the *k* are quite distinct on the copperplate; and as I have already remarked, traces of a dotted line across the head of *k* are just recognisable. The second letter is in all probability *chhu*; the loop at the foot, indicative of the vowel *u,* is clear enough on the plate; the body of the letter with the curve at the head of, and the stroke across, the perpendicular line best agrees with *chh*.[10] The word, then, most probably is *kichhubini,* or in full *kichchhubbinî,* a compound of Sanskrit *kṛichchhra* "penance" and *ûrva* "receptacle," (with the possessive suffix *in*), meaning lit. "she who has a receptacle of penances," *i. e.* "full of" or "much given to penances."[11] This lady is also described as an *upâsikâ* or "female lay-devotee" and as the "owner of the *vihâra,*" probably the *vihâra* to which the monk belonged. The latter epithet shows that she must have been a rich woman who could well afford to give a *pratiṭhâna* for the monk's *yaṭhi*. Rich *upâsikâ* ladies who built and endowed Vihâras are, by no means, uncommon in the history of Buddhism.[12] Both Sir E. C. Bayley and Professor Dowson make the donor to be a male person; but in that case the word would be *upâsako*. The form *upasika* (with the vowel *i*) shows that the word is feminine, which is further confirmed by its agreeing with the other feminine words *vihâra-svâminî, Balanaṁdî, kichchhubbinî*. Professor Dowson reads the first of these three words *vihâra-tachhino*; it should be *tachhini*. The last letter is unmistakeably *ni*. The second letter, as certainly, is *mi*; for *chhi* is usually written thus: 𑀙𑀺. The first letter, it is true, closely resembles the letter which is *tra* in *putrasa* (1st line), *tta* in *vyattadivase* (l. 2), and *tva* in *satvânaṁ* (l. 3); but neither is it very unlike *sva*; and the probability is on the whole largely in favour of *svâminî,* as Sir E. C. Bayley already read it.[13]

The name of the Vihâra or monastery is given as Dâmana, lit. "relating to the Dona or Artemisia flower." This is a sacred flower from which the Dâmanaparvan, a festival on the 14th day of the month Chaitra (March–April), takes its name. The Vihâra was probably so called on account of the abundance of those flowers on its grounds. Buddhist monasteries frequently took their names from groves of various kinds of trees or plants in their neighbourhood.[14] The word was correctly read by Sir E. C. Bayley, who also suggested that it was a name, though doubtfully, and took it to be the name of the locality where the vihâra was situated. But it is much more probable that the name is that of the vihâra itself. Professor Dowson reads the word *dachhani* and translates it "southern," making it an attributive of the vihâra ("the patron of this southern vihâra"). But the letters are perfectly distinct and are clearly *dâmane*; and the Sanskrit *dakshiṇa* in the sense "southern" always takes in Pâli the form *dakkhiṇa* (Prâkrit *dakkhiṇa* and *dâhiṇa*), but not

[9] The two names have nearly the same meaning: *Balanaṁdî,* "she who rejoices in strength," and *Balajayâ,* "she who conquers by strength." The first part of the compounds, however, might also be *bâla,* "children."

[10] See the forms of this letter in *J. R. A. S.*, vol. XX, pl. iv.

[11] Or the name might be read *kichchhuṁbinî,* and derived from *kṛichchhra* "penance," and *ûrmi* "wave," "quantity" (with suffix *in*). The meaning would be the same—"full of penances." *Kṛichchhra* means "pain," "torment," and is also the term for a particular kind of severe penance of fasting.

[12] Thus, the famous lady *Viśâkhâ,* who built the *Pûrvârâma vihâra,* near *Srâvastî.*

[13] However the reading *tachhini* (or *tvachhini,* as I should prefer) would not affect the sense very much; as it would mean "the builder of the vihâra." But the Sanskrit *takshan* or *tvakshan* properly means "a carpenter," "a worker in *wood*;" whence it seems doubtful whether the word could be used with reference to a vihâra, built of stone, and with reference to a woman. The Sanskrit feminine would be *takshanî*; so that the Pâli *tachhinî* would show an irregular (though not impossible) change of the medial vowel *a* to *i*. Moreover *tachhinî* would not agree with the locative *dâmane,* while *svâminî* does (see below).

[14] Thus the Badarikâ or Jujube Tree Monastery in Kosambî, the Veluvanna or Bambu Grove Monastery in Râjagaha, etc. See *Jâtakam,* pp. 85, 160. ; Transl. pp. 118, 221.

dachchhina.[15] The locative case *dâmane* is governed by the following noun *svâmini*, "owner," which in Pâli may be constructed either with the genitive or locative.[16] In full, the phrase would be *dâmane vihâre svâmini*, "the owner of the Dâmana vihâra." But *vihâre* is joined to *svâmini* as a compound word, *dâmane* remaining in the locative case, implied in the first part of the following compound; hence *dâmane vihârasvâmini*.[17] The word *iha*, as shown by the perceptible interval beween it and *dâmane*, is a separate word, and refers not to the Dâmana vihâra, but to the place or time of the donation.

The record of the donation ends with the word *dadaṁti*, in the 3rd line. The rest has no special connection with it, but is merely the usual formula, which, in different variations, is always added at the conclusion of such records of donations. Among the Mathurâ inscriptions the following variations occur: *sarvvasatvânâṁ hitasukhâya bhavatu; sarvvasatvânâṁ hitasukhârthaṁ bhavatu; sarvasatvahitasukhaṁ bhavatu*, etc.[18] Similar is the Latin formula *quod bonum faustumque sit*. The real import of the phrase was already perceived by Sir E. C. Bayley, though he failed to read the whole correctly. But Professor Dowson's version is quite untenable; the letters are perfectly distinct, and it is impossible (unless by a very arbitrary assignment of values) to get the reading *hirasakhina kartam* out of them. Moreover, *kartam* is no word at all; it is not clear of what word Professor Dowson was thinking; there is Sanskrit *kṛitam*, "done," or *kâritam*, "caused to be done"; there is also *kṛittam*, "cut," and *kartitam*, "caused to be cut"; but none of these will give a Pâli form *kartam*.[19]

It will be observed that the construction of the main record is interrupted and again formally taken up at the end of the first line, when after completing the long and minute statement of the date, the thread of the sentence is resumed with the words *vyattadivase* "on the specified day." This phrase has not been correctly read and understood by my predecessors. Sir E. C. Bayley doubtfully read it *atreshwarasa*, making it a name of the monk. Professor Dowson suggested the correct word *divase*, but he read the first part of the compound *antra*, from which no sense can be got. The first letter is somewhat puzzling. At first sight it looks like the vowel *a* with the sign of the subscribed consonant *y* attached below (as in *śishyasya*); this, of course, is impossible. There can be no mistake about the lower portion which is the subjoined *y*, but the upper portion must be the semivowel *v*; for the conjunct *vy* and the word *vyatta* are the only readings that will make sense. The ordinary form of *v* is angular, as in *divase*, while in the present case it is rounded; but that is the only irregularity. *Vyatta* is the Sanskrit *vyakta*, which means "specified;" it is just the word required; for the day is minutely specified in the preceding clause.

Next follows a long clause, consisting of genitives (or datives,—for in Pâli the two cases are identical), *bhichchhusya* ......*âropayato* ("to the monk...... who put up"). *Âropayato* is the regular genitive (or dative) of the present participle of the causal verb *âropaya*. Professor Dowson reads *âropayata*.[20] That, however, is not a Pâli form, either verbal or participial; and it could, by no possibility, have the meaning, "they are deposited." All copies of the inscription, hitherto, give the impossible form *âropayata*. But after very careful inspection of the original plate, I have satisfied myself that the final letter is not *ta* but *to*, though the cross-stroke, indicative of the vowel *o*, is rather short and indistinct, so that it might easily be overlooked.

The long genitive-clause, which has been just explained, is governed by the verb *dadaṁti* "they give," which concludes the donation and occurs near the end of the third line. Sir E. C. Bayley already recognised the verb of the sentence in that word, though he read it incorrectly,

[15] In the sense of "gift" the Skr. *dakshinâ* becomes in Pâli both *dakkhinâ* and *dachchhinâ*. The latter is the more usual form in the North-Western Pâli (*e. g.*, in the Zeda stone-inscription). But even if the original letters admitted this reading, it would be impossible here, as the word *dachchhinâ* is feminine.

[16] See *Kachchâyana* (ed. Senart), p. 153, "after the words *sâmi*, *issara*, etc., both the genitive and locative may be used." Compare Pâṇini, II, 3, 39.

[17] An exactly analogous construction occurs in the Kshatrapa Inscription, published by Dr. Bühler in the *Indian Antiquary*, ante, p. 157,—*mahâkshatrapasya svâmichashṭanaprapautrasya*, where the genitive, *mahâkshatrapasya* does not agree with the genitive *prapautrasya*, but with the genitive implied in the first part of the compound *svâmichashṭana*. In full, it would be *mahâkshatrapasya svâmichashṭanasya prapautrasya*.

[18] There is another instance in the new Kshatrapa inscription, published by Dr. Bühler, *ante*, p. 157: *sarvvasatvânâṁ hitasukhârthamiti*.

[19] Probably *kâritam* is intended; but it does not agree with the letters on the plate.

[20] Sir E. C. Bayley reads *evu puyae*, which is altogether inadmissible.

as the third person singular, *dadati*, "he gives." But the subjoined nasal *ṁ* which gives it a plural form is quite distinct. Moreover, the plural is required by the two nominatives which form the subject of the verb. Professor Dowson read *dadariṁ*, being misled by the inaccurate position of the subjoined *ṁ*, which is placed so far to the left that it appears to belong to the last letter *ti*, while it really belongs to the preceding *da*. A similar instance of the want of care in the placement of the subjoined *ṁ* is to be observed in the word *kapajaṁ*, the final *ṁ* of which is also placed so far to the left as to appear to belong to the following particle *cha*, "and." However the reading of those four letters *kapajaṁ cha* has no inconsiderable difficulties. Both my predecessors have failed to read them; nor am I altogether satisfied with the reading I have adopted myself. I take it to be the equivalent of the Sanskrit *kalpajaṁ cha*, "and customary," qualifying the following *anuparivâraṁ*. But I only give it, *faute de mieux*. Something more satisfactory may yet be found. The first letter is *ka*, as I have satisfied myself by careful examination of the original; but the curve to the right of the perpendicular is much obliterated by oxidation. The second is the only undoubted letter, and it is *pa*. Then comes a letter which rather looks like *he* or *hi*, but which is not altogether unlike *ja*. The fourth letter may be *ja* or *cha*; under it is the subjoined nasal *ṁ*, which I believe to belong really to the preceding letter, which I read *ja*.

The subject and the object of the verb *dadaṁti* are given in the third line. The subject are two persons, Balajayâ, the mother, and Balanaṁdî, her daughter. The object also is twofold; a shrine for the *yaṭhi*, and the customary accessories.

The preceding remarks, I believe, dispose of all the real difficulties of the record, grammatical and others. A few minor points, however, deserve some remark.

The long vowel *â* is not distinguished throughout the inscription, except in three places. General Cunningham has shown[21] that it is indicated by a dot or a *detached* stroke to the left of the foot of the consonant. In this manner *â* is once indicated in the present inscription[22]; viz. in *dâmane*, where the short *detached* stroke to the left of *d*, and below *m*, signifies *â*. Most of the letters in the present inscription have a very short slanting stroke or curve attached to the foot on the left side. These marks, of course, can have no meaning; they are mere flourishes. But in two cases this foot-stroke is drawn *across* the base of the letter, almost at right angles with it. This is the case with the *k* of *ekâdaśe*, and the initial *a* of *âchârya*, and as in both cases the word requires a long *â* in those places, I am inclined to think that the peculiar form of the foot-stroke may have a special meaning, and that it may signify the long vowel *â*.

There is a large curve, with a loop, attached to the foot of some letters (*ś* and *sh*; as in *śishyasya*). There can be no doubt that this signifies a subjoined *y*, and not, as Professor Dowson supposes, the doubling of a consonant. In such ancient Pâli inscriptions, the doubling of a consonant is not usually indicated, while a conjoined semi-consonant (*y* or *v* or *r*) may be, and in the North Western Pâli commonly is, written. Of the latter practice, there are numerous examples in the present inscription; the following symbols are used: a line attached to the right of the foot signifies a subjoined *r* (as in *pratiṭhânaṁ*, *praśishyasya*); the same, but with a loop round the foot, signifies a prejoined *r* (as in *âchârya*, *sarva*); a curve attached to the left of the foot signifies the nasal anusvâra *ṁ* (as in *saṁvatsare*, *yaṭhiṁ*, etc.); the same, but with a loop in the middle, signifies a subjoined *y* (as in *mahârâjasya*, *śishyasya*, etc.); lastly, an upward curve to the right of the foot signifies a subjoined *v* (as in *svâminî*, *satvânaṁ*).[23]

In *saṁvatsare* there is a symbol which, in common with my predecessors, I have read as *tsa*. It is, however, somewhat different from the usual sign for *tsa* (as in the Taxila Inscription). It may be, and most probably is, that sign, only rather clumsily drawn. But it is just possible that it may be a representation

[21] See *Numismatic Chronicle*, (N. S.) vol. VIII, p. 126.

[22] Unless the small detached stroke after *tr* in *damatrâta* may be assumed to signify *â*. But it is placed to the left of the *head*, instead of the *foot* of the letter. It is probably caused by a mere slip of the chisel; just as in *saṁkhakaṭisa* where there is a similar mark to the left of the head of *ka*. Two similar unmeaning notches will be observed near *di* in *balanaṁdi*.

[23] The line and the curve to the right are not always carefully distinguished; thus in *putrasya* the *tra* rather looks like *tva*. In *vyattadivase* the *tt* is indicated by the usual sign for *tvâ*.

of *chchha*, which is the form that the Sanskrit *tsa* assumes in the ordinary Pâli. The latter has *saṁvachchhara*, "a year." For it may be noticed that, if the left perpendicular stroke be omitted, the remainder of the symbol very closely resembles the usual sign for *cha* (as in *mátá cha*).

The third letter of the second word must be read (as by Sir E. C. Bayley) *ti*, not *di*, as Professor Dowson has it. In Sanskrit there are two words, which are nearly synonymous, *adhirája* and *atirája*. The former is the usual one in Sanskrit, but the latter is preferred by the North Western Pâli, from whence, indeed, it may have been adopted into Sanskrit. It is true, *di* and *ti* are not always clearly distinguishable in Arian Pâli writing; though in the present case the *ti* is sufficiently distinct; but the matter is decided by the contemporary Mathurâ Inscriptions of Kanishka and Huvishka, which have *atirája*.[24] As these are written in the Indian Pâli characters, where the signs for *t* and *d* are very different, there can be no doubt as to the true reading being *ti*.

The name of the month is *daïsika*, not *daïsisa* as Professor Dowson read it. Sir E. C. Bayley read it correctly. All the letters, including *ka*, are quite distinct. The month referred to is the Makedonian *Daisios* (May–June), as Sir E. C. Bayley at once recognised. The form of the name which occurs here must be a Western Pâli adaptation of the Greek; *ka* is a common pleonastic suffix.

As regards the character which occurs no less than four times in this inscription (in *aṭha*, *yaṭhiṁ*, *yaṭhi* and *pratiṭhánaṁ*), it undoubtedly signifies *ṭh* as General Cunningham maintains (*J. A. S. B.*, vol. XXXIII, p. 36), and not *ṭṭ*, as Professor Dowson thinks (*J. A. S. B.*, vol. XXXII, p. 422; *J. R. A. S.*, vol. XX, p. 223). It cannot be *ṭṭ*, because in all those places where it has hitherto been found, the Pâli requires *ṭṭh*; thus *aṭṭha*, "eight," *yaṭṭhi*, "staff," *pratiṭṭhánaṁ*, "shrine." Nor is there any reason why it should signify a double consonant. In such old Pâli inscriptions double consonants are not usually indicated. Hence it follows that the symbol in question must stand for single *ṭh*.

FOLKLORE IN THE PANJAB.

COLLECTED BY MRS. F. A. STEEL.

WITH NOTES BY LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

(*Continued from p.* 233.)

No. 10.—CUSTOM.

Opprobrious Names.[1]

(*a*) *Children's Names.*

In the Panjâb among Musalmâns, Hindus, Sweepers and Sikhs alike, a mother losing several children in succession, especially if sons, will call any sons, not daughters as a rule, that may be subsequently born, by names signifying objects of contempt, in the hope that they may live. Some such names refer to certain ceremonies performed at the birth of such children, but the greater number refer merely to common objects. Examples are :—

(1) Gudaṛ...... waste cotton.
(2) Chûhâ ... rat.
(3) Billâ ...... tom-cat.
(4) Pirthî...... dust (*prithvî*, earth).
(5) Mâhlâ...... well-rope (*máhal*, Panj.).
(6) Jullî ...... rags (Panj., a quilt made of rags and patches).
(7) Bûṭâ ...... a tree (Panj.).
(8) Kauḍâ ... a cowry.
(9) Kâlu ...... black (reference to *kálá kuttá*, a black dog).
(10) Khôtâ...... a donkey.
(11) Ruṛâ ...... dungheap (Panj.)
(12) Aṛûṛâ...... dungheap (Panj.)[2]

There are various customs attendant on the birth of such children.

Thus in some cases the new-born child is put into an old winnowing basket or *chhaj* (Hindî, *chháj*, Panj. *chhaj*), with the sweepings

[24] Thus *mahârâjasya râjâtirâjasya devaputrasya Huvishkasya vihâre dânam*, on a pillar; see *J. A. S. B.*, vol. XXXIX, pl. iv.

[1] Conf. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VIII, pp. 321-22; vol. IX, pp. 141 and 229.

[2] Compare from Bengal :—(2) Chhuchhunrâ, musk rat. (4) Dhuriâ, dusty. (6) Chotharuâ, rags. (9) Kariâ, black. (11) (12) Gonaurâ, dungheap. *Ind. Ant.* vol. VIII, pp. 321-22.

From Mysore :—(7) Bemban, Margosa tree. (11) (12) Tippa, dunghill.

From Madras (Tamil) :—(11) (12) Kuppan, Kuppaswami, Dungheap. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. IX, p. 229.

The name Kauḍâ, (8) a cowry, has apparently in the Panjâb no reference to price, as in Bengal. See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. IX, p. 141.

The name Khôtâ, (10) a donkey, is apparently confined to the Multân district.—R. C. T.

of the house, and is then dragged out of the house into the yard attached, whence the names

(13) Chhajju ... winnowing basket.

(14) Ghasîṭâ ... dragged (Panj. *ghasîṭnâ*, to drag).

There are other customs which give rise to names of such children as above mentioned, but these can hardly be termed opprobrious. Thus the child is sometimes given to a faqîr, and begged from him again as alms: whence,—

(15) Khairâyatî, Kharâtî . . . . . alms.[3]

Sometimes at the Muḥarram the child is dressed up as a faqîr in honour of the Imâms, whence,—

(16) Faqîriâ ... faqîr.

In this connection, too, should be mentioned such names, as—

(17) Gurdâs ... servant of the Guru,

(18) Dêvîdâs ... servant of Dêvî,

usually given to firstborn sons, but sometimes also to children of this kind.

Another custom is—to weigh the child against grain, and then to give grain equal to the weight of the child, or in the case of the poor, a little grain, to a sweeper. This grain is considered to be the price for which the child has been bought from the sweeper. The child is then called

(19) Chûṛh...... sweeper (Panj. *chûṛhâ*).

When several children have died, say four or five in succession, the remainder are of course greatly valued, which is to be seen from the following names:—

(20) Mahingâ...dear, expensive.

(21) Ladhu ...acquired (Panj. *ladhnâ* to get).

(22) Lâbhu......acquired (Panj. *labhnâ* to get).

(23) Milkhî ...estate, property (Panj. *milakh*, estate).[4]

(24) Jîwan ......life (*jîvâ*, to live).

Here may be added two curious nondescript names—

(25) Mîrchâ ......pepper.

(26) Makhwâ ...a fly.

There is also an important class of customs which we may call the mutilating customs always arising from the idea of averting evil. In some cases the mother cuts off a piece of the child's ear and eats it, which gives rise to the name,

(27) Bûṛâ ...... crop-eared.[5]

Another practice very prevalent in the Fîrôzpur district among all classes and sects, but particularly among Sikhs and Hindus, is to dress up a son born after the death of previous sons as a girl. Such children have their noses pierced in signification of their being converted into girls, the pierced nose being the female mark *par excellence*.[6] The mother makes a vow to dress up her boy as a girl for from four to ten years, the hair is plaited, women's ornaments worn, &c., and naked little-boy girls, as it were, can be seen running about in any village. Even where the custom is not fully carried out, the nose is pierced and a sexless name given, thus—

(28) Nathu...... nostril (Hind. *nâth*, Panj. *nath*).

(29) Chhêdî ... pierced.[7]

(30) Bulâqî ... nose-ring (Turkî, *bulâq*, a nose-ring).[8]

These ear-boring and nose-piercing customs also arise from a wish to spoil the "perfection" of the child. Unblemished or beautiful children are supposed to be the special delight of fairies, who walk off with them, and of demons who possess them. In reference to this a story about Akbar is commonly told in Fîrôzpur.

Story of Akbar, the Emperor; Bîrbal, the Minister; and Dopiâzâ, the Priest.

One day Akbar was wounded by a knife which made a scar on his hand. Mulla Dopiâzâ, who saw it, smiled and thanked God. Thereupon Bîrbal said to the Emperor, "Behold, the Mulla wishes you ill, he smiles and thanks God on such an occasion." So Akbar ordered Mulla Dopiâzâ to be imprisoned. After this, the Emperor went hunting one day without any attendants, and lost himself in a deep jangal, where he was caught by a wild tribe, who were in search of a man without blemish to bury

[3] Khairâyatî also among the women seems to have the sense of "scapegoat."—F. A. S.

[4] This is not the Arabic—*milk*, property.—R. C. T.

[5] Another derivation is from بورا کتا *bûṛâ kuttâ*, a crop-eared dog. The Munshis deny the existence of this custom, but the women stick to it, and I believe they are right.—R. C. T.

[6] The right nostril is the one pierced, and sometimes also the cartilage between the nostrils.—R. C. T.

[7] Compare from Bengal:—(29) Nakchhediâ—nose-pierced. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VIII, p. 322.—R. C. T.

[8] *Bulâqi*. It may repay examination to enquire into this word further, as indicating that the custom is prevalent in Central Asia or was prevalent among the Mongol hordes before their irruptions into India.—R. C. T.

under the foundations of their fort.[9] But when they saw the scar of the knife wound on Akbar they let him go. The Emperor recollected Mulla Dopiâzâ, and thanked him in his heart, and when he returned home, he brought him to great honour.

Lastly, where evil influences are supposed to be especially powerful, as an extreme measure, the new-born child is given to a sweeper woman (*mehtarânî*) to suckle. This is prevalent among all classes, even high caste Hindus, who sometimes, however, employ Musalmân women for this purpose.

Daughters do not, as a rule, bear such names as are above mentioned: they are not usually considered so much worth preserving from evil influences.

These customs are said to be entirely confined to the women, whose lives are made up to a much larger extent than one would imagine in practising superstitious puerilities, and are not believed in by the men, who are often ashamed of their nicked ears, &c., but as a Panjâbî husband, Musalmân or Hindu, has next door to no influence over his wife and her female friends, they are universal.

An examination of these names clears up two points of common observation; the frequent occurrence of names common to Hindus and Musalmâns, and the dressing up of little boys as girls.

Several of the above names have the ordinary Musalmân and Hindu additions tacked on to them to give them the ordinary look of the names in every day use. Of these the commonest is *Mall*, Panj. a wrestler, champion, brave man, which is by Hindus added to the names Chûhâ, Billâ, Bûṭâ, Kauḍâ, Chhajju, Ladhu, Lâbhu, Bûrâ, Nathu, etc. Râm is also added to Lâbhu. Musalmâns add Bakhsh to Jîwân, and Khân and Shâh to Bulâqî.

These names are not confined to the poor or uneducated, witness—Nathu Mall Śrâf, Billâ Mall Śrâf, Chûhâ Mall Mahâjan, Jîwan Bakhsh Saudâgar, Bulâqî Khân, all well known characters about Firôzpûr; Nathu Kalâl (Musalmân) is a large excise contractor in the district.

Gobardhan (vulgo Gôrdhan) in the Panjâb is not an opprobrious name[10] as in Bengal, but refers to the mountain (Govardhaṇa) in Bindraban (Vṛindâvaṇa).

(*b*) *Women's names.*

Mothers who have lost several children are not called by special names; but second wives married on the death of former wives are sometimes called in their husband's family by opprobrious names.

The custom is for the new wife, on entering her husband's house for the first time, to carry on her head, if poor, a pot of water or milk, or a basket of vegetables; if rich to have it carried for her by a woman of the Mehrâ (carrier) caste in the first case, of the gardener caste in the second, and of the cowherd caste in the third.

Such women are henceforth called in the family according to the circumstances of their first entrance—

(1) Mehrî ......(*mehrâ*, a carrier).
(2) Mâlan ......(*mâlî*, a gardener).
(3) Gujjrî ......(*gujjar*, a cowherd).

It may be noted here as a custom that a man losing two or three wives in succession, is made to marry a *bird* with all ceremony before another family will give him their daughter.[11]

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(*Continued from p. 269.*)

XII.

We will now again revert to our story. We have seen how having put his enemy off his guard, Chinghiz Khân marched against him swiftly and furtively. When he reached the defile of Jerkhabuchikha in the mountains

[9] This superstition is said to have been very prevalent in the days previous to the establishment of the British Government in India, the idea being that the blood of the buried man consolidated the foundations. It is said to have been one of the ways of getting rid of condemned criminals. Lately in Calcutta when building the piers of the floating bridge over the Hooghly a regular panic was created among the poorer classes by the spread of story that the English were going to consolidate the foundations with the blood of young children!—*R. C. T.*

[10] Gobardhan, dungmade—see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. IX, p. 141.—R. C. T.

[11] I add as a note three more names to indicate how some of the natives get their names; an enquiry into this phase of nomenclature might repay the trouble:—

(1) *Aitwârî*, Sunday, the name of my cook born on a Sunday.

(2) *Bakrâ'îdî*, a bheestie, born on the day of the great Muhammadan feast.

(3) *Nigâhâyâ*, a Jaṭṭ cultivator, born at Nigâhâ, Dera Ghâzî Khân District, where the shrine of the great Panjâbî saint Sakhî Sarwar is.—R. C. T.

Jejeer-undur, he surrounded Wang Khân and his people, and a battle ensued which lasted three days, on the third day, the Kirais being completely overcome, submitted. Wang Khân and his son fled:

One of the Kirais who had fought in the battle said to Chinghiz:—"It would have been wrong for me to have let you take and kill my rightful Lord, therefore I have fought you for three days so as to give him a better chance of escaping. If you now order me to be executed, I shall no doubt die, but if you spare me, I will serve you faithfully." Chinghiz replied, "he who did not wish to desert his lord but fought against me to give him time to escape is a brave fellow. Be my companion." Chinghiz thereupon made him a commander of a hundred men, and gave him to the widow of Khuildar as her slave and dependent. Khuildar, it will be remembered, had been the first volunteer to fight, and had thus earned for himself and his descendants the right to ask for the rewards due to the widows and children. Chinghiz Khân now proceeded to divide the Kirais among his allies. To Takhai-baatur of the tribe Sulduda (? Suldus) who had given him assistance, he gave one hundred tents of the Jirgin tribe. Wang Khân's brother Jakhaganbu, (Jakembo as Rashid calls him), of whom we have previously spoken, had two daughters, the elder one, Ibakha, Chinghiz had married himself, while the younger one, called Sorkhakhtan, had married Tului (*i. e.* his son Tului), whence he would not permit Jakhaganbu's people to be distributed. Bada and Kishlikh, the two herdsmen who had first warned him of Wang Khân's hostile intentions, were given the latter's golden tent and its contents together with the people who had charge of his golden vessels. He also made over to them the family of Bankhojin of the race of Kirai to form a bodyguard, granted them the privilege of wearing their bows and arrows during the feasts, and ordered that at such feasts they were each to have a flagon of his own. He also gave them the right to retain the booty they should capture in battle and the wild animals they should secure in the hunt without sharing them with others. He extolled them saying they had saved his life, and that now he had annihilated the Kirais he had secured the throne of the Mongols. "Let my descendants notice the rewards due to such services." During the winter following his victory, Chinghiz remained in the district of Abujiakodiger.[1]

The *Yuan-shi* adds little to this account of the great disaster that overtook Wang Khân and his people. It makes out, however, that Chinghiz Khân won two victories. The first one led to Wang Khân being deserted by Altan, Khuchar and Chamukha, who having tried to kill him and failing fled to the Naimans.[2] It calls the place where the battle was fought Chechentu-ul.[3] The *Yuan-shi-lei-pen* says the battle took place in the district between the Tula and the Kerulon,[4] Rashîdu'd-dîn calls the place Checher (or Chechem) Undir;[5] *Undir* means height, and these heights of Chechir were probably on the eastern borders of the Gobi. They have been already mentioned in the account of Chinghiz Khân's earlier adventures. He also mentions that the defeat was preceded by a conspiracy among some of Wang Khân's allies. In this Daritai Utjigen, Chinghiz Khân's uncle, Altan Jiun, Khujir or Khuchar Biki, Chamukha, Khum Barin, Suekei or Suwagi, Toghril of the race Tuken Tudul (written Nugteh Buul by Erdmann), Tugai Khaguri the Mangkut, and Khutu Timur a Tartar prince. They agreed to fall upon Wang Khân in the night, and then to become independent leaders, obeying neither Wang Khân nor Chinghiz. Having heard of their plans Wang Khân fell upon them, took much of their wealth from them, and scattered them, whereupon Daritai Utjigen, Khum Barin[6] and the Sakhiat, a tribe of the Kirais, joined Chinghiz Khân, while Altan, Khujir and Khutu Timur went to Tayang, the chief of the Naimans. At this time Wang Khân was encamped at Kit-Khulu-khat-alat.[7] The *Huang-Yuan*, as is frequently the case, is here almost verbatim in accord with Rashidu'd-dîn. It mentions the conspiracy just named, and calls the conspirators Dalitai Ojin, Andan, Jiun, Khochar-begi Chamukha, Balin, Sogitai, Tolinkai Takhai, Khulakhai and

[1] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, pp. 97-99.
[2] Hyacinthe, p. 29; Douglas, p. 40; see also De Mailla, IX, pp. 33 and 34.
[3] Hyacinthe, p. 30.
[4] Gaubil, p. 10.
[5] Berezine, vol. II, p. 145; Erdmann, p. 297.
[6] Erdmann and D'Ohsson both make this a tribal name and read it a section of the Niruns.
[7] Written Cait Culgat-alt by D'Ohsson; Berezine, vol. II, pp. 142 and 143; Erdmann, p. 295; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 79 and 80.

the people of the race Khududa. It says they excused their action on the ground that they could not trust Wang Khân. That Wang Khân having defeated them Dalitai Ojin and the races Balin Sakhai and Nunjin joined Chinghiz Khân, while Andan, Jiun, Khochar Begi Khudukhua and Chamukha fled to the Naiman ruler Tayang Khân. This authority calls the place where Wang Khân was then living Jigan Khulu.[8]

Pelis de la Croix, doubtless quoting from some late authority whom he does not name, tells us the van of Chinghiz Khân's army was commanded by Kharachar,[9] while Wang Khân's was commanded by Chamukha. The battle began by a struggle between these advance guards whose commanders hated each other very cordially. Kharachar was beaten, whereupon Suida Behadur[10] at the head of the old veteran troops joined with the Su Moghuls,[11] charged Wang Khân's main army so vigorously that it fell back, and Chamukha, who came to their assistance, also gave way. Meanwhile the two wings of Chinghiz Khân's army under Hubbe[12] and Irka attacked the enemy's two wings. The fight was continued obstinately until Chinghiz advanced in person with his sons and the reserve so rigorously that the Kirâis broke and fled.[13] As we have seen, Chamukha had conspired against and abandoned Wang Khân before the fight.

We are told in the *Yuan-shi* and by Rashidu'd-dîn that the Kirai chief in his flight reproached himself for having been persuaded as he had been by his son, whom he accused of being the author of his misfortunes.[14] The *Huang-yuan* says he exclaimed to Sankun—We are relatives, can we die apart now that we have been undone by these people?[15]

Father and son according to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* escaped to the district of Didiksakhal, and the river Nyekun which Palladius suggests was probably the boundary between the Naimans and the Kirais. There Wang Khân, wearied with his journey and suffering from thirst, went to drink in the river. He was seen by a Naiman scout called Khorisubechi, who captured him, and although Wang Khân explained who he was, he would not believe him, but killed him on the spot. Sankun who was some distance off rode away to Chual.[16] There he arrived with his companions Kokochu and his wife, and while looking for water saw a wild horse being bitten by flies. Dismounting from his own he gave it in charge of Kokochu, and crept towards the other intending to shoot it. Kokochu thereupon determined to desert him. His wife reproached him, saying "He clothed you in fine clothes, fed you with good food, wherefore would you forsake your lawful Lord?" Kokochu replied that as she would not go with him, she perhaps wished to marry Sankun.

She retorted with a Mongol aphorism. "Let them say that women have dogs' skin on their faces" (*i. e.* have no shame), "nevertheless I must ask you to give him this gold cup from which he may drink." Kokochu threw down the cup, and then with his wife repaired to Chinghiz, to whom he related how he had deserted Sankun. That exacting master said: "How can I receive such people as companions?" He thereupon had Kokochu put to death, but rewarded his wife, and gave her to one of his officers.[17] This authority does not tell us what was the end of Sankun. In the *Yuan-shi* we are told he first fled to Si-Hia or Si-Sia.[18] There, being convicted of plundering, he went to the kingdom whose name is written Kuchaskiya by Hyacinthe and Kweisil by Douglas.[19] De Mailla says that having been driven away from Hia he fled to the Kuessê by whose king he was attacked and killed.[20] The *Yuan-shi-lei-pen* says that after Wang Khân's defeat his rival returned to the Onon, whence he sent detachments in pursuit of him. He was captured, but the same day he again escaped and fled to the Naimans, where he was killed. It calls the place where Sankun was put to death by order of the ruler of the country Kutse,[21] and there can be little doubt that the place meant under

[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 175.

[9] *i. e.* the ubiquitous ancestor of Timur whom his panegyrists introduce at various points in the story to exalt the virtues of their master's ancestry, and whose mention is a proof that the story is a late invention.

[10] ? Subutai. [11] *i. e.* the Tartars. [12] *i. e.* Jebe.

[13] De la Croix, *Hist. of Genghizcan the Great*, pp. 55 and 56.

[14] Douglas, p. 42; Hyacinthe, p. 30; Berezine, vol. II, p. 145; Erdmann p. 297.

[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 176.

[16] I find a station Chel on the map, north-east of Barkul and south-west of Chaghan Tala, which possibly answers to this Chual.

[17] *Op cit.*, pp. 99 and 100.

[18] *i. e.* Western Hia or Tangut comprising the modern Kansuh and the northern part of Shen-si.

[19] Hyacinthe, p. 31; Douglas, p. 42.

[20] *Op. cit.*, tom. IX, p. 34.

[21] Gaubil, p. 10.

the various disguises of the name was the Uigurian principality of Kaochê in Eastern Turkestan as Mr. Douglas says. Rashidu'd-dîn says that after his defeat Wang Khân fled to a place in the country of the Naimans called Nirgun Ussun.[22] There he was seized by Khori Subaju and Tung or Iteng Shal, two frontier commanders of Tayang the Naiman ruler. They put him to death, and sent his head to their master. Sankun fled to a place whose name is read Ashik Balgasun by Berezine, and Istu Balghasun by Erdmann,[23] but the name is evidently corrupt. It doubtless ought to be read Itzina, as it is given in the *Huang-yuan*.[24] Thence he hastened on to the frontiers of Jul or Chul on the extreme borders of the Mongols,[25] and thence he went to Buri Tibet (*i. e.* to the country of Tibet, which is so called by Carpini, Davezac, p. 658). Having engaged in plundering there he was attacked by the inhabitants; he again fled to the country of Khoten and Kashgar. D'Ohsson says to the district of Kuman on the borders of Kashgar and Khoten. Erdmann says to the borders of Jin and Kashgar and the district of Gushan.

There he was attacked and killed by Kilij Arslan, the chief of the tribe Kilij or Khalaj in a place called Kusaku-char-kusha[26] who sent his wives and children prisoners to Chinghiz Khân, and shortly after himself submitted to that chief.[27] He was probably the Arslan chief of the Karluks of whom we shall have more to say further on. The *Huang-yuan* calls the place where Wang Khân was captured the river Nikiun-uli, and names the Naiman chiefs who killed him Kholisu-bachi and Tedusha. It says that Sankun fled to Sisia, passed the town of Itzina,[28] and reached the country of the Bolin Tufan.[29] He fell upon the people there, and plundered them, but the Tufans drove him and his followers away westwards. He was eventually killed by Khelinchukhala[30] in the country of Chergeziman.[31]

Ssanang Setzen, whose narrative of these events is of hardly any value, dates the defeat of Ong Khaghan, as he calls Wang Khân, in 1198. He places the battle at the outflow of the river Onon[32] near Külen Buira (*i.e.* the well known lake Buyur, which was near the heights of Checher). He further tells us Chinghiz Khân's army was led by Tôrôlji Taishi of the Uirat Jelme Noyan of the Uriangkhân and the son of Kiluken Baghatur of the Sunid called Tudai Tsarbi, who defeated Ong Khaghan and subdued the Kerait.[33]

The conquest of the Kirais and their ruler was a great step in Chinghiz Khân's career. It made him a widely notorious person, and we consequently find the campaign referred to by other and independent authorities than those we have quoted, and notably by the Christian chroniclers, who were especially interested in the overthrow of Prester John as they styled Wang Khân. I propose to close this instalment of my story by bringing together two or three of these notices, first referring shortly to a famous Muhammadan historian.

Rashidu'd-dîn, although in every way the most important of the Persian writers who described the doings of the Mongols, was not the only, nor the earliest, Muhammadan author who has left us many details about Chinghiz Khân. He in fact confesses his indebtedness, especially to Alaiu'd-dîn Ata Mulk Juveni, who devoted a special work to the history of the great conqueror, which he entitled the *Tarikh Jihan Kushai*, or history of the world-conqueror.

Alai-u'd-dîn was born in the canton of Juvein in Khorasan, whence the name of Juveni by which he is generally quoted. He was the son of Bohai-u'd-dîn Muhammad, who occupied an important post in the Treasury of the Mongol rulers of Persia. He himself became prefect of Baghdad, which included the Government of Irak Arab and Khuzistan, a post he filled until his death in 1283. His great work was commenced in 1252, and closed in 1257. It is divided into two parts, in the former of which he describes in detail the later history of Chinghiz Khân and especially the conquest of Transoxiana and Persia. He also details

[22] D'Ohsson calls it On-Ussun, which name means the ten rivers in Turkish, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 82, note 2.
[23] See Erdmann, note 160.
[24] Vide *infra*.
[25] *i. e.* the Chual of the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* above mentioned.
[26] Erdmann reads it Gusatu-jau-gasmeh, D'Ohsson Keusatu-char-kashme.
[27] Berezine, vol. II, p. 146; Erdmann, p. 298; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 82 and 83.
[28] This is a well known town of Tangut, which will occupy us again in a later page.
[29] *i. e.* the Buri Tibet of other authors.
[30] *i. e.* Kilij Khân.
[31] *i. e.* the Kusaku-char-kusha of Rashid, perhaps the country of the Black or Rock Kirghisis is meant. *Huang-yuan*, p. 176.
[32] Clearly a mistake for the Kerulon. [33] *Op. cit.*, p. 87.

the histories of Ogotai and Kuyuk, Chinghiz Khân's successors. He devotes a chapter to the history of the Uighurs, a second one to that of the Kara Khitai; and the story of the Khuarezm Shahs and of the Mongol governors in Persia from the retreat of Chinghiz Khân to the invasion of Khulagu. The second part of his work describes the events of the earlier years of Mangu Khân, including a full account of Khulagu's expedition in Persia and his destruction of the Ismaelites or Assassins, whose history both in Persia and Egypt he tells, as well as the origin of that of the Battinans, a branch of the Shiahs.[34] Juveni is an excellent authority for the later period of Chinghiz Khân's career, but for the earlier part his narrative is very jejune. For this part of the story he had neither the materials nor the skill of Rashidu'd-dîn.

He does however mention the struggle between Chinghiz Khân and Wang Khân. He calls the two herdsmen who warned the former of his danger Geleg and Tadeh (the Kishlikh and Badai of Rashidu'd-dîn), and tells us they were rewarded by being created Terkhans. Mirkhawend tells us the title carried the privilege of exemption from taxes, of entitling the bearer to keep for himself any booty he might capture in battle, of free access to the palace at all times, and of exemptions from punishment until more offences had been committed. The privileges extended to a descendant of a Terkhan down to the ninth generation. Mirkhawend tells us that when Shâh Rukh Sultan was governor of Herat, many of these privileged descendants of the Terkhans were at his court.[35]

Abulfaraj, whose narrative at this period is largely constructed on the basis of that of Juveni, tells us that in 599 Hijra, *i.e.* the year from 20th September 1202 to 9th September 1203, A.D. When Unach Khân, who is the same with the Christian king John, ruled over a certain race of the barbarous Huns called Kherith, Chinghiz Khân was in his service. He became jealous of him, and secretly determined his ruin and death; of this Chinghiz was warned by two youths. Unach Khân fell suddenly upon his tent but he had withdrawn with his people in time and concealed himself. Abulfaraj then tells us how a battle was fought at Balshuia between the rivals in which Chinghiz was unfortunate. This was followed by a second, in which he was victorious. His rival was killed and his wives and children made prisoners. He then describes how the two youths were rewarded as we have already mentioned. Abulfaraj accounts for Unach Khân's defeat by the fact that he had married a daughter of the ruler of Kara Khitai, who had persuaded him to apostatise.[36] Abulfaraj dates this struggle as we have seen in 1202-3, in which he agrees with Rashidu'd-dîn and the *Yuan-shi*.[37] It is curious that in the year 1202 the Mongols are first mentioned in the European Chronicles. Martin of Troppau, generally called Martinus Polonus, whose account concludes in 1277, and the *Chronicon Citizensi* have under that year the phrase—Anno. 1202 Tatari cum uxoribus ex Indiae montibus egressi,[38] while Vincent of Beauvais in his *Speculum Historiale*, which ends in 1249, gives 1203 as the year of the beginning of the Tartar supremacy.[39]

Rubruquis has a confused account of Wang Khân whom he calls Unk, and makes him the brother of Johannes. He tells us he ruled over the Crit and Merkit who were Nestorian Christians, but that he had become an apostate and a worshipper of idols, and had surrounded himself with idolatrous priests who had recourse to necromancy, &c. He says he was master of a certain town called Caracarum. On the death of his brother Johannes, Rubruquis says Unk caused himself to be proclaimed Khân, and moved with his flocks and herds to the frontiers of Moal, *i.e.* of the Mongols. At that time Chingis, a certain Mongol who was a smith, harried some of Unk Khân's animals. The latter marched an army against him, whereupon he fled among the Tartars and there concealed himself. Unk Khân having plundered the Moals and Tartars returned home, thereupon Chinghiz addressed the Tartars and Moals, saying "It is because we have no leader that our neighbours oppress us." They thereupon made him the chief of the Tartars and Moals. Having collected an army furtively he fell upon Unk, and defeated him. He fled to Cathaia.[40]

[34] D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. xvii.—xxvii.
[35] Erdmann, notes 125 and 129.
[36] *Chron. Syr*, pp. 447 and 448.
[37] Berezine, vol. II, p. 143; Hyacinthe, p. 24; Douglas, p. 33.
[38] Von Hammer, *Golden Horde*, p. 64, note 5.
[39] Wolff, *Gesch. der Mong. &c.*, p. 44, note 59.
[40] By this Rubruquis no doubt means *Kara Khitai*.

Unk's daughter,[41] our author adds, was captured and given by Chinghiz in marriage to one of his sons, and she became the mother of Mangu.[42]

According to Joinville "The Tartarins lived in a great berier (of sand)[43] and were subject to Prester John and the emperor of Persia whose country bordered on theirs, and to many other bad kings,[44] to each of whom they did homage for the pastures where they kept their cattle." They were held in such contempt by their suzerains that when they took them their tribute they turned their backs and not their faces to them. Among the Tartarins was a sage man who visited the various steppes and conferred with the men whom he met and pointed out to them the condition of servitude in which they were, and having summoned them to a meeting, shewed them how, if they chose themselves a leader, they might break the yoke. Accordingly each of the 52 clans who were present produced an arrow which was marked with its name, and by the wish of the whole people they were placed before a child five years old, and it was decided that whichever name appeared on the arrow selected by the child they should nominate themselves a chief from that clan. The choice fell of course on the sage man who was no other than Chinghiz Khân, and who demanded that if they wanted him to lead them they must swear by him who had made heaven and earth to obey the laws he should make for them. He accordingly drew up some regulations against theft, adultery, &c. He then told them that the most powerful of their masters was Prester John, and ordered them to be ready to march against him the following day. If we are beaten, which God forbid, he said each one must seek safety in flight. If we win I order that the pursuit must continue for three days and nights, and no one on pain of death must seize any of the booty, which shall be fairly divided. The next day they fell on the enemy, and defeated him, killing all those whom they found bearing arms. The priests and other religious they allowed to go free, while the rest of the people were reduced to slavery.[45]

Marco Polo gives a longer account of the struggle. I have already quoted his notice of the ill-starred negotiations between the two chiefs for a marriage between their families. He goes on to report that Chinghiz was greatly enraged at Prester John's insolent message to him, and threatened him with vengeance. He collected his people, and marched against him. Prester John professed to have contempt for this army, but he in turn collected his forces. Chinghiz, he says, advanced to a vast and beautiful plain called Tanduc, which was in Prester John's country, where he pitched his camp, having an innumerable host with him. Prester John pitched his camp 20 miles away, and both armies rested for two days that they might be fresher for the fight. During this delay Chinghiz summoned his astrologers to foretell who was going to win in the approaching battle. The Saracens essayed in vain to forecaste the issue, but the Christians were more successful. Having split a cane in two, they put the two halves side by side, so that no one should touch them. One piece they named Chinghiz Khân and the other Prester John. They then read a psalm from the Psalter, and went through other incantations, upon which the cane which was called Chinghiz approached the other without any one touching it, and got on the top of it. This very promising augury greatly delighted the Mongol Chief, who always after treated the Christians very kindly. In the battle which followed, Polo says the slaughter was very great on both sides, but eventually Chinghiz won the victory, and Prester John was slain, and his kingdom passed into the hands of Chinghiz Khân.[46] The divination by means of twigs to which Marco Polo refers was much practised in the East. Rubruquis tells us how when he visited Mangu Khân's wife who was ill, he joined some Nestorians in repeating some verses of the psalms over two twigs held together by two men.[47] Colonel Yule says that the Chinese method of divination is conducted by tossing into the air two symmetrical pieces of wood or bamboo of a peculiar form. The process, he says, is described by Mendoza, and more particularly with illustrations by Doolittle.[48]

The process is one of very great antiquity. Herodotus tells us how among the Skythians the soothsayers used to foretell the future by means of a number of willow wands. A large bundle of these having been brought in, the

[41] Really his niece. [42] D'Avezac, pp. 261 and 262.
[43] Col. Yule says the Arabic *bāriya*—a desert; *Marco Polo*, vol. I. p. 233. [44] *Roys mescreans.*

[45] Joinville, Dom Bouquet, XX, pp. 262-263.
[46] *Op. cit.*, ed. Yule, vol. I, pp. 235-239.
[47] Davezac, p. 326. [48] *Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 238.

soothsayers untied them and laid them on the ground separately. While he was still speaking he collected them again, and made them up again into a bundle. The Enarees or woman-like men, he says, had another plan which they claimed to have been taught by Venus. Taking a piece of *the bark of the lime tree* they split it into three strips, and kept twining the strips about their fingers and untwining them while they prophecied.[49] We are further told by the Scholiast on Nicander[50] that the Magi were accustomed to divine by means of a wand of tamarisk-wood. Mr. Rawlinson aptly compares this with the verse in Hosea:[51] "My people ask counsel of their stocks, and their staff declareth unto them." Tacitus reports of the Germans, that their mode of divining was to take a branch from a fruit-bearing tree, cut it into fragments, which they marked, and then to throw at random on a white garment. In questions of public interest the priest officiated, in private matters the head of the house prayed to God lifting up each piece three times successively, and prophesying according to the way the marks successively rose.[52] Ammianus Marcellinus reports a similar practice among the Alans.[53]

Among the ancient Rugians it was the fashion according to Saxo Grammaticus to throw three pieces of white wood and three of black into their bosom, the former denoting success and the latter failure.[54] An old law of the Frisians shews that even after they became Christians they retained this form of divination. A clause of this law speaks of *Tali de virga praecisi quos tenos vocant. Teene* in German or *Tan* in A. S. meaning pieces of the young branch of a tree.[55] In Thevenot's *Travels* we are told that "the Kojas or registers of the Corsairs or pirates among the Muhammadans were accustomed to try their fortune by means of canes before fighting, and they called the process '*Do the book*.' They generally used arrows for the purpose. Two men sat on the ground opposite one another, each holding two arrows by the head. The ends of the two contrary arrows were fixed together, one in another by the notches where the bow string comes in shooting, so that the four together only made two sticks in a parallel line. The Koja then said a prayer, and it was pretended that thereupon the two arrows, one of which represented the Christians and the other the Turks, approached one another in spite of those holding them, and after fighting one got above the other."[56] Colonel Yule says this is perhaps the divination by arrows forbidden by the *Koran*.[57] He adds that P. della Valle describes the process as practised by a conjuror at Aleppo, who by his incantation made the four points of the arrows come together without any movement of the holders, and prophesied from the way the points approached each other. The Tibetan Buddhists also use two arrows in divination as described by Polo, and according to Mr. Jaeschke they call this form of necromancy *da-mo* or "arrow divination," and Colonel Yule adds that so late as 1833 Mr. Vigne witnessed the application of this form of the black art for the purpose of discovering the robber of a Government chest at Lodiana.[58]

MISCELLANEA.

A CHINESE INSCRIPTION FROM BUDDHA-GAYÂ.

At p. 193 *ante*, Professor Beal has given some account of two Chinese inscriptions discovered at Buddha-Gayâ by General Cunningham, under whose instructions his assistant, Mr. Beglar, photographed them. We learn from the *Pioneer* that the Executive Engineer in charge of the works reports to the Magistrate of Gayâ the discovery during last year (1880-81) of several more Chinese inscriptions, and Mr. Garrick, Assistant to the Archæological Surveyor, having been sent to photograph them, has obtained from Mr. H. A. Giles of the Chinese Consular Service, the following translation of one of the most perfect of them discovered, we believe, by Gen. Cunningham himself in the Mahant's house:—

"This pagoda was erected by the Emperor and Empress of the Great Sung dynasty, in memory of His Imperial Majesty, T'ai Tsung.[1]

"By command of His Imperial Majesty, our divinely enlightened, most glorious, most virtuous, most filial sovereign of this Great Sung dynasty, and of Her Imperial Majesty, our most gracious, most virtuous, and most compassionate Empress,—I the Buddhist priest, Hui-wen, have been humbly commissioned to proceed to the country of Maga-

[49] Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Bk. IV, ch. 67.
[50] *Theriaca*, p. 613.
[51] Ch. ii, v. 12.
[52] Tacitus *Germania*, ch. x.
[53] *Op. cit.* xxxi, 2. He says that they presaged the future in a most remarkable manner; collecting a number of straight twigs of osier, they used to separate them on particular days with secret incantations, and thence learnt what would happen.
[54] *Op. cit.*, book XIV.
[55] Murphy's *Tacitus*, ch. vii, page 216-17, note a.
[56] De la Croix, *op. cit.*, p. 52, note 5.
[57] Sura V, v. 92.
[58] *Marco Polo*, vol. I, pp. 238-9.
[1] This term may be rendered by 'Venerable Ancestor.'

dha, and to erect, on behalf of His departed Imperial Majesty, T'ai Tsung—the humane, the orthodox, the deserving, the divinely virtuous, the wise, the supremely filial,—a pagoda beside the Bodhimaṇḍa, the Diamond Throne. For His Imperial Majesty, T'ai Tsung, was humbly desirous of passing aloft to the Dêvalôka—the Mansions of the Blest, there to receive the Word from Buddha himself, to witness the ranks of the Immortal Saints, and be enrolled for ever among the ranks of the faithful; hoping thus to secure to the House of Sung divine protection through all generations.

"Recorded this 19th day of the first moon of the 2nd year of *Ming Tao*" (A. D. 1033).

The pagoda or whatever the structure was, appears to have been constructed in honour of the second Emperor of the Sung dynasty (A.D. 976–998) and by order of Jen Tsung, the fourth emperor who came to the throne in A.D. 1023. The legend, so to speak, above the inscription, is engraved in what Chinese scholars know as the "lesser seal," used where an ornamental style is considered desirable. The inscription itself is in the usual style current since the 4th century of our era.

THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS.

The Fifth Oriental Congress met at Berlin on 12th September last under the presidency of Dr. Dillmann. The Indo-European section was presided over by Professor Albrecht Weber, who opened it with an able address. The following notes indicate the principal points of interest to Indianists:—

Professor Max Müller read a paper on the study of Sanskrit in England, and another on Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. in Japan, and exhibited a facsimile of a Japanese manuscript of the *Vajrachhedikâ*, lately published as the first fasciculus of the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*.

Professor Windisch, in a paper on the Hindu drama in general and the *Mṛichchhakatikâ* in particular, contended for Greek influence on the development of the drama. His views were disputed by Professors Pischel and Jacobi, the former expressing a hope based on an examination of a Sanskrit drama from Nepâl—that fresh light might be derived from that quarter on the early history of the Hindu stage.

Dr. Oldenberg read a paper on the *Lalitavistara*, pointing out the composite nature of that work, and the characteristics by which we have to be guided to discriminate the really original portions of the text.

Professor Monier Williams read two papers,—one on the *Sandhyâ* and *Brahmayajña* ceremonies of the Brahmans, which was illustrated by Paṇḍit Shyâmaji Krishṇavarma; the other on the application of the Roman alphabet to the expression of Sanskrit, advocating the system of Sir William Jones, as slightly modified since and generally used by English scholars. In connexion with this paper, Professors Joh. Schmidt and Ascoli were commissioned to form a committee to consider a uniform system of transliterating Sanskṛit and Zend, chiefly for linguistic purposes. Paṇḍit Shyâmaji Krishṇavarma discoursed on 'Sanskṛit as a living language in India,' and deprecated the publication of Sanskṛit texts in the Roman alphabet. He also gave some account of a Sanskṛit address to the Congress by Râmabâî, a Hindu lady.

Prof. Ascoli read a paper on the influence of ethnological distinctions on the changes of languages; and Dr. Collitz on the peculiar class of Vedic compounds formed by repetition.

Dr. Deussen gave a résumé of a work, about to be published by him, on the Vedantic system of philosophy.

With reference to a letter addressed by Prof. Weber to *The Times*, May 19, 1880, on the Sanskṛit Text Society, the section unanimously adopted a resolution, proposed by Prof. Delbrück of Jena, 'that considering the increasing difficulties in the way of the publication of Sanskṛit Texts in Europe, the section expresses a hope that the managers of The Sanskṛit Text Society may be successful in permanently maintaining a Society, the important services of which are gratefully recognised by all competent scholars.' In reply Prof. Eggeling expressed his and Prof. Cowell's readiness to use their best endeavours in accordance with the wishes of the Congress.

In the Archæological section, presided over by Prof. von der Gabelentz, the Rev. S. Beal read a paper on the Buddhist councils at Râjagṛiha and Vesâli, translated from the Chinese *Vinaya-piṭaka*. Professors Bastian and Oldenberg took part in the discussion which followed particularly on the meaning and use of the term *Nirvâṇa*. Dr. J. Burgess submitted a Memorandum on the collection and translation of Indian historical Inscriptions, exhibiting specimens of excellent facsimiles of a number of them, and gave a short account of the progress of the Archæological Surveys in Northern and Western India. Professor Ludwig of Prague followed with a resolution which was unanimously adopted, to the effect that 'the Archæological section of the Fifth International Congress of Orientalists expresses its desire that the Indian Government will promote as far as lies in its power the exertions of its archæological surveyors, General Cunningham and Dr. Burgess, in the systematic collection and publication of the numerous and important Indian inscriptions.'

The Rev. J. Long read a paper on Eastern Proverbs, and the section expressed its appreciation of the importance of Oriental Proverbs in the light they throw on the social condition and feelings of Eastern races.

On Friday, 16th September, the last day of the meetings, the above two sectional resolutions were adopted by the Congress.—(*Communicated.*)

AN INSCRIPTION AT GAYÂ DATED IN THE YEAR 1813 OF BUDDHA'S NIRVÂNA, WITH TWO OTHERS OF THE SAME PERIOD.

BY PANDIT BHAGWÂNLÂL INDRAJI.

THE inscription which is the principal subject of this paper is in a temple of the Sun which stands on the west side of a neat masonry tank called Dakshiṇa-Mânasa, near the Vishṇu-pada at Gayâ. This temple has been repaired in later times and seems to have been then altered. The shrine and spire are ancient and in style resemble the temples of Mahâbôdhi and Târâdêvî at Buddha Gayâ. The front court has apparently been built at the same time as the repairs were made, but the pillars used in it must have belonged to some older temple. An inscription recording the fact of the repairs is placed at the side of the doorway of the temple, and from it we learn that these repairs were carried out by Kulachandra, grandson of Dâlarâja, and son of Siṁharâja, of the Vyâghra family. The work was completed on Saturday, the 13th day of the dark half of Mâgha, in Vikrama Saṁvat 1431, *i. e.* A. D. 1374, during the rule of Fîroz Shâh at Dehli.

Kulachandra was probably a petty king, but he did not rule at Gayâ, which he seems only to have visited as a pilgrim. We are not told from what place he came, but it is said he was king of a Western country. From the form of his name, I conjecture that he may have been a Ṭhâkura of some place in the Panjâb or Sindh.

The temple in which it occurs is dedicated to Sûrya, and contains an image known as Dakshiṇâditya—Sun of the South.[1] In it we read that—

"The Ṭhakkura Sri Kulachandra. . . . repaired the fallen temple of the lord, the worshipful Dakshiṇâditya . . ." This shows that this temple was then known by the same name it still bears.

Now the inscription to be noticed is placed on the left-hand side of the door in the front wall of the temple court, and records the erection of a temple to Buddha, whereas that in the court of which it is now, is dedicated to Sûrya. It is therefore probable that this inscription was brought from elsewhere and inserted where it now is, at the time the repairs were made. It is possible, however, that this temple may have originally been a Bauddha one, but having been deserted under the Muhammadans, the Brâhmaṇs may have imported into it an image of Sûrya, and at a later date, on their solicitation, Kulachandra may have undertaken the repairs under the belief that it was an original Sun temple.

The inscription was brought to light by General Cunningham, who, in his first *Report*, only referred to the date, but in a later one[2] he gave a reduced copy of the inscription, with a transcript of the first half line, and the date in the last line.[3] He again refers to the date in his *Corpus Inscriptionum* (1877)[4] where he reads it as 1813 and co-ordinates it with Wednesday, 4th Oct. 1335 A. D. With these exceptions nothing has hitherto been done to elucidate this inscription.

When I visited Gayâ in May 1869, I examined all the inscriptions at the place, and this one among the rest, bringing with me a facsimile and a transcript made directly from the original, which I now publish. It is in Sanskrit verse and engraved on a slab of smooth black-stone in 25 lines, each 17″ in length, and in letters resembling the old Bengali alphabet of the 12th century A.D.

[1] The modern town of Gayâ stands on the left bank of the Phalgu, between two small hills—the Râmagayâ on the east and Gayâśirsha on the south, with the Vishṇupada temple at its foot. The north portion of the town, now called Sâhebganj, is the southern part of the ancient Gayâ, the site of which is strewn with fragments of antiquity. Between the two parts is a tank known as Uttara-Mânasa, on the side of which also stands a temple of the Sun. In contradistinction to this one, that on the south of the town was called Dakshiṇâditya.

[2] *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. I (1861-62), p. 1, and vol. III (1871-72), p. 126, where he reads the date as 1819. But the fourth figure is undoubtedly 3: see my paper on Ancient Numerals, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 44, col. 8.

[3] *Arch. Sur. Ind.* vol. III, pl. xxxv, and p. 126. The plate contains many errors, and no one who had not examined the original could correct them and read it with certainty. In the transcript of the first half line *Sarmano* and *Lakshanâya* are mislections for *Sarmmaṇe* and *Laṅghanâya.*

[4] Pref. pp. v, vi, ix. In the *Reports*, he co-ordinated the date to 7th Oct. 1341 A.D., but with the change of the reading of the inscriptional date from 1819 to 1813, he alters the corresponding hypothetical date to 4th Oct. 1335,—the result in either case giving 478 B. C. as the date of the *Nirvâṇa*, which is the one that the General wishes to establish from this inscription.

Transcript of Gayá Inscription.

[1] ॐ नमो बुद्धाय शुद्धाय नमो धर्म्माय शर्म्मणे नमः सङ्घाय सिंहाय लङ्घनाय भवाम्बुधेः ॥ [१]
अगाधगुणसंपूर्ण्णः
[2] सर्व्वसौख्यैरलङ्कृतः । सुवेशश्च कमा देशो वसेत्पूर्व्वप्रदेशतः ॥[5] [२] तत्राभवन्नरपतिर्ज्जय
तुङ्गसिंहः श्रीमानरातिनृपह-
[3] स्तिघटैकसिंहः अस्त्रे च शास्त्रनिचये च विचक्षणात्मा दाक्षिण्यलक्षणगणैः
परिलक्षितश्च ॥ [३] वाञ्छातोपि प्रदानं स-
[4] मधिकमखिले यस्य लोके समन्ताद्वैलक्ष्यात्कल्पवृक्षः क्वचिदगम-
दिव प्रेक्ष्य पृथ्वीमुपेक्ष्य । जैत्त्रात्खड्गप्र-
[5] तापात्त्रिजगति विदितोप्युत्तमो भूपतीनां तैस्तैः श्लाघ्यैर्गुणौघैरनघत-
रतनुर्यश्च नोतुन्न शक्यः ॥ [४] श्रीकामदे-
[6] वसिंहोभूत्तत्सूनुर्भानुसन्निभः । योदान्मार्ग्गणवर्गेभ्यो हेलया हस्ति-
नो हयान् ॥ [५] कामः काम्यतया न-
[7] मस्यवशतो देवः प्रतापोदयादासीत्सिंहसमः पराक्रमतया धर्म्मोव-
तारश्चिरम् । अस्मादेव हि कार-
[8] णात्त्रिभुवने यः ख्यातकीर्त्तिर्म्महान्नाम्नः सान्वयधारितेन धरणीपालः
कलानान्निधिः ॥ [६] सचक्रनन्दकभु-
[9] जो जगतो हितैषी लक्ष्मीपतिः क्षितिपतिः पुरुषोत्तमश्च । नारायणः
प्रकट एष च तत्तनूजः श्रीमान्ब-
[10] भूव पुरुषोत्तमसिंहनामा ॥ [७] मर्यादापरिपालितक्षितितलोगाधोपि पा-
थोनिधिः साम्यं येन च ना-
[11] मुपात्प्रविदुषा तेजस्विना जाड्यवान् । सिंहो दीनमृगान्तकोप्यकरुणश्चन्द्रः क-
लङ्काङ्कितो येनाप्युत्तमवि-
[12] क्रमेण यशसा कान्तेन तुल्यो न तु ॥ [८] सोयं द्रष्टुमिवोत्तमं जिनपुरं यातस्य
पुण्यात्मनो रत्नश्रीदुहितुः सुतस्य
[13] च तथा माणिक्यसिंहस्य हि । पुण्योद्देशवशाच्चकार रुचिरां शौद्धोदनेः
श्रद्धया श्रीमद्गन्धकुटीमिमामिव कुटीं
[14] मोक्षस्य सौख्यस्य च ॥ [९] अस्याः सन्ततकान्तिशान्तनरकध्वान्ता-
ातेः कान्तिवान् । शिक्षाकोटिविचक्षणः स्ववहितो-
[15] धिष्ठाय निष्ठापरः पृथ्वीमण्डलमण्डनस्य च क्रमाचक्रस्य
ाज्ञो गुरुर्व्विख्यातः खलु धर्म्मरक्षितयतिः क-
[16] र्म्मान्तरान्निर्म्ममे ॥ [१०] प्रख्यातं हि सपादलक्षशिखरिक्ष्मापाल-
ूडामणिं शीलैः श्रीमदशोकचल्लमपि यो
[17] नत्वा विनीय स्वयं । अत्र च्छिन्दनरेन्द्रमिन्द्रसदृशं भ्रष्टे मुनेः शा-
ने स्थित्योद्धारमसौ चकार परमाश्चर्य्यं
[18] कलौ दुर्ज्जये ॥ [११] पूजाः पूज्यतमस्य पञ्चमगतेर्व्वाद्यैस्त्रिस-
य्यं सदा रम्भासन्निभभाविनीभिरभितो चेटीभिर·

5 Read देशो वसत्पू°

INSCRIPTION FROM GAYA, DATED 1813 OF BUDDHA'S NIRVANA.

Bhagwanlal Indraji, fecit.

Scale, 2 to 5 of the original.

FAC-SIMILE OF AN INSCRIPTION FROM BUDDHA-GAYA (TAKEN IN 1835.)

V. Hathorne fec.

J. Prinsep. lith.

FROM JOUR. AS. SOC. BENG. VOL. V, PL. XXXI.

W. Griggs, Photo-lith.

[19] स्यद्भुतं नृत्यन्तीभिरनङ्गलङ्गिमगतैर्गीतादिरङ्गैरिमा य-
स्मात्सन्ति हि शासने भगवतः सत्कारविस्फारिताः ॥ [१२]
[20] दिव्याहारविसारिसत्रवहनान्यत्रैव रम्याः प्रपाः
प्रायः पण्डितवृन्दमण्डितमिदञ्चाखण्डितं शासनं अश्रा
[21] न्तं नवकर्म्म सर्वत इतः श्रीचक्रवाडे यतो बुद्धानां वि-
विधानि सन्ति बहुधा कृत्यान्यहो नित्यशः ॥ [१३] वंद्यः श्री
[22] वासुदेवोच्युतवदभिमतो नन्दिवंशावतंसः ख्या-
तः श्रीजीवनागस्तदनु गुणिवरस्तस्य पुत्रः पवित्रः
[23] पूतां शस्तां प्रशस्तिं द्रुततरमकरोत् स्वल्पशस्तस्य सूनुः
कोपि श्री मञ्जुनन्दी निजकुलजलधाविन्दुरा-
[24] नन्दकन्दः ॥ [१४] अलिखल्लेखकाध्यक्ष इन्द्रनन्दीति सुन्दरः।
रामेण शिल्पिनोत्कीर्ण्णमभिरामेण व-
[25] र्ण्णतः॥ [१५] भगवति परिनिर्वृते सम्वत् १८१३ कार्तिक वदि १ बुधे

Translation.

1. Obeisance to Buddha—the pure! obeisance to Dharma—the bliss! obeisance to the Saṅgha (community)—the lion![6] for the crossing of the world-ocean.

2. The country called Kamâ, which was full of fathomless virtues, adorned with all kinds of comforts and (*whose population*) was of beautiful dress, lay towards the eastern part.[7]

3. In that (*country*) was a king called Jayatungasiṁha, who was illustrious as the sole lion among the crowd of elephant-like hostile kings, possessed of a mind versed in arms and the body of the *Śâstras*, and who was distinguished by manifold marks of courtesy.

4. Being ashamed on seeing in the whole world his liberality even exceeding (*people's*) desires, the *Kalpavṛiksha*, as far as this earth is concerned, went entirely away somewhere, and he, being known in the three worlds even as the chief of kings by the prowess of his victorious sword, and he, of faultless body, is beyond praise from the multitude of his praiseworthy virtues.

5. His son was Kâmadêvasiṁha, like the sun, who in mere frolic gave presents of horses and elephants to multitudes of suitors:

6. *Kâma* because (*he was*) lovely, *dêva* because worthy of worship on account of the rise of his splendour, and *Siṁha* on account of his prowess; an incarnation of *Dharma*;—he who for this reason was long possessed of glory; renowned in the three worlds as ruler of the earth; great through the name held by his family and a treasury of arts.

7. His son was the illustrious Purushottamasiṁha by name, whose arm makes glad a good country, a well-wisher of the world, lord of prosperity (*lakshmî*), master of the earth, and best of men (*purushottama*), who is a visible Nârâyaṇa.

8. With whom that wise and glorious one—the ocean, however deep and keeping the world within its boundary, could not equal itself, being possessed of *jâḍya* (wateriness or sluggishness); and to whom—beloved for his exceeding valour and glory—the cruel lion is *not equal*, being a destroyer of wretched deer; nor the moon stained as it is with spots.

9. Now he, with devotion, has constructed this *Gandhakuṭi*[8] of Buddha, graceful and like a hall of emancipation and bliss, for the spiritual benefit of the pious Mâṇikyasiṁha—the son of his daughter Ratnaśrî—departed, as it were, to see the sublime Jinapura (heaven).

10. The ascetic Dharmarakshita, residing here as overseer (*adhishṭhâya*), who is

[6] The *Saṅgha* or church is represented by the Buddhists under the figure of a lion, from its constant activity. In the cave temples Buddha is represented by a Chaitya, Dharma by a wheel, and Saṅgha by the lion.

[7] This may refer to the capital being towards the west of the country.

[8] Literally 'a chamber of perfume', an epithet applied to Bauddha temples. The large temple at Buddha-Gayâ is called, in the inscriptions, *Mahâgandhakuṭi-prâsâda*, (*ante*, vol. IX, pp. 142, 143); and the room in which Buddha lived in Jetavana at Srâvasti was also known by this name.—Cunningham's *Bharhut Stûpa*, pl. xxviii, and p. 133, No. 22.

splendid, versed in myriads of sciences, very attentive, possessed of complete knowledge (*nishṭhâ*), celebrated as the spiritual teacher of the king of the country of K a m â—an ornament to the circle of the world—(*he during the erection*), carried on the work (*karmântaraṁ nirmame*) of this (*Gandhakûṭi*) the appearance of which by its constant lustre removes the darkness of hell.

11. He (*Purushottama-siṁha*) also having himself bowed to, and by his noble qualities besought the illustrious Aśokachalla—the crest jewel of the kings of the Sapâdalaksha mountains (*and*) here the Indra-like Chhinda king,—the religion of the Muni having decayed—effected a restoration of (or *by*) order[9]—highly wonderful in this age of strife (*kali*), difficult to be overcome.

12. Since in the religion of Bhagavat, worship is here (*offered*) to the most worshipful, always three times a day, by means of instrumental music in the highest key (*pañchamagata*) together with Rambhâ-like Bhâvinîs and Cheṭîs[10] dancing round wonderfully with mirth in singing and so on, in a way appertaining to the unions of Anaṅga (Kâma)—(*worship*) increased by hospitable entertainments.

13. Here indeed are almshouses dispensing divine food, and lovely drinking places, and also the inviolate religious law adorned by multitudes of the learned, unceasing new work on every side here at the holy Chakravâḍa, for the duties of the Buddhas are varied in manifold ways,—ah! ever.

14. There was the praiseworthy Śrî Vâsudeva honoured like Achyuta,[11] the diadem of the family of the Nandins; after him the renowned Śrî Jîvaṅga, the best of virtuous men, his son; and his son the pure, famous Śrî Manjunandin, a moon in the ocean of his family, and root of delight—rapidly composed in brief compass this pure, praiseworthy eulogy.

15. The chief of scribes, the handsome Indranandin wrote it, and by the lovely engraver Râma, it was cut in letters. Bhagavat having died, in the year 1813, in the dark half of the month Kârtika, the 1st day, Wednesday.

Remarks.

The interest of this inscription lies in the date from the *Nirvâna* of Buddha. Now even in the time of Hiwen Thsang in the 7th century, the date of the *Nirvâna* was doubtful. In three inscriptions recently published by General Cunningham, from Sahasarâm, Rûpnâth, and Bairât, a date occurs, and though the records are not very clear as to whom it refers, there is reason to believe they are reckoned from the *Nirvâna* of Buddha; and from them Dr. Bühler deduces the date of that event as between 483-2 and 472-1 B. C.,[12] which closely agrees with that assigned to it by Prof. Max Müller[13] and still earlier by General Cunningham himself.[14]

Owing to the scarcity of inscriptions referring to this epoch, the one which is the subject of this paper, though belonging to a comparatively late age, naturally excites some curiosity as to whether it supports the Burmese and Singhalese date of the *Nirvâna* or any other recognisable date for that epoch.

To clear this up we must try to make out the age of the record. The inscription relates the construction of a *Gandhakuṭi* or temple of Buddha by a king named Purushottamasiṁha for behoof of the deceased son Mânikyasiṁha of his daughter Ratnaśrî. The genealogy stands thus:—

1. Jayatuṅgasiṁha,
2. Kâmadêvasiṁha, son of Jayatuṅga,
3. Purushottamasiṁha, son of Kâmadêva.

These names, however, are otherwise unknown to us: evidently they were merely tributaries, and probably of obscure family. Their residence was probably at Chakravâḍa, a place I am unable to identify. It may possibly be towards the west of Kamaûn or thereabouts, for in speaking of the founder of the family in the opening ślokas mention is made of the Kamâ country, and Dharmarak-

---

[9] If we read *sthityâ* it will mean he raised or restored the religion *by decree*; if *sthity-uddhhâram*—the restoration or establishing *of* order.

[10] Bhâvinîs are the dancing and singing girls attached to temples. Cheṭîs are maid-servants belonging to temples who perform certain menial services as well as join with the Bhâvinîs in singing. Such women are still employed in the Brâhmanical temples of Southern and Eastern India. They are of very loose morals, and their employment in Buddhist temples of the 12th century is an indication of its corruption.

[11] Vishnu.

[12] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 149.

[13] *Hist. Sansk. Lit.* (1859), p. 298; see also *Dhammapada* in *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. X, int. pp. xxxvff.—ED.

[14] *Bhilsa Topes* (1854), pp. 74, 75; *J. As. S. Ben.*, vol. XXXII (1854), p. 704.

shita, the ascetic who superintended affairs about the temple, is called the teacher of the king of Kamâ. *I* identify Kamâ with the present Kamaun, for we infer from the record that the king was tributary to the lord of the kings of the Sivâlika mountains. The 11th śloka says—"On the Bauddha religion having suffered degradation he (*the king*) re-established it by bowing hereto, and beseeching Chhinda king, who was like Indra, and also the renowned Aśokachalla, who was a crest jewel of the kings of the mountains of Sapâdalaksha." From this it appears that the Bauddha religion was greatly in the decline at Gayâ at this period, and, in order to get a temple erected for the sect, this Purushottamasiṁha had to ask the assistance of the two kings Chhinda and Aśokachalla,—the former perhaps ruler at Gayâ, and the latter his superior. Chhinda, however, does not appear to be the proper name of a particular king, but rather of a ruling family, and a branch of it was ruling in Rohilkhand and part of Oudh at the end of the tenth century. An inscription of the dynasty found at Devaliâ in the Bareli district in 1826 or 1827, was copied by Mr. H. S. Boulderson, and published by Prinsep.[15] This inscription furnishes the following genealogy:-

In the Chhinda dynasty:—

Vairavarman
- Bhushaṇa
- Malhaṇa md. { Anahilâ, dr. of a Châlukya king.
  - Lalla

Saṁ. 1049 (A. D. 993).

This record is of earlier date than the Gayâ inscription, and we are without information how long the dynasty ruled after this.

At Buddha Gayâ I found another inscription of the Chhinda dynasty[16] on the pedestal of a colossal of Buddha in the chapel in the Mahant's monastery. A considerable portion of it is broken off, and no date remains, while the losses make it difficult to make out. The alphabet appears to be of the 10th or 11th Christian century, and it furnishes the following list of kings:—

Born in the Chhinda dynasty of Sindha (?),—

Vallabharâja,
His son Deśarâja,
" " Âyichha (Âditya),
" " . . . . .
" " Sangha,
" " . . . . siddha (?),
Dharma,
Sâmanta,
Purṇabhadra.

Then follows the name of the Âchârya Jayasena, who was a disciple of Kumârasena, and in connexion with them occurs the name of Uddaṇḍapura, which, though unable to identify it with any modern name, I believe to have been a capital in the Gayâ district. For, in another inscription found in a temple of the Sun at Gayâ, the same place is also mentioned.

From this it would appear that they may have been petty rulers at Uddaṇḍapura, and consequently of Gayâ, under the Pâla dynasty, and may have continued so till the time of the inscription under notice. This, however, may require further consideration.

King Aśokachalla, on the other hand, appears to have been a prince of considerable importance in the neighbourhood of the Himâlayas. Sapâdalaksha[17] is an old name of the Sivâlika hills, and the name (*sapâdalaksha*—literally 'one and a quarter lakh') must have been given them from the number of hills in the range. The Sanskṛit name may have got corrupted into the Prâkrit Savâlakha, and thence into Sivâlika. There is an inscription of this Aśokachalla on a metal trident at Gopeśvara in Garhwâl, of which a copy was published by Mr. Prinsep in 1836.[18] Prinsep, however, read *Śrîmadanekamalla* instead of *Śrîmadaśokachalla*, and in a footnote expresses his opinion that *Śrîmadanikamalla* would be the proper grammatical form. Without the guidance of a correct facsimile I cannot be quite certain of the text of the whole inscription, but am inclined to read it thus:—

ॐ स्वस्ति ।। कृत्वा दिग्विजयं महालयमहादेवाख्यसंस्थाभिमां राज्ये श्रीमदशोकचल्लनृपतिः स्तंभच्छलान्नीतवान् ।। पश्चाच प्रति-

[15] *Jour. As. S. Ben.*, vol. VI, pp. 777ff. General Cunningham has given an excellent facsimile of it in his *Reports*, vol. I, pl. li, p. 355. Comparing this with Prinsep's transcript, "hardly doubtful in a single letter," we find many discrepancies in the latter. I retranscribed it from the original, and the order of succession of the family given above is from my own transcript.

[16] *Ante*, vol. IX, p. 143. This inscription is also mentioned by F. Buchanan Hamilton, *Trans. R. A. Soc.*, vol. II, p. 51.—ED.

[17] Conf. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VIII, p. 59, note 6.—ED.

[18] *J. A. S. B.*, vol. V, pl. xxix, and p. 485.

रोप्य तत्र विजयस्तंभं प्रतिष्ठामगादुत्खातप्रतिरोपणं हि महतां युक्तं नतानां पुनः ॥

Translation.

"Hail! The illustrious Aśokachalla, having achieved various conquests, set up, like a pillar, this arm of Mahâdêva in the great temple in his dominion. He acquired fame by re-establishing it there, for to re-establish what is fallen, being uprooted, is an act worthy of great men."

Now I have no hesitation in identifying this king with the Aśokachalla of the Gayâ inscription,—(1) because of the epithet *Challa* affixed to both names; (2) the second inscription is found in the country of which the first says he was ruler; and (3) because the character of the alphabets in both inscriptions is of one age. The apparent variations in the alphabets are owing to the difference of locality, not of time,—that used in the one, being the alphabet of Eastern India, and that of the other, the letters used at the same period further west. Being without date, however, it only assists in indicating the locality of his kingdom.

Another interesting inscription of this king was found at Buddha Gayâ by Mr. Hathorne in 1835, lying near the Mahâbuddha temple and communicated to Mr. Prinsep;[19] but the transcript and translation published by him are full of errors. Unfortunately the inscription seems to have disappeared; my enquiries for it, made on the spot, were unsuccessful, and we must content ourselves with Mr. Hathorne's facsimile, which has been carefully taken, and though some letters may be doubtful, it is generally legible and is transcribed thus:—

Transcript.

[1] नमोबुद्धाय ॥ देयधर्म्मोयं प्रवरमहायानयायिनः परमोपासकस्य जिनेन्द्रचरणारविन्दमकरन्दमधुकर – – – कारनृपति –

[2] – – – – – – – नृपतिगरुडनारायण रिपुराजमत्तगजसिंह-निखिलमहीपालजनकेत्यादि निजनिश्चितप्रशस्तिसमलङ्कृ-

[3] त सपादलक्षशिखरिखसपेश राजाधिराजश्रीमदशोकचल्लदेव कणिष्ठ(कनिष्ठ) भ्रातृ श्रीदशरथनामधेयकुमारपा-

[4] दपद्मोपजीवि भाण्डागारिक सत्यव्रतपरायणाविनिवर्त्तनीय-बोधिसत्वचरित क्षत्रिमंडलदीप श्रीसहणसावनामधेय-

[5] स्य महत्तकश्रीचाट्टब्रह्मपुत्रस्य महामहत्तकश्रीमृसिब्रह्मपौत्रस्य यदत्र पुण्यं तद्भवत्वाचार्योपाध्यायमातापि-

[6]. [तृ?]पूर्व्वेङ्गमं कृत्वा सकलसत्वराशेरनुत्तरज्ञानफलावप्तय इति ॥ श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनदेवपादानामतीतराज्ये

[7] सं०। ७४ वैशाख वदि १२ गुरौ[20]

Translation.

"Hail to Buddha! This is the meritorious gift of Śrî Sahaṇasâva, son of Mahataka Śrî Châṭṭâbrahma, grandson of the great Mahataka Śrî Mṛisibrahma, a follower of the excellent Mahâyâna school, a great worshipper, a lamp of the assemblies of Kshattris, in conduct firm like the Bodhisattvas, an observer of truth and of vows, who was a treasurer and dependent of the Prince Daśaratha, the younger brother of the king Aśokachalla, king of kings, lord of the Khasa kings of the Sapâdalaksha mountains,[21] who toils like a bee on the pollen of the lotus-foot of Jinendra, a destroyer of the power of kings, a mounted Nârâyaṇa of kings,[22] a lion to the intoxicated elephant-like hostile kings, a father of all kings,[23] adorned with these and all other such eulogistic titles of his. Let whatever merit may be in this, be for the attainment of the fruit of supreme knowledge by the whole multitude of all sentient beings, giving precedence to the *Âchârya*, *Upâdhyâya*, mother and father. In the expired reign of the illustrious Lakshmaṇasenadêva Saṁvat 74 on the 12th day of the dark half of Vaiśâkha, Thursday."

[19] *Jour. A. S. Ben.*, vol. V, p. 658, and plate xxx.

[20] Line 1 धर्म्मोयं: a mark at the right side of the ध gives the letter the appearance of क, but *karmmoyaṁ* would not be in accordance with grammar. In महायान there is a mark over the *yâ*, which is obviously a flaw and not *anusvâra*.

L. 2 धैर्य्ये भक्तनकर seem to be the letters to be read here, but they are not quite distinct and a *mâtra* on the first is awanting. In यहीपाल the mark over *hî* is obviously an error.

L. 5 महत्तक: This ought to be either महत्तरक or महत्तक.

L. 6. The first letter तृ looks like स्य, and the mistake may have been made from the close similarity of तृ (see भ्रातृ in l. 3) and स्य in the 5th line.

[21] Khasa is the name of a race living in the Himâlayas, who, according to Manu, were originally Kshattriyas, but subsequently degraded themselves to Śûdras. The Gurakhâli race of Nepal, which, with the exception of the ruling caste, are commonly known as Khattris, belonged originally to the Khasa race, and were in the habit of calling themselves such till recently. Hence it seems probable that it is princes of this race in Kamaun and Garhwâla that are here spoken of.

[22] *Nṛipatigaruḍanârâyaṇa*: the sense would have been the same if we had here had simply *nṛipatinârâyaṇa*, but such additional epithets are not unfrequent in inscriptions, for instance in Śilahâra copperplate grants we find *râyanârâyaṇa*. *Nârâyaṇa* means 'a protector,' and I take the phrase to mean that he was 'a protector of kings.'

[23] *Nikhilamahîpâlajanaka*: the object of this title seems to denote that he was respected by all kings as a father. It corresponds to the [illegible]— 'grand father of kings' used in [illegible]

This inscription probably recorded the presentation of some image of Buddha. The donor was Sahaṇasâva, a treasurer and dependent of Prince Daśaratha, the younger brother of king Aśokachalla, who by his name and titles is identified with the king mentioned in the other inscriptions. And here we have a date—74 years expired of the reign of Lakshmaṇasena. The first numeral is clear enough, and the second though resembling 3, I consider as intended for ᛊ—the old Bengali form of 4, and which is derived from the ancient letters ᛊ, ᛊ. Thus I read the date with confidence as 74. Now the era of Lakshmaṇasena, still occasionally used in Tirhut,[24] began in A.D. 1109. Assuming this to be correct, the date of the inscription is 74 + 1108 = 1182 A.D.

Now as this is of the time of prince Daśaratha, the younger brother of king Aśokachalla, and Purushottama's inscription at Gaya is of Aśokachalla himself; and as Daśaratha is not spoken of as having succeeded his elder brother, they must be regarded as contemporaries and the inscriptions of about the same date. Hence we find the date of Buddha's *Nirvâna* as derived from this inscription to be about 1813 — 1182 = 632 B.C.[25]

As the date of the Gayâ inscription probably precedes that of the last by a few years, it will give the date of the *Nirvâṇa* in close agreement with the Peguan date, and as Kârtik Vad 1st fell on a Wednesday, in Vikrama Saṁvat 1227 and 1233, viz. 28th Oct. 1170 and 20th Oct. 1176, and the Peguans and Burmese frequently visited the locality, and even erected temples there, it is most probable that the date of the inscription coincides with A.D. 1176, and thus the date of the *Nirvâṇa* assumed in it is 638 B.C.

[24] Conf. Râjendralâla Mitra's *Buddha Gaya*, p. 200.

[25] The Peguan date is 638 B.C. and a Chinese one cited by Klaproth, also 638 B.C. (Prinsep. *Us. Tab.* p. 165). The Jains of Bengal it seems date the *Nirvâna* of Mahâvîra in 637 B.C. (Colebrooke cited by Stevenson, *Kalpa Sûtra*, pref. p. iii). I have added the following sentences above, and would point out here that, as B.C. 1 is followed immediately by A.D. 1, and (not by a year marked "0"),—in finding such a date as the above, we have to add 1 to the difference, in order to get the proper year B.C.—ED.

FOLKLORE IN THE PANJAB.

COLLECTED BY MRS. F. A. STEEL.

WITH NOTES BY LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

(*Continued from p. 333.*)

No. 11.—FOLK-TALE.

The Wonderful Ring.[1]*—Told by a Pûrbiâ boy.*

There once lived a king who had two sons. Now when he died one of the sons squandered the treasure and money and jewels in such a ruinous way that his brother said, "Take your own share, and go." So he took his share and spent it all in a short time.

When he had nothing left he asked his wife to give him what she had. But his wife said "What have you left me? I have nothing but this one small jewel, and take that if you will." So he took the jewel, sold it for 400 rupees, and taking the money with him set off to make his fortune in the world. On the way he met a man with a cat which he wanted to sell. So the king's son bought it for 100 rupees. By-and-by he met a man with a dog, and asked the price. "Not less than 100 rupees," said the man. Then the king's son bought the dog too for 100 rupees. Not long after this he met a man with a parrot. "How much do you want for that parrot?" asked he. "Not less than 100 rupees," answered the man. So the king's son bought the parrot also. He had now only 100 rupees left.

At last he met a jôgî carrying a serpent,[2] and said "Oh jôgî, what is the price of that serpent?" "Not less than 100 rupees," answered the jôgî. So the spendthrift gave him 100 rupees and took the serpent.

He had now no money left at all and so was forced to work for his living: but the hard labour wearied him dreadfully, for he was a king's son and not accustomed to work. Now when the serpent saw this, it pitied him, and said, "Come, prince, with me to my house." So it took him to its house, saying, "Wait you here till I call my father." Then the serpent went to its father, saying—"Father, I was caught by

[1] عجب مندرا *'Ajab mundrâ*, the Wonderful Ring. The *mundrâ* is a ring either for fingers or ears made of glass or some material not metal, and worn by jôgîs. It is a protection against evil and is supposed to bring the wearer whatever he wants—*vide* story. The responsibility of the correctness of the text of this tale lies with me.—R. C. T.

[2] For jôgî and serpent see former story, "Son of Seven Mothers," *ante*, p. 147.—R. C. T.

a jôgî, but a man who was passing by, bought me for 100 rupees, and has been kind to me; so I have brought him to see you."

"Bring him here," said the Snake-father. Then the snake went outside to the prince and said, "My father calls you. He will ask you three times what reward you desire for saving me, so mind you answer, 'I want nothing but your ring[3] as a remembrance.'"

Sure enough the Serpent-father said at once, "And now, my prince, ask for anything you please, and it is yours." But the king's son said, "I want nothing, for I have everything God can give." Then the Serpent-father asked again, "Tell me what you desire, and it is yours." But again the prince answered, "I have everything that God[4] can give." However when he was asked the third time, he answered—"I want nothing, but I should like your ring." At this the Snake-father became very sorrowful, but taking the ring off his finger said, "If I had not promised, I would have turned you into a heap of ashes on the spot, for you have asked for my most treasured possession. But to redeem my promise, take the ring and go."

Now when they got outside, the king's son said to the serpent's son, "What is the use of this ring to me, and why did you make me ask for it? It would have been better if I had asked for heaps of gold and silver instead of this ring."[5]

But the snake said "I will tell you how to use the ring. First make a holy place,[6] put the ring in the middle, sprinkle it with butter-milk, and then no matter what you ask for, your desire will be instantly granted."

Then the prince went on his way with the magic ring. By-and-by he came near a city, and said to himself, "I must see if what the serpent told me is true." So he made a holy place, put the ring in the middle, sprinkled butter-milk over it, and said, "Oh ring, get me some sweetmeats for dinner."

No sooner had he said this than the sweetmeats appeared. Then the prince ate his dinner and set off to the city. There he heard a proclamation which set forth that whosoever should build a golden palace with golden stairs to it in the midst of the sea, in the space of a single night, should be given half the kingdom, and the king's daughter in marriage,[7] but that if he failed he should be beheaded.

So the prince went to the court and said, "Oh my lord, I will do this thing."

The king looked at him astonished, saying "How can you do such a thing? Many princes have tried, failed, and lost their lives. See, here is a necklace made of their heads. Do not be rash, but go."

However, the prince was not to be persuaded, He said again, "I will do this thing."

Upon this the king ordered him to build it that very night, and placed sentries over him lest he should run away. When night came and the sentries saw the prince lie down to sleep quietly, they said among themselves "How will he build the palace?"

Towards morning however the prince awoke, got up, made a holy place, put the ring in it, sprinkled the buttermilk, and said "Oh ring, build the golden palace with the stairs in the midst of the sea." And immediately the palace appeared, stairs and all. The sentries seeing this ran and told the king, who came with all his court, and there sure enough was the golden palace with the golden stairs built in the midst of the sea. Then the king gave the prince half of the kingdom, and the princess for his bride on the spot; but the prince said, "I don't want your kingdom," and went off to the palace he had built in the sea. However, they sent the

---

[3] مندرا *mundrâ*—see note 1.—R. C. T.

[4] پرمشیر دا دتّا سبھہ کجھہ میري کول ہي *Parmêshar dâ dittâ sabh kujh mere kôl hai*—is the expression in the Panjâbî narrative; پرمیشر *Parmêshar*=परम + ईश्वर, the Supreme Ruler or Lord, the Highest Spirit, God. Parmeshar is the only general term in common use among Hindus to express "God." Hence it is used in formulas of oaths, as *main apne Parmêshar ko ḥâzir nâzir jânkar*, etc. I, knowing my own "God" to be ever-present and all-seeing, etc. The word in the text (Panjabi) for the Snake-father's *request* is बचन *bachan*, from Sansk. *vachan*, √ वच to speak; Prâkrit, *vaaṇam*, speech. *Bachan* in stories is now only put into the mouths of gods and saints and is here used by the snake-father to show his holy character.—R. C. T.

[5] Serpents are supposed to be able to transform themselves into human beings, this is called اِچھاچاری *ichhâ châri*, *lit.* control of the will.—R. C. T.

[6] چونکا *chaunkâ*—a square place plastered with cow-dung used by Hindus when cooking or worshipping. The place chosen for cooking or worshipping and also for burning dead bodies is considered to be purified and thence sanctified by being plastered with cowdung.—R. C. T.

[7] ڈولا *dôlâ*, properly the marriage palanquin, but used also for the marriage itself as here. See former tales.—R. C. T.

princess after him, and he took her into the palace, and there they lived together.

Now when the prince went hunting, he took the dog with him, but left the cat and the parrot in the palace to amuse the princess.

One day when he returned she was very sorrowful, and when he asked her what was the matter, she said "I want to be turned into gold just as you made this palace of gold."

So to please her the Prince made a holy place, put the ring in it, sprinkled the butter-milk, and said, "Oh ring, turn my wife into gold." And immediately she became a golden princess. Now one day when the prince was out hunting, the princess washed her head, and while she was combing her hair, two golden hairs fell from her head.

She said to herself: "My golden hairs are of no use here, for there are no poor people to whom I might give them." So she made a cup of leaves,[8] put the hairs into it, and let it float away over the sea.

At last it drifted to the shore where a washer-man was at work. When he saw the cup of leaves with the golden hairs in it, he was very much pleased, and took it to the king of that country,[9] who in turn showed it to his son, and the prince was so struck by it, that he declared he would marry the owner of the beautiful golden hair or die.

Saying this he lay down on a dirty old bed, and refused to eat or drink anything.[10] Now when the king saw his son's state, he was very sorrowful, and cast about how he could find the golden-haired princess, and called all his ministers and nobles to discuss the matter. They thought it over, and agreed that no one but a wise woman[11] could help. So the king called all the wise women of the city, and one of them said "I will do it on condition that the king grants me all I ask."

Then the wise woman had a golden barge[12] made in which was a silken cradle[13] swinging from silken ropes, took four boatmen, and set sail in the direction whence the cup of leaves had come; telling the boatmen to stop rowing when she put up her finger, but to go on rowing when she put it down.

In two or three months they reached the golden palace. Then the wise woman knew at once that this must be the place where the golden princess lived, so she put up her finger, and the boatmen stopped rowing. Then she went into the palace, and when she saw the princess sitting there, she went up to her swiftly, put her hands on her head,[14] and said "I am your aunt."[15]

But the princess said "I never saw you before." Then the wise woman answered, "My child, you were quite a baby when I used to visit my sister."

Then she sat down by the princess, and talked to her, and lived with her in the palace.

One day she asked the Princess "Your palace is in the midst of the sea. Tell me how it is your husband comes and goes."

The princess answered "We have a ring which gives us anything we want, and by its help my husband comes and goes. He never forgets his ring, but takes it with him."

Then the wise woman said "My daughter, supposing a tiger were to kill your husband, how would you get out of this palace?"

The princess thought there was some truth in what the woman said, so that night after her husband had come in, and they had had their supper, and were going to bed, she said to him, "Supposing a wild animal were to kill you when you are hunting, and you had the ring with you, there would be no one to look after me here, and I should die. So give me the ring." The prince thought there was reason in what the princess said, so before he went away the next day, he gave her the ring.

---

[8] ڈوناں ḍonâṅ, a cup made of pipal or fig leaves for food and water by the poor—see former tale, "Prince Lionheart," *ante*, p. 231. From the first there is a great similarity between this and that tale.—R. C. T.

[9] This incident occurs again in the popular Panjabi poem by Hâshim Shâh called *Sassî Punnûṅ*, in which Sassî, the king's daughter, is thrown into the river in a golden box, and floating down the stream is rescued by a friendly washerman, who eventually presents her again to the king her father. A romanized version of this poem is now being published by me in the *Journal Roman Urdu Society*.—R. C. T.

[10] See above in former tale for this custom—"Son of Seven Mothers." p. 147—R. C. T.

[11] پھپھے کٹنی—*phaphe kuṭnî*. See former tale, p. 231. —R. C. T.

[12] بیڑا *bêṛa*, a large boat; *bêṛî*, the diminutive form, is the common boat of the Panjâb; = Hind. کشتی *kishtî*.—R. C. T.

[13] ہنڈولا *hanḍôlâ*, the ordinary swing cradle of India. —R. C. T.

[14] The Panjâbî custom is when visiting relatives or friends for women to place their hands on girls' or children's heads before sitting down as a token of friendship and goodwill.—R. C. T.

[15] ماسی *mâsî* (Panj. *mâ* + *sî*, like the mother) mother's sister.—R. C. T.

When the pretended aunt asked the princess if she had got the ring, she answered "Yes, I have; see, here it is." Then the wise woman said to her, "Come and have a sail on the sea," and when they reached the bottom of the golden stairs, she said, "Let us have a sail in this golden boat." So they went into the golden boat, and then the wise woman raised her finger, and the boatmen began to row. The princess when she saw this, wept and said "What are you doing, aunt, and whither are you taking me?" But the wise woman slapped the poor princess several times till she was silent.

At last they arrived at the city, and the wise woman sent word to the king that the princess had come. Then the king sent his covered palanquin[15] for her, and took her away. The king was very much pleased at having found the princess, and sent her to his son's palace, but she said, "I will only agree to marry your son after six months provided my own husband does not appear meanwhile." Then the prince thought this was not a very hard condition, for it was not likely her husband would turn up, and if he or any guardian did, they could easily be killed; so the princess lived in a palace by herself, and would not even look at the prince.

Meanwhile her husband had come back from hunting, but when he called out to the princess from the sea shore, there came no answer. However, when he went into the palace, the parrot flew up to its master at once, saying, "The princess's aunt has carried her off by some trick, and the palace is empty."

Then the prince fell on the ground in a fit, and when he felt better, he got up again, and the parrot said, "Wait here, my prince, and I will fly away and find out where the princess is."

So the parrot flew from city to city and from house to house, till it found the princess at last in a king's palace, and recognized her at once by her golden hair.

It flew up to her, and said, "I have come to look for you. Where is the ring?"

Then the princess said, "It will be a difficult task to get back the ring, for the wise woman always keeps it in her mouth."

Now the cat had gone with the parrot to search for the princess, and she came forward and said, "I'll get the ring. My plan is this. Let the princess ask the wise woman for some rice for supper to-night; then let her leave some of it, and scatter it in front of a rat-hole. When the rats come to eat the rice, I will catch one, and put its tail up the witch's nose while she is asleep. Then she will sneeze, and the ring will fall out of her mouth." So they agreed on that plan, and the cat did as she had proposed, and brought the ring to the prince. He was overjoyed and immediately made a holy place, put the ring in it, sprinkled the buttermilk, and said "Oh ring! bring my wife to me." At the same moment the princess appeared, and was very much pleased to find her dear prince once more.[16]

I append the text of the tale as taken down from the narrator, as a specimen of village Panjâbî. The spelling of modern Panjâbî is not in practice fixed, and the variations found herein represent faithfully the orthography of the scribe who took it down for me in the Persian character.—R. C. T.

'Ajab Mundrá.

Ik bâdshâh sî, ohde ghar do laṛke sî. Jad bâdshâh margîâ, tâṅ do laṛkîâṅ vichhoṅ ik baṛâ 'aibî ho gyâ. Eh hâl dekhke dûje bharâ ne ohnûṅ âkhyâ, ke tûṅ apnâ hissa lekar maithoṅ aḍ ho jâ; tâṅ oh apnâ hissa lekar aḍ ho gyâ, te apnâ sârâ barbâd kar dittâ. Phir osne apnî 'aurat nûṅ âkhyâ, ke kujh de. Osne âkhyâ "Mere kol tûṅ kî chhaḍḍyâ hai? Hun siraf mere kol thoṛâ jhyâ zewar hai, eh tûṅ lele." Osne zewar vechke châr sau rupaiya waṭṭ lyâ. Oh rupaiya leke saudagiri karan ṭuryâ; agge ik billîwâlâ milyâ. Ohnûṅ osne âkhyâ, "Billî dâ kî lengâ?" Osne âkhyâ "Sau rupaiya lângâ." Sau rupaiya deke billî mul laî. Pher ik kuttewâlâ milyâ. Ohnûṅ puchhyâ "Kutte dâ tûn kî lengâ?" Osne âkhyâ "Sau rupaiya toṅ ghaṭ na lângâ." Osnûṅ vî sau rupaiya deke kuttâ mul lelyâ. Pher ik totewâlâ milyâ. Osnûṅ puchhyâ "Tuṅ kî lengâ?" Osne âkhyâ "Ehdâ mul sau rupaiya hai." Osnûṅ vî sau rupaiya dekar mul lelyâ. Pher ik jogî sapwâlâ milyâ. Osnûṅ puchhyâ "Tûṅ ki lengâ?" Osne âkhyâ, "sau rupaiya." Osnûṅ vî sau rupaiya dekar sap kharîd lyâ.

Istarah châr sau rupaiya apnâ kharach karke, agge ṭuryâ, râh vich kharach kujh palle na rihâ. Mazdûrî karke, khân lagâ, osne bahot dukh pâyâ. Ohdâ dukh vekhke Sap ne âkhya, ke, Bâdshâh-

[15] ڈولا *ḍôlâ*—here the large covered palanquin used by women of rank; not the marriage *ḍôlâ* above mentioned: *ḍôli*, the diminutive, would be a more appropriate word here.—R. C. T.

[16] The ending of this tale differs from that of the "Prince Lionheart" in its extremely lame character.—R. C. T.

zâde, mere ghar nûn chal. Ghar lejâke ohnûn âkhyâ "tûn aithe khilo, main andaron bâp nûn puchh âwân." Sap ne bâp nûn âkhyâ "Ik âdmî ne sau rupaiya deke jogî kolon chhaddwâyâ hai, ohnûn main tere kol leâyâ hân." Sap de bâp ne âkhyâ "Mere kol bulâ leâ." Bâdshâhzâde nûn âkhyâ, "Mera bâp tainûn tinwâre âkhegâ, ke, Bâdshâhzâde, jo kujh mangnâ hain, mang le; tad tûn mundrâ mangê, hor kujh na mangê." Pher bâdshâhzâda Sap de bâp kol giâ. Osne âkhyâ "Jo kujh mangnâ hain, mang." Bâdshâhzâde ne jawâb dittâ, "Parmeshar dâ dittâ sabh kujh mere kol hai." Osne âkhyâ "Merâ dûjâ bachan hai, jo kujh mangnâ hain, mang le." Osne âkhyâ "Parmeshar dâ dittâ bahot kujh hai." Osne âkhyâ "Sun, mera tîsrâ bachan hai, jo kujh mangnâ hain, mang le." Osne âkhyâ "Mainûn hor kujh nahîn châhîdâ, siraf ik mundrâ darkâr hai." Sap de bâp ne is bât utte bahot afsôs kîtâ, par apne tije bachan nûn pûrâ karan wâste mundrâ leâke dedittâ, te âkhyâ "Je main bachan na kardâ, tân tainûn ethe hî bhassam kar dindâ. Kyûn tûn mere kolon bhârî chîz mangî hai? Jâ, hun lejâ." Sap dâ betâ ohnûn bâhir leke âyâ. Pher Bâdshâhzâde ne âkhyâ "Eh tun mainûn kî bâp kolon diwâyâ hai? Daulatân de dher na diwâe: sonâ chândî na diwâyâ. Isnûn main kî karân? Ehdâ kî gun hai?" Sap ne âkhyâ "Ehde vich eh gun hai, ke chaunkâ pâke, lassî leâke, ehde utte chhirakke, jo kujh mangengâ so eh devegâ." Eh gal daske, Sap apne ghar nun chalâ giâ. Bâdshâhzâda apne râh pyâ, te Shahr de kol jâke apnê jî vich kahan lagâ "Dekhîye, ke eh mundrâ eujhyâ hai jehujhyâ sap ne dasyâ sî." Osne chaunkâ pâyâ te lassî utte chhirakkî, te âkhyâ "He mundrâ, mainûn khân nûn laddu mithâî de." Osse vele laddu mithâî âgaye. Bâdshâhzâda khâke agge turyâ.

Pher ik Shahr vich pahunchke othe dondî sunê, ke jo koî sone dâ mahal te pauryân samundar de vich banâve, osnûn main apnê larkî dâ dolâ te adhâ râj deângâ, je na banegâ, tân sir lahâ deângâ. Eh sunkar Bâdshâhzâda kachehrî vich giâ, te âkhyâ, "Hazûr 'Ali, main banâwângâ." Ohne âkhyâ, "Tûn kî banavenga, agge bahotere Shâhzâde sir lahâ gaye hain, eh ohnân dyân siryân dâ lâr hai. Jâ, chalâ jâ." Ohne âkhyâ "Main banâwângâ." Is utte Bâdshâh ne hukum dittâ, ke aj rât nûn taiyâr ho jâve. Bâdshâh ne ohde utte pahra bahâ dittâ. Pahrewâle vekhan, tân oh sutâ pyâ: ohnân âpas vich âkhyâ, "Eh mahal ki banâwegâ?" Pichhlî rât nûn oh uthyâ, chaunkâ pâkar, mundre utte lassî chharakkî; te âkhyâ "Sone dâ mahal te pauryân banjân." Osse vele samundar de vich mahal te pauryân ban gayân. Pahredârân khabar dittî "Mahal dekh lo." Ohnân ne Bâdshâh nûn khabar pahunchâî. Bâdshâh apne shilkârân de sâth dekhan âyâ. Dithâ ke mahal te pauryân taiyâr ho gaye hain. Osse vele Bâdshâh ne apnî dhî dâ dolâ te adhâ râj osnûn dedittâ. Osne âkhyâ "Râj main nahin lendâ." Itnî gal âkhkar apne banâe hoe mahal vichh chalâ giâ. Pher Bâdshâh ne âkhyâ "Tu merî betî lele." Pher osne Bâdshâhzâdî leke mahal vichh chalâ giâ. Donon othe rahan bahan lage. Bâdshâhzâda tote billî nûn mahal vichh chhaddke âp shikâr chalâ giâ te roz shikâr nun chalâ jâyâ kare. Ik din ohdî 'aurat bahot udâs hoî. Ohne âkhyâ "Tûn kyûn udâs hoî hain," tân ohne jawâb dittâ, "Merâ jî chahndâ hai, ke tûn mainûn sone dî banâ de jikar tûn sone dâ mahal banâyâ hai." Osne osse vele ohde rubaru chaunkâ pâyâ, lassî mundre utte chirakke, te âkhyâ "Merî 'aurat sone dî hojâve." Osse vele Bâdshâhzâdî sone di ban gayî. Ik din jadon Bâdshâhzâda shikâr giâ, tadon Bâdshâhzâdî ne sir dhoyâ, te kanghî pheri, tân siron do tin wâl dig pye. Âkhyâ "Mere wâl sone de hain: eh kis kamm âwange? Ethe koî gharîb nahîn hai jisnûn dewân." Eh samajhkar donâ banâke, wâl samundar vich lurhâ ditte.

Agge kinâre utte ik dhobî lîre dhondâ sî. Ohne donâ phar lyâ, vich sone de wâl vekhke, barâ râzî hoyâ. Oh dône nûn Bâdshâh de kol legiâ. Bâdshâh ne apne shâhzâde nûn dedittâ. Shâhzâda vekhke barâ khûsh hoyâ, te âkhyâ "Main apnâ byâh os Bâdshâhzâdî nâl karâwangâ, te je oh mainûn ne milegî, tân main marjâwângâ." Eh kahke, jhikkhî manjî te pairihâ te khânâ pînâ chhadd dîttâ. Bâdshâh apne bete dâ eh hâl vekhke, barâ ghamgîn hoyâ, te sochan lagâ, ke kistarah oh shâhzâdî mile? Amîr wazîr musaddî bulâke âkhyâ "Eh salâh dasso, jistarah oh shâhzâdî mile." Ohnân ne sochke jawâb dittâ, "Huzûr 'Ali, eh kamm siwâe phaphekuttân de hor koî nahîn kar sakdâ. Bâdsha ne sâre shahr dî phaphekutnîân mangâ lâyân. Ohnân vichon ik ne âkhyâ, "Main eh kamm karângî, par jo kujh main mangângî so main Bâdshâh kolon lângî." Phaphekuttan ne ik berî sone dî banwâî, te nâl châr mallâh lailîe.

Berî vich ik resham dâ handolâ banwâyâ, te osnûn pat diân lâsân lâyân. Berî utte charhke odhar nûn rawânâ hoî, jidharon donâ âyâ sî Mallâhân nûn osne eh sikhâyâ, ke je main ungal kharî karângî tân tussân berî banh denî; je hithân karângî, tân berî tor denî. Do tin mahînyân vich ik mahal te jâ pahunche. Dekhan tân, ke sone dâ mahal banyâ hoyâ hai. Osne samajh lîâ, ke ethe hî oh shâhzâdî rehndî hovêgî; tân osne kharî kîtî. Mallâhân ne berî kharî kar dittî; pauryân thânî mahal de ûpar charh gayî. Dekhî tân Shâhzâdî baitthî hoî hai; Shâhzâdî de sir utte piâr deke, âkhyâ, "Main terî mâssî hân." Ohne âk[illegible] "Main tainûn agge kadî na ve[illegible] nevî, tûn nikî jehî [illegible]

âundî sî." Eh kahke othe rahan-bahan lagî. Ik din mâssî ne ohnûṅ âkhyâ, ke, Bachî, terâ mahal samundar de vichh hai, terâ khâwiṅd kîkar âundâ jâundâ hai? Osne jawâb dittâ, "sâḍe kol îk mundrâ hai, jo kujh sâṅûṅ loṛ hundî hai oh pûrî kar sakdâ hai. Os mundre dî madad nâl merâ khâvind bâhir âundâ jâundâ hai, te mundre dâ wasâh nahîṅ kardâ, nâl lejândâ hai." Mâssî ne akhyâ, "Bâchî, je kisse din tere khâvind nûṅ koî sher baghyar mâr deve, tâṅ tûṅ kîkar ethoṅ niklengî?" Eh gal Bâdshâhzâdî de dil nûṅ lagî, ke mâssî sach kahndî hai, ohne âkhyâ, "Mâssî, jadoṅ aj shikâr kheṛke mera khâvind âvegâ, tâṅ maiṅ mundrâ lelâwângî." Jis vele ohdâ khâvind ghar mahal vich âyâ, khâ pîke, jad donoṅ soṅ lage, tad Bâdshâhzâdî ne apne khâvind nûṅ âkhyâ, ke, he Bâdshâhzâde, kisse din je tainûṅ koî jânglî jânwar khâ jâve te mundrâ koî lejâve, tâṅ ethe mera kon wâris hai? Maiṅ kite nâ jâ sakângî, ethe hî marjâwângî; is wâste tûṅ mundrâ mainûṅ dejâyâ kaṛ. Eh gal Shahzâde ne pasand kîtî, ke merê 'aurat sach kahndî hai. Mundrâ deke âp chalâ gîâ. Sawerî mâssî ne pûchhyâ, "mundrâ tûṅ lailîâ hai?" Osne âkhyâ, "Maiṅ lailîâ hai, eh, vekh!" Mâssî ne mundrâ lailîâ. Phir, massî ne âkhyâ "Chal, âpâṅsamundar dî sail kare." Jadoṅ uṭarâyâṅ mâssî ne âkhyâ, "Is sone di beṛî utte chaṛhke samundar dî sail karîye." Eh kahke donoṅ beṛî vichoṅ chaṛh baiṭhyâṅ. Phaphekuṭṭan ne unglî khaṛî kîtî: mallâhân ne beṛî ṭor ditte, tâṅ Badshahzâdî roṅ lagî, ke, tûṅ kî kîtâ hai? Mâssî mainûṅ kithe le chalî haiṅ?" Is utte, mâssî ne âkhyâ "Chup kar!" te do tin jhirkâṅ dittyâṅ, do chapêrâṅ mâryâṅ. Bâdshâhzâdî ro-dhoke chup kar rahî. Shahr de kol beṛî ân lâî: bâdshâh nûṅ khabarâṅ paunchyâṅ, ke shâhzâdî leândî hai. Bhâdshâh ne ḍolâ bhejyâ: farmâyâ, ke Shâhzâdî nûṅ leâ. Baṛî khushî hoî; Shâhzâdî nûṅ shahzâde nâl ik mahal vich rakhyâ. Shâhzâdî ne âkhya, "Chha mahînyâṅ de ba'ad maiṅ shahzâde nûṅ qabûl karângî, je merâ khâvind na âyâ." Shâhzâde ne sochyâ, "Hun ohnûṅ shâhzâdâ miluâ mushkil hai, jekar koî wâris âvegâ osnûn mârdeângâ." Shâhzâdî ne ik alag mahal lelîâ, shâhzâde nûṅ apne kol âun na dittâ.

Pichchhe jadoṅ shikâr kheḍke oh khâvind, aglâ shâhzâda, khandê de utte âyâ, tâṅ osne âwâz dittî, kissê ne jawâb na dittâ. Tote ne apne mâlik nûṅ pachhânke uḍke âke âkhyâ, ke Shahzâdî nûṅ ohdî mâssî chhalkar legayî hai, mahal khâlî pyâ hai. Eh sunke Shâhzâda ghash khâke ḍig pyâ. Pichchhoṅ jâdoṅ hosh âî, tadoṅ uṭhya. Tote ne âkhyâ, ke, Shâhzâdâ, tûṅ ethe raho, maiṅ uḍke, os shahr dâ pattâ leânâ. Qissakotâ totâ shahr pauhanchke ghar ghar uḍḍâ phire. Ik ghar vich os Shâhzâdî dâ pattâ lag gîâ. Ohde sone de wâl vekhke pachhân lîâ; "Tûṅ Shâhzâdî de kol nahîṅ gayî." Âkhyâ, "maiṅ tere labhan wâste âyâ hâṅ." Phir tote ne puchchhyâ, "Mundrâ kithe hai?" Shâhzâdî ne âkhyâ, "Mundrâ milnâ okhâ hai; phaphekuṭṭan hamesha ohde muṅh vich rakhdî hai." Othe billî bolî, "Maiṅ mundrâ kisse hikmat nâl kaḍh lângî: hikmat eh hai, ke Shâhzâdî aj rât nûṅ phaphekuṭṭan nûṅ âkhe 'maiṅ chaṅwal khâwangî.' Kujh chaṅwal khâke chhaḍḍ deve. Pher ohnâṅ chânwalâṅ nûṅ chûhâṅ de khuḍ te rakh dyâṅ. Tadoṅ chûhe khân lagenge, chûhe phâṛke, phaphekuṭṭan de nâs vich maiṅ dyângî. Tad phaphekuṭṭan nûṅ chhik âvegî, taṅ mundrâ ohde mûṅhoṅ vichoṅ nikal âvegâ; osnûṅ, phâṛke maiṅ Shahzâde kol lejâwângî." Billî ne issî tarah kîtâ: mundrâ Shâhzâde kol legayî. Osne chauṅkâ pâke lassî chhiṛakke, âkhyâ, "He mundra, merî Shâhzâdî mere kol âjâve. Shâhzâdî ohde kol âgayî. Faqt.

NOTES ON THE *KURRAL* OF TIRUVALLUVAR.

BY THE REV. G. U. POPE, D.D., M.R.A.S. LONDON; AND OF THE GERMAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY; AND FELLOW OF THE MADRAS UNIVERSITY.

(*Continued from Vol. IX., p.* 199.)

No. IV.

CHAPTER III.

The third chapter of the *Kurraḷ* is entitled 'The greatness of Ascetics.' I will first simply translate the ten couplets very literally :—

I. Among things excellent the greatness of ascetics (*living*) according to (*their*) institutions is desired by the decision of the scripture.

II. If you (*attempt to*) declare the measure of the greatness of ascetics, it is as if you reckoned up the world's departed ones.

III. The greatness of those who, discerning the (*way*) relations of the two states, have put on virtue here, is resplendent in the world.

IV. He, who guards (*controls*) the five by the goad of fortitude, is a seed for the place that is termed "the boon."

V. Indra, Lord of those who dwell in the wide expanse, is sufficient witness of the might of him who has extinguished the five.

VI. The great will do things difficult of accomplishment; the little will not do things difficult of accomplishment.

VII. Flavour, light, touch, sound, fragrance,

be who understands the way of these five: in his power is the world.'

VIII. The greatness of the men of the full word (*whose words never lack fulfilment*) on this earth, the word of mystery points out.

IX. *It is hard even for a moment to endure* the wrath of those who have climbed the hill of virtue and taken their stand there.

X. The virtuous are *antaṉar*: for these, having put on righteous kindliness towards every living thing, go on in their ordered path.

The epithets applied to 'ascetics' in this chapter are—

(1st couplet). *Nîttâr*:—this is a participial noun, = 'those who have put away,' *i.e.* earthly affections. √ *nî* = 'destroy.' [Comp. S. *na*, *nis*, *nas*]; 'deny' is used in this sense. This is the S. *tyâga.*

(2nd) *turr and âr.* This also is a part. noun: = 'those who have put away.' √ *turra* 'distance.' Comp. S. *dṛî*, *dur*, *dûram.*

(3rd) *arram-pûṇḍ âr.* 'Virtue—who have put on as an ornament,' 'clothed with virtue,' 'who have arrayed themselves in virtue.' *Arram* has been discussed; *pûṇḍ-âr* is a part. noun. √ *puṉ*(*d*) Kan. *pûd*, *hûd*; comp. S. *bhûsh.*

(4th) *aind um-kâpp ân.* 'He who has kept under restraint the five', *i.e.* the senses. (*Mânavadh.* II, 199. *B. Gîta*, xviii, 51). The root *kâ* = 'guard.' Comp. *y-â* = 'tie.' Another form is *kâr.* Comp. S. *kârâ*, 'prison.' Lat. *carcer.*

(5th) *aind 'avitt ân*: *avi-tt-ân* = 'he who has extinguished.' The root *avi* is used intransitively, also—'to be boiled soft, to perish.' S. *hâ*, compounded with *ava*: *avahâ.*

(6th) *peri-y-âr*—'the great.' Root—*per.* (S. *pra*).

(7th) *aind-in-vagai-teri-v-ân*—'he who will understand the way of the five'; *vaj-ai*, 'manner, way,' (Ger. *weg*). Root *teri*: cognate with *terr*, and with *tel.* In Kan. *tiḷi*; Tel. *telu.*

(8th) *nirrai-moṟi-mând ar*—fulness—word—men, *i.e.* 'men whose word is fulfilled.' The word *nirrai* is an abstract noun formed from √ *nir* by adding *ai* (S. *â*). This root is found with single or dental *r* also, and with various strengthenings: thus, *nira*, *nirappu*, *nirambu*, *niravu*, *nirrai.* The group is very comprehensive, and the derivatives are very many. In Sansk. *nirvâha* [*nis* + *vah*] is its equivalent. *Mând ar* is S. *manus*, *manushya.* Other forms are *manu*, *mar*— *manuḍan*, *mânidan.* For *moṟi*, see

(9th) '*guṇam-ennum-kundr 'erri-nindr âr*'—those who have climbed and stood upon the hill called quality (good quality, virtue). *Kundru*, 'hill.' (Tel. *koṇḍa*) Comp. S. *kunda.*

(10th) *andaṉ ar*, or *arra-v-ôr.* With regard to the word *andaṉ ar*, I confess I am doubtful. It is used for 'ascetic,' but is said to be compounded of *am*, 'beauty,' *taṉ*, 'kind,' and so to mean 'those who possess gracious kindliness of soul': a beautiful idea, but here, I think, rather far-fetched.

The words for 'authoritative writings' are *nûl*, *panuval*, *marrai-moṟi.*

(1) Of these *nûl* means 'thread,' and by metaphor 'a treatise.' It is related to the verb *nuv al* = 'say, speak.' The same met. is found in S. *sûtra.*

(2) *Panural* is probably *pañji* + *nuval* (*nûl*)—'thread of cotton,' 'treatise.'

(3) *marrai*, 'mystery'; *moṟi*, 'word.' Either of these alone, or in a compound, as above—*veda*, 'sacred-book' as *marrai* (comp. S. *marman*); *moṟi* is probably another form of the same.

In the fourth couplet, in somewhat obscure language, is set forth the idea of the development in the 'better world' of the Virtuous Soul. He is a seed which planted in that better soil shall grow and yield immortal fruit.

The story of Indra's curse, referred to in couplet 5, may be read by the Tamil scholar in Kamban's *Râmâyaṇam*, *Bâla-Kâṇḍam*, xth *Panalam*, *Agaliyaippaḍalam*, 72, &c., where the beauty of the verse contrasts with the uncouthness of the story.

I think it will be evident that our author did not, at least exclusively, contemplate in this chapter a Jaina saint, as has been supposed. In Jaina works this latter is (1) 'Lord of the world.' (This might seem to be pointed to in couplet 5.) He is (2) 'Free from bodily and ceremonial acts;' (3) 'omniscient'; (4) 'Supreme Lord'; (5) 'god of gods'; (6) 'one who has crossed over the world' (*tîrthan kâra*); (7) 'possessor of a spiritual nature, free from investing sources of error'; (8) 'one entitled to the homage of gods and of men'; (9) 'Victor over all human infirmities.' (See Wilson's *Hindû Sects*, p. 187.)

But a Jaina saint could not have 'wrath' as in couplet 9; nor is couplet 5 quite consistent with Jaina doctrines, though the poet may refer to a current story, without accepting — where, indeed, does the eclecticism of

valluvar seem to me more conspicuous than in this chapter. Every system has its ascetics, and self-denial is everywhere mighty.

Certainly there is much here which might be compared with the teaching of the Christian scriptures, and I can fancy in the Tamil verses an echo of such words as these: "Yet have I set my king upon my holy hill;" "Kiss the Son lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way, when His wrath is kindled but a little;" "I have overcome the world;" "This is the victory which overcometh the world, even your faith;" "He that doeth the will of God abideth for ever." Comp. also *Rev.* ii, 26, 27; vi, 17.

His knowledge and experience would extend to the Christian establishments in Meilâpûr, to the Buddhist works in the Vihâra Rath of Mahâmallaipura (Foulkes in *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII, p. 7); to Daṇḍis and Tridaṇḍis, Yôgis—probably to the Mâdhavâchâris—with their adaptations of Christian doctrines and institutions; and to the Jaina monasteries. These had different institutions (*oṛukkam*) and reverenced different sacred books (*panuval*); while all appealing to a mysterious 'word' or scripture (*marrai-moṛi*). The worth and power of the whole is summed up in couplet 10.

CHAP. IV.

The title of the 4th chapter is the "emphatic commendation of virtue:" *arranvali-urruttal.*

Arran = *arram*—Nouns in *m* in Tamil may optionally end in *n*: the final nasal is no essential part of the word. *Vali* 'strength': a great number of words having √ *val* or √ *bal* are found in the South Indian languages, all having the primary idea of 'power;' S. √ *bal.*

Urruttal is made up of √ *urr* (be, feel) + *tt*, a causal insertion + *al*, termination of verbal nouns; *ir*, *urr*, *ul* are the chief roots in the Drâvidian dialects which predicate existence. *ir* more especially seems to assert 'position,' *urr*, 'sensation' and *ul*, 'reality'.

I translate the 10 couplets, of which it is to be noted that they are perhaps on the whole the most polished in the book: absolutely perfect, flawless gems in Tamil:—

I. It yields distinction, and it yields happiness: than virtue what greater acquisition in life?

II. Than virtue there is no higher acquisition; than forgetfulness of it no deeper destruction.

III. In every possible way, ceaselessly whenever opportunity is afforded, do deeds of virtue.

IV. In mind be spotless! So much is virtue. All else is empty noise. (*Gîtâ*, xvi, 1.)

V. Virtue is that which hath walked with foot that slips not through envy, lust, wrath, or evil speech. (*Bhag. Gît.* xvi, 21.)

VI. Do deeds of virtue, not saying, "then we shall know": that, when thou diest, shall be undying help.

VII. When you compare the bearer of the litter with him who rides therein, you need not further speak of the tendency of virtue.

[The commentator says: because their respective positions are the result of virtue and vice in a former state of existence. (*S. John*, ix. 2.)]

VIII. If he do good, suffering no day to fall profitless, that will be a stone which will close up the way of living days.

[*Com.*: 'this will prevent his passing through other forms of being.' These two couplets express the belief of nearly all Hindûs of every sect.]

IX. What comes through virtue is pleasure: all else are outside of it, and are void of praise.

X. What is to be placed in the category of things to be done is virtue: what should be shunned is vice.

In the 4th couplet *adal* is either an optative mood—'*be thou*' or a verbal noun—'the being.' The general translation takes the latter: 'to be spotless in soul is virtue.' The Tamil scholar must take his choice. In the second line *nîra*: this is the construction referred to in No. II. of these notes (vol. VIII, p. 307): *mudal-a. Nir*, 'water' (S. *nîra*), thence, 'juice,' 'essence,' 'essential property.' The commentators and all translators following them, take the latter meaning. I would suggest the literal and, I submit, more practical translation: 'other things are all as resounding waters.' To a poet living on the surf-beaten S. Thomè sea-shore this would be a very natural metaphor.

The teaching of this chapter is obviously to some extent that of the xviiith chap. of the *Gîta*: action is not to be forsaken. Great as are ascetics, it is in the performance of virtuous deeds that men are to partake of the highest enjoyments and merit the greatest rewards. In this chapter we have, however, I believe, a higher moral teaching than is to be found in any Hindu book, at least of earlier date than itself.

And since the writer (1) was an avowed eclectic; (2) was unfettered by caste; (3) was

an inhabitant of S. Thomè, and so in the midst of Christians, it seems to me a natural supposition that he had heard the 'Sermon on the mount' To such a man the lives and words of our Blessed Lord and of his holy apostles; especially of S. Paul, would have a peculiar charm. I do not add special references to the Christian scriptures.

This chapter ends what is considered to be the Introduction to the *Kurral*.

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(*Continued from p.* 339.)

XIII.

We have seen how Wang Khân was killed by the Naiman frontier commander. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* says that when the mother of Tayang, the Naiman chief, who was called Gurbyessu, heard of his death, she said "Wang Khân was a great ruler, bring me the head to see if it be really his, and if so, then we will make a sacrifice to it." She accordingly sent some people to Khorisubichi, who had killed him. They cut off the head and took it to her. On seeing that it was really his, they began playing musical instruments to it, so as to attract the spirit of the dead chief, and also made a sacrifice. During this proceeding a smile passed over the face of Wang Khân. Tayang noticing this smile, and taking it as a bad omen, crushed the head with his foot, whereupon one of the bystanders named Keksiusabrakh said "You have cut off a dead man's head and crushed it with your foot, now even your dog anticipates misfortune. Your father Inanchabilge once said 'I am old and my wife is young. My son Tayang is weak. He was born in answer to my prayers. I fear he will not be able to protect my numerous people.' Your dog now anticipates defeat. Gurbyessu (i. e. Tayang's mother) is strong, but Tayang our ruler is weak, and has no talent for anything but hawking and hunting."[1] The other authorities of the extreme east, Chinese and Mongol, say nothing of these events, but De la Croix, apparently quoting Abu'lkhair, has a passage somewhat like the one abstracted from the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*. He tells us that when Tayang saw the head of Wang Khân he could not help insulting it, on which Abu'lkhair remarks, "'Tis a base action to rend the beard from a dead lion."[2] Rashid-u'd-dîn merely tells us that Tayang reproached his followers for having killed the old chief, saying they ought to have captured him alive, and that he then had his skull encased in silver and placed it on a throne facing the door of his *yurt* or tent. One day the tongue of the dead chief was seen to protrude from the mouth. This happened three times, and was interpreted as an evil augury by the Naiman chiefs.[3] Let us return again to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*. We there read that Tayang Khân spoke very disdainfully of the Mongols. He called them Dada, i. e. Tartars, and said that having frightened Wang Khân with their spears and arrows, and caused his death, it was possible their chief Chinghiz wanted to become the supreme ruler. "In the sky there is only one sun, how can there be two lords on the earth? I will go and subdue these Dada," were his words. His truculent mother spoke in similar terms. "These Dada smell," she said, "their clothes are black, wherefore do you want to catch them and bring them here? Let them remain far away from us. If they have pretty wives and daughters, let them be washed before they are brought here, and they will do to feed the sheep and cows." Keksiusabrakh on hearing Tayang Khân's words sighed and said "Do not use such proud phrases," but Tayang would not listen to him, and sent Torbitashi—as his envoy to Alakhushidi-gitkhuri of the tribe Vangut, asking him to be his right hand in a campaign against the Mongols. Alakhush replied he could not be his right hand, and he sent a messenger to inform Chinghiz that Tayang meditated an attack upon him, that he sent to ask for his alliance, to which he would not consent, and bidding him be on his guard.[4]

In the *Yuan-shi* the chief to whom Tayang sent his message is called Ah-la-hwuh-sze[5] of the Po-ta-ta or White Tartar tribe,[6] and we are further told he was under obligations to

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 100.
[2] *History of Genghiz Can the Great*, etc., pp. 57 and 58.
[3] Erdmann, p. 298; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 82; Abu'l-ghazi, p. 86.
[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 101.
[5] Hyacinthe calls him Aru-Khasu.
[6] Hyacinthe reads this name Ba-dalda.

Temujin or Chinghiz Khân, and therefore, instead of accepting Tayang's proposal, he sent messengers with six bottles of wine to his rival to inform him of what had happened.[7] Douglas adds to this notice (apparently from the *She wei* or "Woof of History" by Chin-Yun-seih) that wine was previously unknown to the Mongols, and their chief, who did not like the first taste of it, made a remark which sounds somewhat trite to our sophisticated ears. "A little of this stuff," he said, "raises the spirits, but an overdose confuses them." In return for the information and the presents, he sent his correspondent 500 horses and 1,000 sheep and made an alliance with him against the Naimans.[8] In the authority translated by De Mailla the Ah-la-hwuh-sze of the *Yuan-shi* is merely called the chief of the Ouang-coupou, (a corruption of Vangut). There we also read that the Mongols had hitherto been unacquainted with wine and only used a certain intoxicating liquor made from milk. The rest of the story is told as in the extract from Douglas, and is probably based on the same authority.[9] In the *Yuan-shi-lei-pien* Ah-la-hwuh-sze is called Alausse, and we further read that he was the chief of the White Tata, that he belonged to the stock of the ancient chiefs of the Tukue,[10] and that Tayang proposed that he, Chamukha and himself should form an alliance against Chinghiz Khân.[11] Rashidu'd-dîn tells us that in the spring of the mouse year[12] Tayang Khân sent a trusty messenger named Jukhanan to Alakush Tikin Khuri, the chief of the Ongut. Erdmann thus translates his message: "They say that a Padishah who has the *naubet*[13] has arisen in our country. He aspires to heaven and to subdue the sun and moon. As you know there cannot be two swords in one sheath, two souls in one body, two eyes in one socket, so there is not room for two Padishahs in one realm. Be my right hand, come and help me, and I will make his ram[14] my own. Alakush, who was conscious that the Naiman power was on the wane, while that of Chinghiz Khân was rising, after consulting with his sons and chiefs, determined to throw in his lot with the latter, and sent one of his people named Turbidash to acquaint Chinghiz with what was passing.[15] According to D'Ohsson's account Tayang in his letter to Alakush spoke contemptuously of Chinghiz as "the wood prince," referring to the woody country inhabited by the Mongols,[16] but this seems to be a mistranslation. Abu'lghâzi in his notice instead of the simile about the two swords in one sheath uses a quaint Eastern illustration drawn from the imagery of his own time and country, and very contrary to that of the early Mongols. "Ten dervishes can find room on one piece of carpet, while the whole world is too small for two sovereigns."[17] The *Huang-Yuan* calls Alakush Alakhusi-dikikholi of the race Bangu. This work also makes Tayang ask if there can be two masters in this world, and seems to suggest that this can be so in the heavens where the sun and moon divide authority between them. He calls the messenger sent by Alakush to Chinghiz, Dorbitashi.[18] In Miles' *Shajrat ul Atrak* he is called Nooridash.[19] Having thus brought together the various authorities we must illustrate the meaning of their statements by a commentary. As will be seen Alakush Tikin is made the chief of the Potata or White Tartars by some authors and of the Ongut by others. The Potata or White Tartars, by which name the tribe was known to the Chinese, were a section of the Tartars proper who, when the race was broken and dispersed, settled in the In-shan mountains, where it made itself felt in the latter years of the Tang dynasty. In the year 880 this section of the Tartars submitted to Chu-ye-che-sin, otherwise called Li-kue-chang and his son Li-ke-yung, who were chiefs of the Sha-to or Turks of the Sandy Desert, who afterwards founded the Tsin dynasty in China.[20] This explains Gaubil's statement that the chief of the Potata was of the stock of the ancient princes of the Turks.[21] The Sha-to Turks were a tribe subject to the Khakan of the Western Turks. They lived originally, according to De Guignes, near lake Lop, whence they retired in the 8th century to escape the encroachments of the Tibetans to Peting, north of Jighur, where they became eventually subject to the Tibetans, who planted them at Kan-chau, in the western part of

[7] Douglas, p. 43; Hyacinthe, p. 31.
[8] *Douglas*, pp. 43 and 44.
[9] *Op cit.* tom. IX, pp. 35 and 36.
[10] *i. e.* of the Turks.
[11] Gaubil, pp. 10 and 11.
[12] *i. e.* 1204.
[13] *i. e.* music played in front of the royal tent every day, and a symbol of sovereignty.
[14] *i. e.* his power.
[15] Erdmann, pp. 299 and 300.
[16] *Op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 83 and 84.
[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 88.
[18] *Op. cit.*, p. 177.
[19] *Op. cit.*, p. 73.
[20] Visdelou, pp. 328 and 329.
[21] *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

Shen-si, and employed them as their advance guard in their attacks on China. On the rise of the power of the Hoei-che or Uïghurs, the Sha-to tribe, to the number of 30,000, went eastwards, and eventually were posted by the Tang emperors as a frontier guard to protect the district of Koko Khotun from the depredations of the Uighurs and other tribes. This was in 836 under their chief Chi-i. The latter's son, She-sin, did great services to the empire and was given the style of Kue-chang by the Emperor, and allowed to add to it the name Li, which was the family name of the Tang dynasty. He was posted with his people at Koko Khotun of which he was appointed governor. Presently he rebelled with his son Li-ke-yong, and his troops having been dispersed, the two chiefs sought refuge among the Tartars of the In-shan mountains, who put them at their head.[22] As I said, these princes became the founders of the Tsin dynasty, who dominated over Northern China for a short time, and were the first "Barbarians" who had the distinction of giving a distinctly recognized imperial dynasty to China. Under their name of Po-ta-ta or White Tartars they are mentioned in the *Liao-Shi* in the notice of the flight of Yelu Tashi, the founder of the empire of Kara Khitai, where we are told that, after crossing the He Shui, *i. e.* the Kara-gol or Black river, he met Chuang-gur the Siang-wen of the Po-ta-ta, who offered him 400 horses, 20 camels and about 1,000 sheep.[23] The Po-ta-ta of the Chinese were called Ongut by the Mongols. The *t* in the name is the ordinary Mongol plural. *Ongu*, we are told by Rashidu'd-dîn and Abu'lghâzi, meant 'a wall,' and the tribe was so called because it garrisoned the wall which the Chinese emperors had built from the sea of Jurchi, i. e. of Manchuria to the Kara Muran, to restrain the incursions of the Kirais, Naimans, and other nomades. This wall, by which Rashid understands the great Chinese wall, he tells us was garrisoned by the Ongut, whence their name. In several MSS of Rashid, the name is given corruptly as Atguh or Atko. It would seem the name was also applied to the In-Shan range, the Karaun Chidun of the Mongols, and that it was from this natural defence, and not from the great wall itself, that the Ongut derived their name.[24] The chief of the Ongut at this time was, according to Rashid, Alakush Tikin Kuri. In his biography in the *Yuan-shi* he is called A-la-wu-sze Ti-gi Hu-li.[25] *Alakush* is Turkish, and means a pied bird. *Tikin* is a title much affected by Turkish Princes. *Kuri* was, says D'Ohsson, the same honorary title that was given to Chinghiz Khân. He says it ought perhaps to be read *Ku-tse* or *Fu-tse*.[26] In his biography in the *Yuan-shi* Alakush Tikin is called chief of the Wang-gu (*i.e.* Ongu), while in the text of the work he is called chief of the Po-ta-ta, proving that the two names are synonyms.[27] Before we go on with our story we must illustrate one of the extracts before quoted in which it is said that Alakush Tikin sent Chinghiz a present of six flasks of wine, which was a new drink to the Mongols. This wine was no doubt the well-known Darassun or rice-wine of the Chinese, about which Marco Polo writes. "Most of the people of Cathay drink wine of the kind that I shall now describe. It is a liquor which they brew of rice, with a quantity of excellent spice, in such fashion that it makes better drink than any other kind of wine. It is not only good, but clear and pleasing to the eye, and being very hot stuff, it makes one drunk sooner than any other kind of wine." The process of making this wine is described in the Jesuits' *Memoires*, tom. V, pp. 468 et seq.; see also Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 427. Rubruquis also mentions this rice wine. In describing the famous silver tree made by Master William of Paris he tells us that at its feet were four lions, which all vomited forth milk, four other conduits went to the top of the tree, and he adds "et unum ex illis canalibus fundit vinum, aliud caracosmos, hoc est lac jumenti defecatum, aliud boal hoc est potum de melle,[28] *aliud cervesiam de risio que dicitur terracina*".[29]

Let us now resume our story. We are told in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* that when the Ongut chief sent to warn Chinghiz of his impending danger, he was hunting in a district

[22] De Guignes, tom. II, pp. 33-40.
[23] Bretschneider, *Notices of Med. Geog.*, p. 24.
[24] Erdmann, pp. 241 and 242 and notes; D'Ohsson, p. 84, note; Klaproth. *Nouv. Journ. Asiat.*, tom. IX, pp. 526-7.
[25] Bretschneider, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
[26] *Op. cit.*, pp. 84 and 85, note; Klaproth, *op. cit.*, p. 527, note 2.
[27] Bretschneider, *loc. cit.* Marco Polo just mentions the Ongut, whom he calls Ung, saying it was the name of the people of the country of Gog and Magog, which he placed near that of Prester John, *i.e.* near Tenduc. (Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 270.)
[28] *i. e.* mead.
[29] *Op. cit.*, ed D'Avezac, p. 335.

called Tiemian keer,[30] and he at once took counsel with his companions. Many of them said "Our horses are exhausted, what is to be done?" But his brother Otchigin replied "Why do you wish to excuse yourselves with the plea that your horses are exhausted; I have horses that are still in condition." How can we be quiet after hearing such words? His other brother Belgutei also urged that life would not be worth living if they were deprived of their bows and arrows and that brave men died with their weapons. Although the Naimans were inflated by the size of their country and the number of their men, he urged that it would not be difficult to rob them of their bows and arrows, and that if attacked they would abandon their herds of horses, their dwellings would become empty and their people would fly to the mountains and forests. He therefore urged an advance. Chinghiz approved of Belgutei's counsel. Returning from the hunt he passed through Abchikhakoterge to the river Khalkha, and halted at Keltegaikhada, near Ornau.[31] There he mustered his army and nominated commanders of 10, 100, and 1,000 men. He appointed six *Jerbis*—the meaning of which, says Palladius, is not explained, but they were probably some head officials of the household. He also appointed 80 men for the night watch, and 70 men called *Sanbans* as body-guards.[32] These watch guards were picked young men, active and big, chosen from the houses of the millenarians and centurians. Arkhaikhasar was ordered to levy 1,000 brave men and to take command of them. They were to act as an advance-guard in battle and as watch-guards in time of peace. Ogelicherbi and Khudusikhalchan were nominated commanders of the 70 Sanbans. Chinghiz now addressed his men saying, "Archer Sanbans, body-guards, masters of the feast, and door-keepers; in the day-time you must be at your several posts. After sunset when your duties are over, and when you have handed over your work to the night-guards, you must sleep inside. After they have fed the horses and seen to them, the night-watch must perambulate the camp. The porters in order one after another must take charge of the doors, and in the morning when hot water is brought,[33] let each one go to the camp and commence his duty. Each one's turn is for three days." Each millenarian, centurian, Jerbi, etc. had his proper post assigned to him. Chinghiz now in the year of the mouse, *i.e.* 1204, in the 4th moon and on the 16th day made a sacrifice to his standards and went to war against the Naimans. Palladius says this sacrificing to the standards is a custom still prevailing in China when a special prayer is recited by the commander.[34] This practice of sacrificing to the standards seems to have been practised by the Mongols in their invasion of Europe. Thus we are told by Miechof that at the battle of W a h l s t a d t, when a large number of the Tartars had fallen or fled, one of their standard-bearers appeared with a standard having on it two cross pieces in the form of the Greek letter *Khi* (X), above which was a head of horrid aspect and black colour having a long beard. This head was violently shaken while incantations were sung, whereupon a smoke or vapour with a horrible stench proceeded from it and deprived the Poles of the power to resist.[35]

The *Yuan-shi* calls the place where Chinghiz consulted his people, T e m e g e-g o l, *i. e.* the river Temege, and tells us the majority of them counselled delay on the ground that the spring was only just commencing and the horses had not recovered from the hardships of the winter, and urged that they should postpone the campaign till the autumn. It also reports the speeches of Ochigin and Belgutei,[36] and says that, having decided to follow their advice, Chinghiz moved his camp to Mount Chindakhân, and gave the command of the advance-guard to Khubiri and Jebe or Chepe.[37] Mr. Douglas calls the former Khubilai, Chinghiz Khân's grandson, but that chief was not then born, and the one here mentioned was another Khubilai, known as K h u b i l a i N o y a n. De Mailla's authority makes Ochigin urge that if their own horses were then thin, so must those of the Naimans be, and it tells us that when Chinghiz Khân had made up his mind to advance, he sent to ask

[30] *i. e.* the plain of Tiemian.

[31] Query? the place which gave their name to the Urunaut or Ornaut.

[32] The name, Palladius says, is Chinese.

[33] It is a Chinese custom to wash the face with hot water, and this means "when Chinghiz rises from his bed."—Palladius, note 373.

[34] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, pp. 101-103 and notes 362-373.

[35] Miechof, *De Sarmatia*, tom. I, ch. 3, in Grinaei *Orcis novus*, pp. 451-453, quoted by Wolff, *Gesch. der Mong.* pp. 185 and 188.

[36] Hyacinthe, pp. 31 and 32; Douglas, pp. 44 and 45.

[37] Hyacinthe, *loc. cit.*

his brother-in-law, Podu, to join him with his troops, and the two went together and encamped at the mountain, Kientekai, where Chinghiz distributed commands among his officers, and appointed Khubilai and Chêbe to command the advance guard.[38] The *Huang-yuan* calls the place where the conference took place the river Timugai. It makes Ochigin say that his horses were still strong if the others were lean, and that it was not possible to draw back now; makes him foretell a great victory, that Tayang Khân would be made prisoner, and that such a consummation deserved that they should exert themselves to the utmost. It says the sacrifices to the standards were made at the full moon. Chinghiz assembled his people again at the river Khalkha and the mountain Gentegai, and gave his relatives Khubilai and Jebe command of the vanguard.[39] Rashidu'd-dîn, as reported by Erdmann, calls the place where the conference took place Temegeh-yah-yen-tul-guljut. He confounds Ochigin, the brother of Temujin, who gave him counsel on this occasion, with Daritai Ochigin, his uncle, a pardonable mistake, since Ochigin or Uchigin, as we have seen, was a soubriquet borne by the youngest son of the family. He calls the place where the army was mustered Galtagai.[40]

The later Persian writers who try to glorify Timur's ancestry introduce Kharachar Noyan, his supposed ancestor, on every available occasion, and we accordingly read in the *Shajrat ul Atrak*, which was founded on the work of Ulugh Beg, that Chinghiz, on his persuasion, now appointed his son Tuli to the *buljunghar*, and Khubilai and Jebe Noyan to the *burunghar*, and also to act as the *munghulai* or advanced guard. Juji was placed near the *tugh* or standards in the division called the *ghul* or the main body. The command of the *unghar* (*sunghar*) or right wing was given to Chaghatai, Temujin's son, and that of the *junghar* or left wing to the Prince Ogotai, while Karachar Noyan was placed over the *bustunghar* or rear division. Temujin himself with the *kunghurs* or picked men took up his post with the *uk-chunghar* (*Sakeh*).[41] This notice is of as little authority as the elaborate account of the battle which follows in the same account.

Let us now turn again to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*. We there read that on leaving his camp Chinghiz Khân went up the river Kerulon, Chebe and Khubilai being sent in advance. When they reached Saarikeher[42] they met a Naiman patrol who was posted on the hill Kan-kharkha. In the struggle which followed the Naimans captured a horseman who rode a white charger with a bruised back, and remarked on the poor condition of the Mongol horses. When Chinghiz Khân himself reached Saarikeher he was advised by Dodaicherbi, as their numbers were small and they had come a long way, to spread his men over the whole extent of Saarikeher and to order each man to light five fires so as to produce the effect of a large armament. "Though the enemy is numerous," he added, "their ruler is weak and has never been out of his country; he will doubtless be misled and frightened by this plan." Chinghiz followed Dodai's advice. In effect the patrol which were looking out from the mountain said to one another we heard the Dada were few in numbers, whence then so many camp fires, numerous as the stars. They thereupon withdrew, and took their captive to Tayang, and reported to him how the Mongols filled the whole of Saarikeher and were being reinforced daily. Tayang was then on the banks of the river Khachir, which is in Kankhai,[43] and he sent a messenger to his son, Guchuluk, with these words, "The Dada's horses are thin, but they have as many fires as there are stars. Their forces are no doubt very great. I once was told they are a very hardy race, that if you strike them in the eye they will not wink, and if you strike them in the cheek they will not turn aside, if we engage them now it will be difficult for us to beat them. Their horses are thin. Let us cross the golden mountain,[44] and having organized our people entice them thither. When they have crossed the golden mountain their horses will be exhausted, while ours will be in good condition, and we can engage them in battle and conquer them." Guchuluk, having heard this, said "Tayang is a woman. He is again frightened. He says there are many Dada, whence have they come? A large part of the race is with us and with Chamukha.

[38] *Op. cit.*, tom. IX, pp. 36 and 37.
[39] *Op. cit.*, pp. 177 and 178.
[40] Erdmann, p. 301.
[41] Miles, *op cit.*, pp. 74 and 75.

[42] *i. e.* The yellow plains already mentioned.
[43] *i. e.* The well known Khankai chain, whence spring the upper feeders of the Orkhon.
[44] *i. e.* The Altai.

My father has not hitherto travelled as far as a woman with child goes when she seeks a comfortable place[45] or a calf on its way to the manger, therefore he is afraid," and he ordered these words to be repeated to Tayang. When the latter heard that his son had compared him to a woman, he said, "Oh strong and brave Guchuluk. Mind that in this fight your bravery does not dissolve into feebleness." Meanwhile one of his officers named Khorisubichi, the same who had killed Wang Khân, said to Tayang, "Your father Inanchabilge, when fighting against an equal enemy, never shewed him his back nor that of his horse, why are you afraid beforehand? You had better let your mother, Gurbyessu, command the army. Although a woman she would do better than this. It is a pity Keksiusabrakh should have grown old and the discipline of our troops should have so weakened. Assuredly good fortune has overtaken the Dada."[46] Having said this, he struck his quiver[47] and quitted Tayang's presence. Tayang was naturally angry and said, "The life of a dead man, and a body devoted to suffering are the same. Be it as you wish, let us meet our enemies and fight." He therefore set out down the river Tamir (*i. e.* the well-known western tributary of the Orkhon) and having crossed the Orkho (*i. e.* the Orkhon), arrived at the eastern flank of the mountain Nakhu(?) and the place Chakurmait(?). When the scouts of Chinghiz reported the enemy's army in sight, he placed his army in order of battle. He undertook the command of the van himself, gave his brother, Khasar, the command of the centre, and Ochigin of the rear guard. Meanwhile the Naimans disposed themselves along the precipitous sides of the mountain Nakhu, and their patrols were driven in right up to the mountain. At this time Chamukha was with the Naimans, and Tayang asked him, "Who are these pursuing our men like wolves when they chase a flock of sheep right up to the very sheep fold?" Chamukha replied, "They are four hounds belonging to Temujin which have been fed on human flesh, and whom he fastens with an iron chain. These dogs have brazen foreheads, hewn-out teeth, awl-shaped tongues, iron heads, instead of horsewhips, they have crooked swords. They drink the dew, ride on the wind, and in battle eat human flesh. They are now unchained and set free; their mouths water, they rejoice. These four hounds are Chebe, Khubilai, Jelmi, and Subeitai." Tayang replied, "If this be so let us withdraw further away from this ignoble race." He accordingly withdrew along the mountain, and presently halted, and said "Who are those detachments following the others like young colts which, having sucked enough milk, frisk round and round their mother?" Chamukha answered: "They are the two tribes Uruut and Mankhut who kill all the men bearing sword and spear and strip them of their clothes." Tayang replied, "Then let us retire still further from this ignoble people," and ordered his men to scale the mountain still higher. Again stopping, he asked Chamukha, "Who is that coming on behind bearing forward like a hungry vulture." Chamukha said, "That is my friend Temujin dressed from head to foot in iron mail. He flew hither like a hungry vulture. Do you see him? You used to say that should the Dada show themselves their skin and hoof should be stripped like those of a sheep. Look now." Tayang only muttered "Dreadful!" and gave orders to withdraw still higher up the mountain. Again he asked, "Who is that behind with the multitude of warriors?" That, said Chamukha, is the son of Khoilun, who was reared on human flesh. His body is thrice the size of other men. He can eat a three-year-old sheep at a single meal. He is dressed in three suits of mail, and was borne here by three strong bulls. He can swallow a whole man equipped with his bow and arrows without him sticking in his throat. He can eat a whole man and is not satisfied. When he is wroth he can pierce 10 or 20 men over a mountain with the arrow *Anchua*.[48] When any one begins to fight with him, he shoots the arrow *Koibur*, and even across a wide desert it will bring down a man in armour. With his big bow he can hit a man at 900 paces, and with his little bow at 500 paces. He is not like ordinary men, but resembles a huge snake. He is called "Jochikhasar." Tayang said "If this be so, let us scale a high mountain together." Again he asked "Who is that behind all?" Chamukha said, "That is the youngest of all the sons of Khoilun, named Ochigin, he is lazy and likes to

[45] A euphemism for a latrine. [46] *i. e.* The Tartars. [47] *i. e.*, a mode of presenting arms.

[48] Palladius says the *Anchua* and *Koibur* were some kind of unknown legendary arrows: *op. cit.*, note 394.

lie down early and get up late; but he never was late among the warriors." Then Tayang reached the summit of the mountain.

Chamukha, as his antecedents might suggest, now deserted the Naimans, and sent word to Chinghiz what he had told Tayang, adding that the latter, having heard his words, was distracted with fear. He suggested that his men should hurry up the mountain irregularly, for no one had spirit to fight, and added that he had himself abandoned them.

Chinghiz seeing it was already late, contented himself with surrounding the mountain Nachu. During the night the Naimans determined to escape. Men and horses, however, fell over the precipices, and many were killed. The next day Tayang was captured. Guchuluk succeeded in escaping.[49] This narrative, with its peculiar touches of romance, reads, as Palladius says, like some popular legend worked up by the author.

In the *Yuan-shi* we are told that when Tayang was at the Khankai Mountains he was joined by Tokhto, the chief of the Merkit, by Alin, a chief of the Kirais, Khushuk Bedsi, a chief of the Taisi-Uïrat, together with the tribes Durbot Tatar, Khatagin and Saljus. It says that it was a loose troop horse which strayed from the Mongol camp to that of the Naimans, which let them know by its poor condition that the Mongol army was not in a state fit to fight, and which induced Tayang to suggest a retreat that his enemies might be enticed to pursue him. This pusillanimous policy was resented by the Naiman chiefs, who suggested that Tayang should give place to his wives if he were not bolder. It also says that when Chamukha saw the strength of the Mongol army, he exclaimed, "Of old the Naimans were to the Mongols as a ewe to its unborn lamb, but now is their strength small and not as formerly." He thereupon withdrew his contingent. The general who reproved Tayang for his timidity is here called Khulusu betsi. According to the *Yuan-shi* the battle lasted from dawn until sunset when Tayang himself was slain and his men were broken. Darkness overtook the retreating Naimans, many of whom were killed in falling over the precipices, while many others were slain and made prisoners, and the hordes Durbot Tatar, Khatagin and Saljus submitted to the conqueror.[50] De Mailla calls the Taishi-Uirat of the *Yuan-shi* Tiehiouela, and adds the Pieki to the other tribes, but this seems to be a corruption of Bedse or Bigi, and to be a mistaken use of Khushuk's second name.[51] According to the *Huang-Yuan* it was when Tayang reached the river Orkhon that he was joined by Toto, the leader of the Merkit, by Jaajanbo, the brother of Wang Khân, with Alun Taishi, and also by Khudukhua begi, the leader of the Uirat, and by Chamukha, with the Durban Tatar, the Khatagin and Sanjiu;[52] otherwise there is nothing new in this account.[53] According to Rashidu'd-dîn the Altai was a river on the borders of the Kinegkhait. He says it was a thin horse with a worn-out saddle that escaped to the Naiman camp and calls the chief who reproved Tayang and quoted his father's bravery, Khuri Subaju,[54] and says that having done so he withdrew from the assembly. He tells us further that Tayang himself was wounded in the battle, and withdrew with Khuri Subaju and some others to a height. In vain his officers tried to rouse him and urged him to renew the fight. He was too weak from loss of blood. Khuri Subaju, determined to restore his fortune, led back the soldiers who had gathered again about the standard, to the fight. He then with the other chiefs again approached his master, saying "O Tayang, how much longer will you fly like a woman? Halt but once, and let us fight the enemy, and fall or conquer." Tayang heard him, but was silent. He again addressed him: "Oh Tayang Khân, your wives, especially your beloved Gurbyesu Khatun, have all arrayed themselves in full parade, have set your house in order, and await your arrival, rise, and let us go." Still he remained silent. Again he spoke out: "Oh Tayang Khân, the women at your command have decked themselves in their choicest robes, especially Gurbyesu Khatun, whose costume equals in value that of a Chinese parure, and they await your imperial return. All is ready for you. Do arouse and come."

These phrases did not move him, but he curled himself up together. Thereupon as all his

[49] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, pp. 103-108.
[50] Hyacinthe, pp. 31-33; Douglas, pp. 45-47.
[51] *Op. cit.*, tom. IX, pp. 37-39.
[52] *i. e.* Saljuit.
[53] *Op. cit.*, pp. 178 and 179.
[54] *D'Ohsson* writes the name Kurissu-Baju.

efforts seemed vain, Khuri Subaju went to the commanders and warriors, saying, "If any strength remained in him, or if a breath were left in his soul, these words would have moved him. He is helplessly huddled together. Happier is the lot of Temujin, who springs from the earth on to his horse, and links its bridle to life and triumph." Doubting their master's recovery, the chiefs said to one another—"If we stay here we must be witnesses of his death, and must become prisoners to the enemy, we had better join issue with the foe, and surrender our lives in the presence of our Padishah. It may be that when he sees the death of his followers he will come down from his place of refuge, and go and join them." With these words they rushed into the fight, and struggled bravely till they were killed. Temujin would willingly have given them quarter, but they refused it, and preferred to die. Chinghiz Khân remarked: "What misfortune may happen even to one who has such warriors." Rashid also speaks of the large number of Naimans who perished in the flight among the precipices of the mountain Nakhukhun, which D'Ohsson reads Naku.[55] In regard to Tayang Khân, Abu'lghâzi says that those who were left in charge of him seeing all their companions were killed, took their chief on horseback and fled, but Tayang died on the way.[56] Mirkhawend seems to say that he had been left alone, and that aroused by the gruesome noise about, he slipped away, and after much suffering, reached a place whose name is read Ai by Erdmann, where he died a few days later from the effect of his wounds and the loss of blood.[57] Ssanang Setzen puts the campaign against Tayang, whom he calls Tayan Khakhan, in the year 1200. He says that Tayang assembled the eight tribes of the Beteken, and led out his army of 80,000 men. The fight, he says, took place on the river Sakirun. He says that Bughurul Noyan, of the tribe Ugushin, Ukulen Tsarbi, son of Boghorji, of the tribe Arulad, and Khuchar Dashi, of the Olkhonod, commanded the army of Chinghiz.[58] Schmidt explains the Beteken of this notice as a mistaken reference to the Po-ta-ta of the Chinese. Naiman means eight. He also adds an interesting note in reference to the father of Tayang, Inanj Belga Buku. He disagrees with D'Ohsson's Turkish etymology of the name, and says it is the well-known Buddhist name, Injana Belge Bilik, Injana being the ordinary Mongol corruption of the Sanskrit *Jñâna*, of which Belge Bilik is the translation.[59] This is very interesting, as it points to the Naimans having been Buddhists.

Carpini tells us that after Chinghiz had conquered the Tartars, the Merkit and the Mecrit,[60] the Naimans became very jealous at his elevation, for they had had a ruler who had been very vigorous, and to whom these tribes had paid tribute. On his death however his sons, who were young and ignorant, and could not restrain their people, succeeded him and quarrelled. Nevertheless they made a raid upon the territories of the tribes above named which were now subject to Chinghiz and killed a number of men, women and boys. When Chinghiz heard of this he collected his people and attacked the Naimans and the Kara-kitai (!) in a narrow valley between two mountains through which Carpini says he himself travelled. The Mongols defeated the confederates with great slaughter, reducing those to slavery who were not killed.[61] The site of the battle is perhaps also mentioned in the itinerary of the Tauist monk Ch'ang-Ch'un, who visited Chinghiz Khân in Western Asia during the years 1221-1224. On his way his conductor Chinkai or Chen-hai, who was one of Chinghiz Khan's officers, said to him:—"We are now come to the most difficult part of the road * * * we have before us the *po-ku-tsien*."[62] * * * * "What do you mean by the field of white bones?" said the traveller. "That is an old battlefield, a field of death," said Chen-hai. "One time a whole army perished there by exhaustion; no one escaped. *A short time ago at the same place the army of the Naimans was destroyed by Chinghiz.* Who ever crosses that place in the day-time and in clear weather[63] will die from fatigue, and his horses also. Only when starting in the evening and travelling the whole night, is it possible to reach water and grass on the next day by noon."[64] The locality seems too far to the south-west for the great fight with Tayan, and it may be that some later battle with the Naimans is here referred to.

[55] Erdmann, pp. 303-304; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 86-88.
[56] *Op. cit.*, p. 90.
[57] Erdmann, p. 304.
[58] *Op. cit.*, p 87.
[59] *Id.*, note 43, page 385.
[60] *i.e.* the Kerait.

[61] *Op. cit.*, ed. D'Avezac, pp. 647 and 648.
[62] The field of white bones.
[63] *i.e.* exposed to the sun.
[64] Bretschneider, *Notes on Chinese Travellers*, etc. pp. 28 and 29.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, LATE M.C.S.

(*Continued from Vol. IX, p.* 299.)

No. XXVII.—*Scraps of Legend and Folk-lore.*

I.

The Kâvêri river from its magnificent twin-falls on either side of the romantic but perilous island of Sivasamudram—falls in height, volume, and grandeur far surpassing the famous Rhine-fall at Schaffhausen—runs for 50 miles eastward through a savage wilderness of ravines and hills, a parched and dreary tract overrun by thin, thorny jangal, uninhabited and almost pathless. In this part of its course the river divides the district of Köimbatûr on the south from Maisûr and Salem on the north; and just where issuing from its eastward march through the desert, it bends abruptly southward, and thence forward rolls broader waters through peopled and cultivated plains on its way to Trichinâpalli and Tanjaur, there is a curious seldom-visited locality called the Smoking Rock. Issuing from its long, narrowed, and pent-up course through the desert, the Kâvêri here spreads into a broad expanse, the banks nearly level with the water, and from the middle of the flood a column, apparently of white smoke, arises and drifts away upon the wind. No rocks or fall are visible to account for this continually ascending cloud of spray-mist, for such it is; but the natives say there is a hole or chasm, four palm-trees deep, into which the water falls; nothing however can be seen of this from the bank, and the smoke-like column seems to arise from the bosom of an unbroken stream. The effect is striking and peculiar. There is a strange wild legend connected with this spot.

Long ago, it is said, in the days of the Chôḷa kings all the countless gods of Kailâsa, great and small, with the thousands of Ṛishis, Śaktis, and Asuras, came down to be incarnate on earth in the form of a miraculous cow. The four Vedas became the four legs, Brahma and Vishnu the two horns, the sun and moon the eyes, the holy mountain the body, Vâyu the tail, Lakshmî the womb, the divine atmosphere (*akâsa*) the ears, and so on through all parts of the body, and Yâma (death) was its calf. Thus symbolically formed, the cow with its calf went to bathe near the temple of Śiva, and met in a street the king's son making a procession; in the crowd the cow and calf became separated, and the calf getting bewildered was run over by the chariot of the king's son and cut in two. The king's son was greatly alarmed at this ominous incident, and still more so, when the cow came seeking its calf, and on finding the two halves, put them together and sought to give milk, but finding it would take none, shed tears profusely. The cow then went to the bell hanging before the court of justice, and rang it loudly, at which the old king, his wife, and ministers, hearing what had taken place, almost swooned with fear and grief. A council was held, and it was decided that the king's son should, in expiation, fall before the chariot-wheels, and himself be cut in two. So amid the great grief of the people, the king set out to see the atonement performed. The young man remonstrated on the ground of the advantage that neighbouring rival kings would gain if the heir were so sacrificed, but as the Brâhmaṇs declared that without it there would be no rain and no crops, the king ordered the chariot to move on, which ran over the young man as he lay prostrate and cut him into two pieces, which were presented before the cow, and the crime of killing the calf thus expiated. The king in great sorrow at his loss was about to kill himself, when the illusive cow dissolved into its component divinities, who appeared in their proper guise, raised the son to life again, and decreed that he should be installed with his father under the title of Bhupâla Chôḷa, and that the old king should afterwards receive final beatitude without the pain of any future birth. Bhupâla Chôḷa was sixteen when he came to reign, and ruled prosperously for many years, when, in a hunting excursion, he discovered a great chasm which swallowed up and wasted the water of the Kâvêri river. He employed a great multitude of men to fill it up, but all their efforts were unavailing, though the king resided for eight years close by, the better to superintend the work. At last a Ṛishi told him that his labour was in vain, for the *chakra* of Vishṇu had entered the earth there, and that the only remedy was for some virtuous king to enter the chasm and seat himself on the *chakra*, when the gulph would close. So after many

ceremonies and distributions of gifts, this Hindu Curtius proceeded in state to the river, and solemnly cast himself into the chasm, which immediately closed. Some of the water, however, still finds its way in and throws up a smoke-like cloud to mark and commemorate the spot and the sacrifice. On the bank opposite there now stands a hoary old temple, within the enclosure of which is a range of ten or twelve huge black Linga stones, each in a canopied cell; oblations to these are supposed to be efficacious in removing barrenness. Not far below, the wide river is bridled with a curb of stone, being suddenly narrowed to less than half its width between rocky walls with sharp granite reefs in mid channel, through and over which the swirling flood rushes in foaming rapids and broken falls with a roar audible afar, and just at the entrance of this dangerous strait, is the romantic "Goat's leap" crag, also not without its legends.

II.

When a wealthy Hindu meditates purchasing a horse, his first attention is directed not at all to the "points" a European would naturally look at. He looks not at hoof or hock, at head, shoulder, or wither, but seeks first to satisfy himself as to certain external marks never dreamt of by a Western horse-fancier, but which are of primary importance in determining his choice. These are the presence or not of certain circles or curls of hair on particular parts of the body. These are called in Tamil *suris* or flowers, and by them a judgment is formed of the temper and quality of the horse. If these hair-curls bend inward, it is a good sign, but if outward, bad; and there should be two such curls on the head, two on the breast, and two on each side; one on the back of the neck and one in the hollow of the neck. Each curl indicates a particular god, and by them it is decided whether the possession of the horse would be fortunate to the owner—whether it would bring health, good fortune, or otherwise. A Hindu will not buy a horse, however good-looking in other respects, unless these *suris* or hair-curls are present, turning properly, and in their right places. The colours of a horse are also much *attended to as ominous of good or ill.* Coal-black, so much admired in Europe, is held the most unlucky. Turpin's Black Bess would have found no admirers amongst Hindus. Grey is good; red and white not good, but white knees, a white spot on the forehead, and a white tail are admired. A perfect Hindu horse should have the four hoofs, the head, and the tail all white. A red horse gives its rider success in love-affairs.

III.

In his excellent and laborious work, *The Early History of Mankind*, Mr. Tylor brings together, in the tenth chapter, a number of instances of remarkable customs for which no special reasons can be assigned. In this category may, I think, be placed the scruple of the Kôragars and some other of the slave-castes of Kannaḍa against carrying anything with four legs, animate or inanimate, whether animals, chairs, cots, &c. They will carry no four-legged piece of furniture unless one leg be taken off, and as they are often employed as coolies this sometimes causes inconvenience. The Kôragars are the lowest of the fifteen slave-castes of Kannaḍa, none of whom may intermarry, and their women still wear an apron of twigs and leaves over their buttocks. Once this was the only covering allowed them, and a mark of their deep degradation, but now when no longer compulsory, and of no use, as it is worn *over* the cloths, the women still retain it, believing its disuse would be unlucky—one instance out of many in which badges, originally of degradation, have become cherished observances. Colonel Dalton mentions a similar restriction as to four-legged articles amongst the Baigaṣ of Central India, where the women are not allowed to sit or lie upon any four-legged bed or stool.

Amongst the lower spurs of the Palani mountain range west of Dindigal, in the Madurâ district, there is a jungle tribe called Kuneivâr, whose women are never allowed to wear white clothes: none could tell why, but it was said that within memory women offending against the rule had been cast from a high rock.

The late Râja of Vijyanagram, one of the most enlightened and estimable of Hindu princes, and a member of the Viceroy's Council, would not allow the employment of iron in the construction of buildings in his territory, because believed to be inevitably followed by small-pox and other epidemics. *No reason is assigned for* this belief, which is rather opposed to practices obtaining elsewhere: *e. g.* in Persia it is lucky to drive a nail into the holy trees by shrines; the

Romans knocked long nails into the walls of cottages to avert the plague; and in China silk-cotton trees are haunted by dangerous female demons called H a n t u P u n t i a n a k, which are exorcised by driving long iron nails into the tree; if a nail be driven into the head of one of these demons, she immediately becomes human.

IV.

Many years ago when on circuit at Palani in the Madurâ district, South India, I was struck by the unusual name of a witness—"*Irunkôl.*" This is the polite form of the second person plural imperative of the verb signifying to stay or remain, and the equivalent in English might be "Stop, sir!" or "Pray, remain!" I found that this appellation had gone down from generation to generation in a family, and originated in this wise. On the death of Mutthu Vîrappa Nâyakar, one of the last kings of the Southern Pâṇḍiya-dêśa, in 1695, his son Chôkanâtha Nâyakar succeeded, but being a child only three months old, his grandmother, Mangamalâ, as regent, conducted the affairs of the kingdom for eighteen years. This Hindu lady was renowned for her good works, and her name still lives in the mouths of the people. During her regency she built many temples, and constructed water-reservoirs and choultris or rest-houses throughout the country and on the principal lines of pilgrimage. One day when eating betel-leaf and areca-nut she heedlessly took it up with her left hand. This was a great sin, and on consulting the Brâhmaṇs how to expiate it, they recommended her to make roads shaded by avenues of trees along the principal travelling-routes of the kingdom. This was done, and her avenues, more or less complete, still remain; one, of huge-limbed Banyan trees interlacing so as to form a sun-proof canopy overhead on the N.E. side of the town of Madurâ, is still called by her name. Other avenues run out for miles towards Ramêśvaram, Tinnevelly, and Trichinâpalli, that towards the latter place is still in generally good condition for more than 50 miles. This beneficent princess being once at Palani, where there is a famous temple, on visiting it in state and ascending the temple-steps, observed a young man retreating in confusion, and said to him kindly *Irunkôl*, = Pray remain! That man's son was named I r u n k ô l, and the name has descended from father to son even to this day, for I heard of it existing in that neighbourhood quite recently. The remembrance of the gracious word, once spoken so long ago by one of the old royal dynasty, is likely to be cherished for generations to come, and in the hot dusty season, when travelling is easiest, as the long files of loaded carts and trains of pilgrims pass under the shade of the avenues she planted, the name of Mangamalâ may still long be gratefully spoken, though the palaces built by her ancestors know her and her line no more, and all things have become new there. A dim undefined tradition exists in the city of Madurâ that Mangamalâ was imprisoned and starved to death with peculiar cruelty, food being placed close without the bars of her prison, just out of reach. No cause or further particulars are given,[1] and we may hope it is but a tradition, and that so useful a life had no such horrible ending. But the sands of her ancient dynasty and the old order of things were fast running out. Her grandson on coming of age assumed the government and ruled for 19 years, or till A.D. 1732. He died childless; disputes arose as to the succession, and his widow most unwisely applied to the Muhammadan power at Trichinâpalli for assistance. The famous Chanda Sâhib, who makes so prominent a figure in the pages of Orme, intervened. Intrigues followed, and the end was the subjugation of Madurâ and the extinction of the old Pâṇḍiyan dominion. It is amidst these intrigues and revolutions that the histories of Orme and Colonel Wilkes commence.

Mention has been made of the temple at Palani. It is a celebrated place of pilgrimage in Southern India, and is built upon a low rocky hill overlooking a fine tank. The edifice is spacious, stone-built, on the plan usual in the Tamiḻ country, with lofty entrance and Gôpuram above, the walls and roof of the gate-way profusely painted with mythological subjects in very bright colours of red and green; a fine flight of steps leads to it up the hill. The cause of its foundation is characteristically Hindu. Śiva, it is said, one day presented a fruit (*palam*) to his younger son, Gaṇêśa, whereat his elder son, Subrahmaṇya, was much offended. To soothe him Śiva said "*Palam nî,*"—Thou art a fruit. And to commemorate this honour, the

[1] Some scandalous surmises are current, for Mangamalâ was not likely to escape calumny, but being popular whispers only, we pass them by: the stories of her end however vary much.

temple was built, and Subrahmaṇya's image set up therein, and the place named from Siva's words! The temple, however, has a special miracle connected with it of daily occurrence. Numbers of pilgrims resort to it, specially from Madras and places still more distant, bringing with them milk in small *chattis* or pots sealed up. If on being offered in the temple at Palani the milk is found fresh, the votary is assured of the favour of the god and the success of any undertaking he may have in view, but the reverse should the milk have turned sour. It is asserted, however, that the milk is for the most part miraculously preserved fresh. One continually meets parties of wayfarers on the roads leading to the shrine, carrying the sealed-up pots of milk slung to a stick across their shoulders, often gaily decorated with peacock-feathers. Doubtless there was an understanding between the Brâhmaṇs at each end of the pilgrimage,—between those who seal and those who open the pots, for it used to be whispered that the declaration of the Brâhmaṇ who opened the châtti and tasted the milk, as to its freshness or the contrary, depended a good deal on whether the offering made was considered satisfactory and suitable to the appearance of the votary. In the pre-railway days the freshness of the milk would be really something miraculous, the distance between the shrine and Madras being over 400 miles, about a month's journey. Now it could probably be accomplished in two or three days. I know not whether conditions have been altered to meet this change, or how the miracle withstands the rush of the iron horse.

V.

Once in a field outside a village in South Kannaḍa I noticed a large square marked in lines with chunam or whitewash on the ground, with magic symbols in the corners, and the outline of a human figure rudely drawn in the middle; passing by the place again, I observed that flowers and boiled rice had been laid on leaves round the figure within the square, and was informed that a house was to be built on the site marked out, and the figure was intended to represent the earth-spirit supposed to be dwelling in the ground there who was thus worshipped, and formally requested to leave the spot. Without this ceremony, performed before any earth had been dug up, it was believed there would be no luck about the house. I do not know what class of gods or spirits this earth-spirit could be referred to, or whether there is any analogy between the belief and the *feng-sin* idea, so potent in China, which governs the position and construction of all buildings.

VI.

People in England dislike, or used to dislike, starting on a journey or voyage on a Friday, but the Hindu rule is much more complicated. It is unlucky to go westward on Friday and Sunday, or eastward on Monday and Saturday, north on Tuesday and Wednesday, or south on Thursday. This rule depends, I believe, on astrological influences. A journey begun on Tuesday is liable to result in loss by thieves or fire at home; loss too is likely to follow a journey begun on Saturday, and sickness a start on Sunday. Wednesday and Friday are both propitious days, and a journey begun on either with a view to business will be gainful: the worst days for travelling are Tuesday, Saturday, and Sunday. Amongst bad omens for travellers are seeing lightning fall, meeting a widow or a single Brâhmaṇ, a crow flying across from right to left, or a dog barking on a house-top. On an expedition with any special object it is good to meet a married woman bearing a metal water-pot from a tank, or any one wearing a silver armlet, or carrying musical instruments.

It is worth comparing the old Greek belief regarding lucky days as recited at length in the last 64 verses of Hesiod's *Works and Days*. The old bard runs over all the days of the month and the businesses proper on each, and ends with quaintly observing, "Sometimes a day is as a stepmother, sometimes as a mother; happy and fortunate is he, and blameless before the gods, who knows all the signs and interdicts, and avoids transgressions."

MAITHILA FOLK-LORE,—VARARUCHI AS A GUESSER OF ACROSTICS.

BY GEORGE A. GRIERSON, B.C.S.

Some time ago I contributed to the *Indian Antiquary* (ante, p. 89) a note on the Indian origin of the American "Sixteen Puzzle." The two following tales tend to show that another fashionable amusement, the solving of acrostics, was known in India at an early date. They

were taken down by me from the mouths of two paṇḍits of Maithila, and form part of the vast amount of unwritten tradition current in the mouths of such men. I do not think that the verses quoted have been printed before, but it is possible they may, and if any correspondent can give me a clue to their whereabouts, I shall be the first to welcome it.

In the modern acrostic, the first letters of a series of words are taken, and these spell another word having a distinct meaning. This word has first to be guessed, and then the key words, all from more or less obscure descriptions.

In the present acrostics the Indian unit is the syllable and not the letter. A series of verses is selected, and the first syllables of each are taken together and form a word of no meaning. This last is given, and from it the verses have to be guessed.

In the *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara*, Bk. I, Chapter V, occurs a portion of the story of Vararuchi. Mr. Tawney's translation, somewhat condensed, runs as follows:—

A certain painter came to the court of Yogananda in Pâṭaliputra, whose court Vararuchi attended. The rest of the story as told by Vararuchi is:—"He painted on a sheet of canvas the principal queen and Yogananda, and that picture of his looked as if it were alive, it only lacked speech and motion. And the king being delighted loaded that painter with wealth, and had that painting set up on a wall in his private apartments. Now, one day when I entered the king's private apartments, it occurred to me that the painting of the queen did not represent all her auspicious marks; from the arrangements of the other marks I conjectured, by means of my acuteness, that there ought to be a spot where the girdle comes, and I painted one there. Then I departed, after thus giving the queen all her lucky marks. Then Yogananda entered and saw that spot, and asked his chamberlains who had painted it; and they indicated me to him as the person who had painted it. Yogananda thus reflected while burning with anger; "No one except myself knows of that spot, which is in a part of the queen's body usually concealed, then how can this Vararuchi have come thus to know it? No doubt he has secretly corrupted my harem." Foolish men often find such coincidences. Then, of his own motion he summoned Śakatála, and gave him the following order: "You must put Vararuchi to death for seducing the queen." Śakatála said, "Your Majesty's orders shall be executed," and went out of the palace, reflecting, "I should not have power to put Vararuchi to death, for he possesses godlike force of intellect; and he delivered me from calamity; moreover he is a Brâhmaṇ, therefore I had better hide him, and win him over to my side." Having formed this resolution, he came and told me of the king's causeless wrath which had ended in his ordering my execution, and thus concluded, "I will have some one else put to death in order that the news may get abroad, and do you remain hidden in my house to protect me from this passionate king." In accordance with this proposal of his, I remained concealed in his house, and he had some one else put to death in order that the report of my death might be spread.

* * * * * * *

Then it came to pass that one day a son of that Yogananda named Hiraṇyagupta, went out hunting, and when he had somehow or other been carried to a great distance by the speed of his horse, while he was alone in the wood, the day came to an end; and then he ascended a tree to pass the night. Immediately afterwards, a bear, which had been terrified by a lion, ascended the same tree; he, seeing the prince frightened, said to him with a human voice, "Fear not, thou art my friend," and thus promised him immunity from harm. Then the prince, confiding in the bear's promise, went to sleep while the bear remained awake. Then the lion below said to the bear, "Bear, throw me down this man, and I will go away." Then the bear said, "Villain, I will not cause the death of a friend." When in course of time, the bear went to sleep, while the prince was awake, the lion said again, "Man, throw me down the bear." When he heard that, the prince, who through fear of his own safety wished to propitiate the lion, tried to throw down the bear, but wonderful to say, it did *not* fall, since Fate caused it to awake. And then that bear said to the prince, "Become insane, thou betrayer of thy friend," laying upon him a curse destined not to end until a third person guessed the whole transaction. Accordingly the prince, when he reached his palace in the morning, went out of his mind,

and Yogananda seeing it, was immediately plunged in despondency; and said "If Vararuchi were alive at this moment, all this matter would be known. Curse on my readiness to have him put to death!" Śakatâla, when he heard this exclamation of the king's, thought to himself "Ha, here is an opportunity obtained for bringing Kâtyânana out of concealment, and he being a proud man will not remain here, and the king will repose confidence in me." After reflecting thus, he implored pardon, and said to the king, "O king, cease from despondency, Vararuchi remains alive." Then Yogananda said—"Let him be brought quickly." Then I was suddenly brought by Śakatâla into the presence of Yogananda and beheld the prince in that state; and by the favour of Sarasvatî I was enabled to reveal the whole occurrence; and I said, "King, he has proved a traitor to his friend"; then I was praised by that prince who was delivered from his curse; and the king asked me how I had managed to find out what had taken place. Then I said—"King, the minds of the wise see everything by inference from signs, and by acuteness of intellect. So I found out all this in the same way as I found out that mole." When I had said this, the king was afflicted with shame. Then, without accepting his munificence, considering myself to have gained all I desired by the clearing of my reputation, I went home; for to the wise, character is wealth.

Another and more elaborate version of the same story I obtained some years ago from a Tirhutiâ Brâhmaṇ. He stated that the story was unwritten, and was an *ujjhit* which was current in every person's mouth, under the name of the story of "Sasemirâ."

King Bhoja's wife was named Bhânumatî. A painter one day painted a picture of her, which he showed to Vararuchi. The latter remarked that it was an admirable likeness, but that only one thing was wanting to make it perfect—the representation of a mole on the inside of Her Majesty's thigh. The painter accordingly corrected the picture by supplying the omission, and presented it to the king. On seeing the picture, the king became extremely enraged at the daring way in which the mole was exhibited, and ordered the painter's execution as a penalty for his venturing to discover a peculiarity which none but he himself had hitherto known. To get himself off, the painter said that the position of the mole had been told him by Vararuchi; upon which the rage of the king was turned upon the latter, who was ordered in his turn to the place of execution instead of the painter. To avoid the scandal of killing a Brâhmaṇ, the king's prime minister bribed the executioner to substitute some less worthy victim, and taking Vararuchi, hid him in his own inner apartments, disguising him as a woman.

Some time after this, the king went out to hunt, and, becoming separated from his retinue, was obliged to pass the night under a tree. Now, this tree was inhabited by a tiger, who lived under it, and by a bear, who lived up amid the branches. In order to escape the claws of the former, the king climbed the tree, where he persuaded the bear that he was his friend (*mitra*), and that it was his duty to offer protection to a supplicant who had taken refuge with him. This obligation the bear admitted, and agreed to watch turn about with him throughout the night. The king went to sleep, and the tiger tried to tempt the bear to throw him down, but the latter refused to do so, as the king was his friend. After a time the king's turn to watch came round, and the bear composed himself to sleep, then the tiger began to tempt the king, saying, "Throw the bear down to me that I may devour him. For if you do not do so, he will assuredly eat you up in the morning." Foolish Bhoja believed this, and tried to loosen the bear's hold on the branches, but the latter had been awake, and had heard the conversation. Having pretended to be asleep all the time, he now, as it were, awoke, and asked what was the matter. The king, taken aback, said that he was only shaking him to see if he were asleep: and the bear appeared satisfied, but kept awake the rest of the night.

At daybreak the tiger went away, and the bear, taking the king on his back, carried him to the edge of the forest, where he put him down, and, after upbraiding him for his ingratitude, engraved upon the king's tongue, with his claws, the word *sasemirâ*. The king hastened home, but when he got there he was like an idiot, and could only babble the words, *sasemirâ, sasemirâ*. When asked any question, he would only give the same parrot-like reply *sasemirâ, sasemirâ*. All the doctors and all the learned men of the court tried their best to cure him,

but without avail. At length the prime minister produced Vararuchi (still disguised as a woman) to see what he could do. Vararuchi looked at the king, and then repeated the following lines, of which the first syllable *sa* is the same as the first syllable of the mystic word *sasemirá* :—

सद्भावप्रतिपन्नानां वंचने का विचित्रता ।
अंगमारुह्य सुप्तानां हंते किं तेन पौरुषं ॥

That is to say, "What cleverness is there in deceiving the guileless? What heroism is there in slaying those who climb into your lap and sleep there?"

Thereupon the syllable *sa* disappeared from the king's tongue, and he also now only said *semirá*. Then Vararuchi recited these lines, beginning with *se*, the first syllable of *semirá* :—

सेतुबंधसमुद्रेषु गंगासागरसंगमे ।
ब्रह्महा मुच्यते पापैर्मित्रद्रोही न मुच्यते ॥

That is to say, "Even a Brâhmaṇ-slayer receives absolution from his sins at the Ocean of the Causeway, or at the union of the Ganges and the sea, but not a friend-betrayer."

Thereupon the syllable *se* disappeared from the king's tongue, and he also now only said *mirá*. Then Vararuchi recited these lines, beginning with *mi*:

मित्रद्रोही कृतघ्नाश्च ये च विश्वासघातकाः ।
ते नरा नरकं यांति यावच्चंद्रदिवाकरौ ॥

"A friend-betrayer, ingrates, breakers of trust, these men go to hell as long as the sun and the moon endure."

Thereupon the syllable *mi* left the king's tongue, and he also now said only *rá, rá, rá*, whereupon Vararuchi recited the following lines commencing with *rá* :—

राजा त्वं राजपुत्रस्त्वं यदि कल्याणमिच्छसि ।
देहि दानं द्विजातिभ्यो देवताराधनं कुरु ॥

"Thou art a king, and the son of a king; if thou wish good fortune give gifts to Brâhmaṇs and praise God." Thereupon *rá* disappeared from the king's tongue, and he spoke like other men.

Astonished at the intimate knowledge of his late adventure displayed by the seeming woman, he said to her :—

ग्रामे वसति कौमारी अरण्ये नैव गच्छति ।
ऋक्षव्याघ्रमनुष्याणां कथं जानासि सुंदरि ॥

"The Virgin dwelleth in the city, nor doth she resort to the forest. How then, fair one, do you know about the bear, the tiger, and the man?"

To which Vararuchi replied :—

देवगुरुप्रसादेन जिह्वाग्रे मे सरस्वती ।
तेनाहं नृप जानामि भानुमत्यास्तिलं यथा ॥[1]

"By the favour of Brihaspati, the Goddess of learning dwelleth on my tongue. Therefore, O king, I know it, as (*I knew*) about Bhânumati's mole."

Thereupon king Bhoja recognised Vararuchi, and acknowledging his former error of judgment forgave him, and gave him great honour.

A story of a somewhat similar description, the point of which also depends on an acrostic, runs as follows :—

Once upon a time a *paṇḍit* and a barber (*nápit*) went forth together into the world to seek their fortunes. Their success was unequal; while the Brâhmaṇ made his fortune, the barber earned only a bare subsistence. After being absent some years, they started for home, the one laden with his gains, and the other empty-handed. One night the barber was tempted to murder his sleeping companion, and sitting on his head was about to kill him with a sword, when the latter awoke, and finding his entreaties for mercy in vain, besought his murderer at least to carry a message home for him to his friends, only the word "*apraśikha*." After killing and robbing his companion, the barber returned home with his ill-gotten gains, and made some excuse for the absence of his friend, telling at the same time the mystic message *apraśikha* to his people. After some lapse of time, the Brâhmaṇ had not returned home, and his people began to search for him, using the above word as their clue: but no one could explain it. At length they came to Vararuchi, who interpreted it as follows :—

अनेन तव पुत्रस्य ।
प्रसुप्तस्य वनांतरे ॥
शिखामारुह्य वेगेन ।
खड्गेन निहतं शिरः ॥

"Thy son's head was swiftly smitten in his sleep in the forest with a sword by this man who mounted on his head." It will be

[1] The Śabdakalpadruma [illegible] this verse as Kâlidâsa's.

that the first syllables of each quarter *śloka* spell *apraśikha*.

In conclusion, readers of Mr. Yates' edition of the *Nalodaya* will, of course, understand that I do not offer the above two stories as the only instances of Sanskrit acrostics known. The essay on alliteration attached to that work contains several examples of much more complete acrostics than either of the two given here.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

M. DEHARLEZ ON ZOROASTRISM.

M. de Harlez complains that I have misunderstood his hypothesis about the origin of Zoroastrism, when writing my notice of his essay on that subject (*ante*, pp. 274-276); that he does not suppose that Zarathushtra lived about the time of Darius Hystaspes (as he may have lived some centuries before), but he believes that the oldest portion of the Avesta, which contains the doctrines of the Zoroastrian reform, was composed about the time of that monarch, or perhaps a century earlier; and that these doctrines were not accepted in Persia proper till after the time of Darius, though they may have been generally taught in Media Atropatene, Khvaresmia, and Mazanderan as early as B. C. 700, about which time he supposes that the Iranian religion, in its progress from the east, first came in contact with Jews in Media, and, further, that the Turanians from whom Zoroastrism may have borrowed some of its customs were not the north-eastern Turanians (the deadly enemies of Iran), but those of Media and parts adjacent.

Admitting, of course, that all Turanians were not at all times enemies of Iran, the extent of my error appears to have been that I too hastily assumed that the radical reform connected with the name of Zarathushtra was supposed to have been carried out in Persia by Zarathushtra himself; whereas M. de Harlez seems to be of nearly the same opinion as myself, namely, that the Zoroastrian religion had already assumed its purest form long before it entered Persia proper from the east or north-east. We differ, however, as to the probability of the reform having been due to Jewish example, which is certainly rendered far less possible by this view of the hypothesis. And the faith of Darius in Aûramazdâ also requires some special explanation if it be assumed that he was not a Zoroastrian.

With these remarks I may leave the readers of M. de Harlez' essay to judge whether my notice of his theory was not otherwise fairly correct.

E. W. WEST.

München, 22nd October 1881.

A FOLK-LORE PARALLEL.

Many of the readers of the *Antiquary* will no doubt remember the story of Intaphernes, as told in the IIIrd book of Herodotus, chapters 118-120. He had been guilty of an outrage in the palace of Darius, and that monarch seized him, his sons, and all his relations, with the intention of putting the whole family to death. The wife of Intaphernes kept coming to the palace of the king and lamenting, and at last moved Darius to compassion. He accordingly sent her the following message: "Lady, king Darius grants you the life of one of your relations who are in prison, so that you can save any one of them, that you may select, from capital punishment." The lady thought over the matter for some time, and answered: "since the king grants me the life of one, I choose my brother out of the whole party." When Darius heard this, he was astonished at her speech, and he sent her the following message: "Lady, the king wishes to know on what ground you choose to rescue your brother from death, instead of your husband and children, for he is less near to you than your sons, and less dear to you than your husband." Thereupon she gave the following answer: "O king, I might get another husband, if it should please God so to ordain, and other children if I were to lose these; but as my father and mother are dead, I could not possibly get another brother; this was the reflection that prompted my answer." Herodotus tells us that Darius was so much pleased with her sagacity that he granted her the life of her eldest son also.

It has been often pointed out that there is a great similarity between the answer given to Darius by the wife of Intaphernes, and the following somewhat unromantic sentiments put into the mouth of Antigone by Sophocles, (vv. 909-912):

πόσις μὲν ἄν μοι, κατθανόντος, ἄλλος ἦν
καὶ παῖς ἀπ' ἄλλου φωτὸς, ἐι τοῦδ' ἤμπλακον.
μητρὸς δὲν Αιδου καὶ πατρὸς κεκευθότοιν
οὐκ ἔστ' ἀδελφὸς ὅστις ἂν βλάστοι ποτέ.

Dr. Donaldson was of opinion that Herodotus was in this case the borrower. Blakesley remarks, "the argument comes in so strangely in the play, introduced by the question,

τίνος νόμου δὴ ταῦτα πρὸς χάριν λέγω;—

that it is difficult not to conceive it taken from some popular *imported* story, rather than the home growth of Sophocles' imagination. If, therefore, there be any truth in the story of Plutarch,

(*De Malign. Herodoti.* c. 26), and if Herodotus really recited a portion of his history at Athens before the Antigone was composed, it is perhaps more easy to suppose that Sophocles adopted from him than the converse."

But possibly the story is part of the common heritage of the Aryan races, for it is found in the *Uchchhaṅga Jâtaka*, No. 67 in Fausböll's edition. In this Jâtaka we are told that three husbandmen were by mistake arrested on a charge of robbery and imprisoned. The wife of one came to the king of Kośala, in whose realm the event took place, and entreated him to set her husband at liberty. The king asked her what relation each of the three was to her. She answered—"one is my husband, another my brother, and the third is my son." The king said—"I am pleased with you, and I will give you one of the three, which do you choose?" The woman answered,—"*King, if I live, I may get another husband, and I may get another son too, but as my mother and father are dead, it will be difficult for me to obtain another brother, so give me my brother, king.*" When the king heard this, he was pleased, and set all the three at liberty. The teacher (*i. e.* Gautama Buddha) then proceeds to inform his disciples that the same woman had in a previous birth delivered the same men, and that he himself had on that occasion been the king, viz., Brahmadatta of Banâras. The *gâthâ* which the woman uttered in the presence of the king, is less romantic even than the speech of Antigone, so I give it in the original Pali: Ucchaṅge deva me putto, pathe dhâvantiyâ pati, tañ ca desaṁ na passâmi yato sodariyaṁ ânaye ti.

C. H. TAWNEY.

MUHAMMADAN BELIEF IN HINDU SUPERSTITION.

I have noticed and commented both in this journal and elsewhere on the mixture of superstitions believed in by the lower classes of Hindûs and Musalmans in the Panjâb. This belief by the one class of religionists in the superstitions of the other is not however confined altogether to the illiterate as the accompanying quotation will show. It is from the very popular Panjâbî poem *Sassî Punnûṅ* by Hâshim Shâh, a poet whose works are well known to all Panjâbîs.

Pâ ṣandûq roṛhâ Sassî nûṅ,
Nûh Tûfân walaindâ;
Bâshak Nâg na hath liyâwan,
Dhûl syâh bagendâ;
Pâr urâr balâcṅ phirdyâṅ,
Dêo dâṅw dhal rehndâ.
Hâshim wekh naṣib Sassî
Kî kujh hor karendâ?

Putting Sassî into the box they launched her,
Like Noah in the Deluge;
Even Bâshak Nâg gave no help,
But shamed her with black ashes;
On both sides wandered evil spirits
And demons flew about.
Hâshim watched the fortunes of Sassî
To see what would happen next.

Here, it will be observed, is a fine mixture of religious sentiment. The story of Noah's Ark is of course as much the property of the Muhammadans as of the Christians. The unfortunate Sassî is put into a box and launched into the sea "*Nûh Tufân walaindâ*," "like Noah in the Deluge," and then we are told that Bâshak Nâg gave her no help. Now Bâshak Nâg is Vâsukî son of Kaśyapa and Kadrû, and is the same as Śêsha or Śêsha Nâga, the serpent who upholds the world and is king of Pâtâla. He is as eminently Hindu as Noah is Muhammadan. In modern mythology Bâshak Nâg was the preserver of the *Vedas*, and is commonly looked upon as the general helper of mankind. The point in the verse is that even Bâshak Nâg, the general good friend, deserted Sassî in her extremity, and not only that, but helped to shame and disgrace her. The expression "*Dhûl syâh bagendâ*" corresponds very much with the Hindî *dhûl* (or *khâk*) *urânâ*, and I am told has its origin in the Hindu punishment of witches, viz., of painting them black, putting them on a donkey facing towards the tail, covering them with ashes, and driving them out of the place: hence, "to cover with black ashes" is to thoroughly disgrace, to make utterly wretched.

To go a little further: *balâeṅ* is of Arabic origin, *balâ*, a calamity, and is used both in Hindî and Panjâbî for a female sprite, but I am not prepared to say only by Musalmans; however the *deo dâṅw*, male sprites, in the next verse are distinctly Hindû in origin.

Now Hâshim Shâh can hardly be called an ignorant man as native education goes, and this stanza is not the only instance of his belief in Hindû superstitions, for another occurs in the second stanza after it. That he was a good Musalman is shown by this opening stanza which I quote below, and his "education" is apparent in his fondness for interlarding (and thereby spoiling?) his poetry with Arabic and Persian words and phrases. He opens his poem thus:

Sift Bârî Ta'âla.

Ḥikmat ôs *kh*udâwand Wâlî,
Mâlik mulk malak dâ,
Lâkh karôṛ karan chaturâyâṅ
Koi pachhân na sakdâ;

Qudrat nâl rahe sir-gardân
Dâim charkh falak dâ.
Hâshim khûb hoî gulkârî
Farsh fanâh khalaq dâ!

R. C. TEMPLE.

Ambala.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

9. THE MUHAMMADAN HAJJ.—The historians tell us that Pilgrimage to Makka was first enjoined by Muhammad on his followers in the 6th year of the Hajira. Upon this turn two or three important questions:—

1.—How happens it that the performance of Pilgrimage is enjoined in a Sûra so early as *Sûra-e-Hajj*?

2.—If Pilgrimage was really enjoined in a Sûra delivered at Makka, how are we to explain the circumstance that it was at Madîna that Muhammad constituted the Baitu'l-aqsâ at Jerusalem the Qibla of his followers?

3.—Was the necessity of a Qibla a part of Muhammad's system during the fourteen years of his mission that elapsed prior to the Hajira,—in other words, was the Ka'ba the Qibla of Muhammad and his adherents before Jerusalem was?

The only explanation I can conjecture is that a part of a late Madîna Sûra has got mixed up with the Makkan Sûra abovementioned.

J. D. BATE.

Allahabad, November 18th, 1881.

BOOK NOTICES.

SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST, Volume X. The Dhammapada translated by F. Max Müller. The Sutta-Nipâta translated by V. Fausböll. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1881.

The tenth volume of Professor Max Müller's *Sacred Books of the East* is the first of the series that deals with Buddhist Scriptures: but it has been quickly followed by the eleventh, Mr. Rhys Davids' translation of seven select and important *Suttas*, and the twelfth, now in the press, promises not only Mr. Rhys Davids' translation of the *Patimokkha* but also Dr. Oldenberg's translation of the *Mahávagga*. In Messrs. Trübner's Oriental Series Mr. Rhys Davids has published the first volume of his version of the *Jâtakas*, and a volume by Dr. Morris is promised. English translations seem fairly to keep pace with the rapidly increasing number[1] of editions of the original Pali texts.

Neither part of the present volume was quite unknown in an English dress: Professor Max Müller's part of the work is a revised reprint of his version published in 1870 (as an introduction to Captain Rogers' *Buddhaghosha's Parables—from the Burmese*); and about a third part of the *Sutta Nipâta* had been translated by Sir M. Coomâra Swamy (Trübner, 1874). Perhaps no part of the Pâli sacred books is so well known as the *Dhammapada*: the edition with Latin version by Dr. Fausböll may be said to have been a starting point for Pâli studies, and it was followed by other translations—notably the German by A. Weber and the English now reprinted. As Captain Rogers' book was withdrawn from sale, this reprint will be welcomed for it and Prof. Müller has rewritten and expanded his former preface, an important exposition of a consistent theory on the vexed question in Buddhist literature—the dates. The difficulties so well known in most departments of old Indian study—the silence of direct native authority on the subject of chronology, and the painful collection of negative evidence, beset Buddhism in no small degree. It will be satisfactory to many that Prof. Max Müller, with the weight of his varied learning and experience, supports a belief in the high antiquity of much of the Buddhist Pâli Canon as it has come down to us. "There seems no reason to doubt that Buddhaghosa had before him old MSS. of the Pâli Canon, and that these were in the main the same as those written down at the time of Vaṭṭagâmaṇi (B. C. 80):" and again: "I cannot see any reason why we should not treat the verses of the *Dhammapada*, if not as the utterances of Buddha, at least as what were believed by the members of the Council under Aśoka in 242 B. C. to have been the utterances of the founder of their religion:" and further (here Dr. Oldenberg's work has put the question in a new light, and to this point Prof. Müller follows him) "I think we may be nearly certain that we possess the principal portion of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* as it existed before the Council of Vesâlî (B.C. 377)." Beyond these statements, with the present evidence, few would probably care to go far: the questions of more precise dates, of the relation of original text and commentary, and of the time of arrangement in Three Baskets, are very open to debate. Prof. Müller upholds the date (B. C. 477) he formerly gave for Buddha's death: he holds Bühler's argument for that date from the famous

[1] It is to be hoped that a Pâli Text Society, formed in London, will soon be able to add largely to this number.

Edicts of Aśoka to be mainly right: and if it is so, stronger support could hardly be desired. Though he thus abandons the traditional B. C. 543, he gives Buddhist antiquity an advantage of many years over the dates of Mr. Rhys Davids (412) and those of Professors Westergaard and Kern (388-370).

The *Dhammapada* consists of 423 stanzas: and when taken without the prose commentary (which is of the common Buddhist kind, giving at length the occasion of Buddha's pronouncing each separate stanza) is, though the sequence of idea is not always clear, a piece of literature as likely to please and interest the European reader as any part of the Pâli scriptures. There are here none of the repetitions or trivialities so common in the prose parts: the thoughts are of the highest Buddhist strain, and the manner is generally solemn and fine. The *Sutta-nipâta* is a worthy companion to the *Dhammapada* in all these respects. It is hardly necessary to say that the translators' names are a guarantee both for the accuracy and for the style of the translation.

The gnomic character of Buddhist works like these probably exerted some influence on non-Buddhist Indian literature: and it is an interesting question how far the latter literature in its gnomic part is indebted to Buddhist sources.

R. A. NEIL.

CATALOGUE of CHINESE PRINTED BOOKS, MANUSCRIPTS, and DRAWINGS in the Library of the British Museum, by Robert Kennaway Douglas. Printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum. London, Longmans.

This *Catalogue* was eagerly looked for by students interested in the history of Chinese literature. And now it is before us, we are astonished at the amount of labour it must have required, and are gratified to think that such a task has been done in England by one of our own scholars. Professor Douglas tells us that the number of Chinese volumes named in his *Catalogue* amounts to upwards of 20,000. These have accumulated during the last fifty years, but hitherto have remained practically useless on the shelves of his department. The labour of reducing these to an orderly arrangement can scarcely be understood by those not conversant with Chinese books. Mr. Douglas has adopted a very convenient method for reference, by following the alphabetical order of the different authors' names. After the name follow the different works composed by the several writers. The tables of the works are translated into English, and where it is possible, the year of publication is added with the size of the book. To accomplish this, every volume must have been examined, and the author's name ascertained from actual inspection. The difficulty of this undertaking may be easily imagined. Mr. Wylie in the Preface to his *Notes on Chinese Literature* has named some of the earlier catalogues of Chinese books compiled in European languages, among which we find that by Fourmont—being a complete list of the Chinese books in the Royal Library at Paris; by Remusat and Jules Klaproth, of the same books; by Father Avakum of the St. Petersburg Library; and by Siebold and Schott, of the books at the Hague and Berlin; but none of these are to be compared either for method or extent with that now before us. Mr. Bullen, the keeper of the department of printed books, is therefore so far correct in saying that "this is the first catalogue ever published in Europe of an extensive Chinese library."

The character of the work necessary to the production of this book may be understood, partially at least, by quoting one or two examples. Thus under the heading "Bible" we have some seventy-four translations of the Christian Scriptures or portions of them made by various writers and at different times. Each of these has its date, translator's name, and place of publication, affixed to it. Among them we find a copy made by order of the Taeping Teen Wang, containing the Gospel of St. Mark only; and in immediate connection with this, translations by R. Morrison, printed at Malacca, by the Basel Evangelical Mission; by Dr. Marshman; by Gützlaff, Medhurst, Bridgman and others. The arrangement of these translations alone, selected from such a large body of books, must have required much time and patience, and the books so arranged form a Thesaurus for a comparison of idioms and phrases which it is of the highest importance to have definitely understood and accepted in their true sense. We are most of us familiar with the controversy which is still continuing in China, or what is known as the Term question; but this controversy is really of less consequence than others which might, and doubtless will, be raised over phrases which, when thoroughly examined, will be found to be inadequate as vehicles of the sense intended in Holy Scripture. To take one example, we will select a passage given us in Mr. Douglas' *Catalogue* at the bottom of the third page, viz., that used in a sermon by the preachers of the Chinese Union on the Text, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." Passing by the phrase "*heu sin chay*" for "poor in spirit," about which grave doubts might arise, the phrase "*teen kwŏ*" for "Kingdom of Heaven" must be entirely unintelligible in the sense designed, unless explained by [illegible] e or pa[illegible] phrase. In fact '*teen kwŏ*' [illegible] used in Chinese books as th[illegible] of

and so the phrase might be rendered, "The empty in heart have merit, for theirs is India." If we are ever to arrive at a correct and intelligible version of Holy Scriptures into Chinese, such a Thesaurus as that afforded us in the Catalogue under notice, will be invaluable, and a student already familiar with the classical and Buddhist books will know how to avail himself of it. Scarcely less noticeable are the thirty-four copies of the *Yih king*, which are arranged in consecutive order in the Catalogue. The different editions of this important work range over a considerable period from 1612 to 1853 A. D., and are mostly the product of native students. Nothing in fact brings home to our mind the conviction of the really studious character of Chinese scholars so much as the repeated editions of these classical works, issuing from the Native Press, and in arranging them as Mr. Douglas has, this conviction is forced more and more on the mind.

The work before us extends to over 271 large quarto pages; and we cannot omit to name the very complete list of works arranged alphabetically—found in the Appendix—by reference to which each author's name may be ascertained and the particular work referred to the group found in the Text. Altogether, this *Catalogue* reflects the highest credit on the patience and scholarship of Mr. Douglas, and it proves his fitness for the distinguished position he holds. In such a mass of useful information it would be strange if no mistakes occurred; and we venture to point out to Mr. Douglas that the *Lang yen Sûtra*, named on p. 154, is a well-known Sanskrit work called the *Surangama Sûtra*, and has already been partly translated into English; also that the work by Wang-Pŭ, named on p. 229, can scarcely be rendered into English as the "Perfect Way"—the expression *Ching Taou* being a well-known one for the "perfection of wisdom" arrived at by Buddha under the Bo-Tree at Uravilva in Magadha.

There are a few other oversights in the *Catalogue* relating principally to Buddhist terminology, which simply show that Mr. Douglas is not exempt from error in every particular, and yet they but throw out in full relief the excellency of the work he has so successfully completed.

We cannot conclude this notice without congratulating Mr. Douglas on the very clear and serviceable Chinese type used for his *Catalogue*. Mr. Stephen Austin deserves much praise for procuring such good type specimens as those before us, and much more for being able to put them up in a correct and practical form. We hope the day is not far distant when Chinese students in England will have equal facilities for quoting passages from original works in native type, as exist now at Vienna and St. Petersburg. Until this is the case, we cannot expect much to be done in the way of intelligible criticism in this branch of literature. And for this reason, as heretofore, the study of Chinese will languish and remain unpopular. We hail therefore the appearance of this work, as an augury of better times in store for us.

We must also express a hope that readers in the British Museum will be able to avail themselves of the books in this *Catalogue*. It has been a great privation to the few interested in the subject, that up to the present time, these books, so much coveted, have not been available for use. We now have a rich field for study opened up to us. Let us not be disappointed by any official or technical difficulty, but let Mr. Douglas's *Catalogue* be found among the other volumes on the shelves, for the guidance and advantage of the few students who will search its pages.

S. BEAL.

L SIND BALLADS: Translated from the Sindi by T. Hart-Davies, Bo. C.S. Bombay: Education Society's Press: 1881.

These ballads, locally called *Kafis*, are selected from a collection of 400 made for the translator by Sayyid Fazal Shah, a living poet of Haidrâbâd.

Some show considerable traces of Persian influence of a Sufi type, but the most interesting are love songs alluding to popular legends. The sentiment is often rather that of home sickness than of personal affection, and here the inspiration is strikingly local, and even amusing in its *naïveté*. For to the Sindi poet, the scanty jungle and austere fruits of the desert must furnish figures for which more favoured bards can draw upon the palm and vine or the noble forest flora of the North.

The mud fort of a robber chief is the "proud palace" where the imprisoned maiden sighs for liberty and her beloved people—the squalid servitude of the women of a nomad tribe.

This very tone, however, guarantees the genuineness of these ballads as good samples of original folk songs; and the translator and the Sayyid deserve the thanks of scholars for their contribution to our knowledge of a neglected subject.

W. F. S.

INDEX.

* Abbreviations:—

c.—city.
Chaul.—Chaulukya.
Chhin.—Chhinda.
Chô.—Chôḷa.
co.—country.
d.—district.
Early Chal.—Early Chalukya.
E. Chal.—Eastern Chalukya.
g.—god, goddess, or supernatural being.
Ga.—Gaṅga.
Gâ.—Gâṅga.
Gup.—Gupta.
Gûr.—Gûrjara.
Hoy.—Hoysaḷa.
k.—king.
Kad.—Kadamba.
Kâd. of Ban. and Hâng.—Kâdamba of Banawâsi and Hâṅgal.
Kâd. of Goa.—Kâdamba of Goa.
Ksh.—Kshatrapa.
l. m.—land-measure.
Mahâ.—Mahâvali.
mt.—mountain.
mot.—motto.
n.—name.
o.—official term.
Pall.—Pallava.
q.—queen.
r.—river.
Râsh.—Râshṭrakûṭa.
s.—sect.
Sin.—Sinda.
Sûra.—Sûrasêna.
t.—town.
tr.—tribe.
v.—village.
Va.—Valabhî.
Vi.—Vijayanagara.
Vyâ.—Vyâghra.
W. Chal.—Western Chalukya.
W. Châl.—Western Châlukya.

ERRATA IN VOL. X.

p. 16a, l. 21, *for* Merki's *read* Merkis.

p. 44a, l. 22, *for* Śrîpûj Gunaratna Sâgara *read* Śrîpûj Gunaratnasâgara.

" l. 44, *for* Pâdâ *read* Pâdâno.

p. 44b, l. 12, for *Kumârapâlâcharita* read *Kumâravâlachariya*.

p. 45a, l. 6 from bottom, *dele* six.

" l. 2 from bottom, *for* Lâthi, *read* Lâthî.

p. 45b, ll. 2, 5, and 15, *for* Maitrâyaniyas, *read* Maitrâyaniyas.

p. 45a, l. 18, *for* white *Yajurveda*, read *White Yajurveda*.

" l. 34, *add* A D. *after* 1608.

p. 61b, l. 21, *for* geting *read* getting.

p. 65b, l. 36, *for* bright fortnight of the Prabhava *saṁvatsara*, *read* bright fortnight of the month Bhâdra of the Prabhava *saṁvatsara*.

p. 90b, l. 5 from bottom, *for v. read* v.

p. 100a, l. 39, *for* MS. of, *read* MS. in.

p. 100b, l. 11, *for* Karnadeva *read* Karṇadêva.

" l. 13, *for* Jayasingha *read* Jayasiṁha.

" l. 14, *for* 42 *read* -42.

" l. 43, *for* 12,000 Gr. *read* 12,000 granthas.

p. 101a, l. 3, *for* Brihatkalpasûtra *read Brihatkalpasûtra.*

" l. 30, *for* Lalla, the son, *read* Lalla the son.

" l. 47, *for* Karnadeva *read* Karṇadêva.

p. 101b, l. 8, *for* Kâtantravṛittivivaraṇapañjikâ *read Kâtantravṛittivivaraṇapañjikâ.*

" l. 38, *for* Kâtantra *read Kâtantra.*

" l. 41, *for* Śâkaṭâyana-vyâkaraṇa *read Śâkaṭâyana-vyâkaraṇa.*

" l. 43, *for* Adhy. I, 1-III, 2, by Hemachandra *read* by Hemachandra; adhy. I, 1-III, 2.

" l. 47, *for* Adhy. I, 1-II, by Hemachandra *read* by Hemachandra; adhy I, 1-II.

" l. 49, *for* Mahâkâvya *read Mahâkâvya.*

p. 102a, l. 6, *for* laghuvṛitti *read laghuvṛitti.*

" l. 9 from bot. for *Vishṇu-pushkariṇî,* read Vishṇu-pushkariṇî.

p. 108a, note l. 2, for *dhram-lipi* read *dharma-lipi.*

p. 110, note[1] *dele* the note, *and read* [1] The Marâṭhâ country.

p. 111b, l. 3, *for* Śakyâ- *read* Śakrâ-.

p. 125a, l. 27, *for* Perepolitan *read* Persepolitan.

p. 126b, l. 40, *for* Kâyotsarga Moodrâ *read* the *kâyotsarga mudrâ.*

p. 153b, l. 4, for *Majjhima nickhaya* read *Majjhima nikâya.*

p. 159a, note [3] (*a*), *for* nyâsthannijâmâjñâm mahipatih, *read* -nyasthânnijâmâjnaṁ mahîpatiḥ.

p. 159b, note l. 1, *for* tvam Śiśhe, *read* tvaṁ Śîrshe.

p. 159b, note l. 2, *for* can, *read* may.

p. 161b, l. 32, *for* Thakors *read* Ṭhâkors.

p. 162a, ll. 37-38, *for* and two *read* and contains two.

p. 162b, l. 43, for *mantritre* read *mantritve.*

p. 183, l. 3, *for* 8 *read* 7.

p. 184, l. 42, *for* unsatisfactory. Mr. *read* unsatisfactory." Mr.

p. 189b, ll. 34-35, *for* thee, who are propitious *read* thee, who art propitious.

p. 202b, l. 7, *for* Chaldœa *read* Chaldæa.

p. 210b, note [40] *for* vol. VI (1877), *read* vol. V (1876).

p. 211a, l. 9, fr. bot. *for*—of the Bengal Asiatic Society, *read—of the Bengal Asiatic Society.*

" ll. 6 and 7, fr. bot. *for*—of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, *read—of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

p. 243b, ll. 42-44, *for* It is dated, in words and figures, in the two hundred and fifty-fourth year, *read* It is dated, in words in the two hundred and fifty-fourth year, but in figures in the 286th year.

p. 249a, ll. 38 and 47, *for* Pârthapura *read* Pânthipura.

p. 252, transcription l. 31, *for* Pârtthapura *read* Pâ[n]th[i]pura.

" note 16, *add* In writing the above, I was guided also by the fact that, though the Elliot *MS. Collection* reads *Pânthipura* here and in two other places, yet it reads in four other places *Pârthipura*, and in one instance *Pârthivapura*. Since then, I have received impressions which shew clearly that the reading of the originals is *Pânthipura* in five of these passages, and *Pâṁtipura* in the remaining two; and I have also received another impression of the present inscription which, though it shews again that the letter is damaged in the original, leaves but little, if any, doubt that the upper part of it is *nt*,—*i.e. Pânthipura.*—Pânthipura was another name of Hângal itself; as one of the other passages in question runs *Pânthipur-âbhidhânaṁ Hânuṁgalla samastanagaramumaṁ* &c.

p. 254b, l. 6, *for* Pârthapura *read* Pânthipura.

p. 261b, l. 1, *for I am*, &c., twice, read *We are* &c.

p. 287a, l. 4, *for* Karṇatia *read* Karṇâtika.

p. 303b n. 81, l. 1, for *Pandanu* read *Pandanus odoratissimus.*

p. 335a, l. 27, *for* rigorously *read* vigorously.